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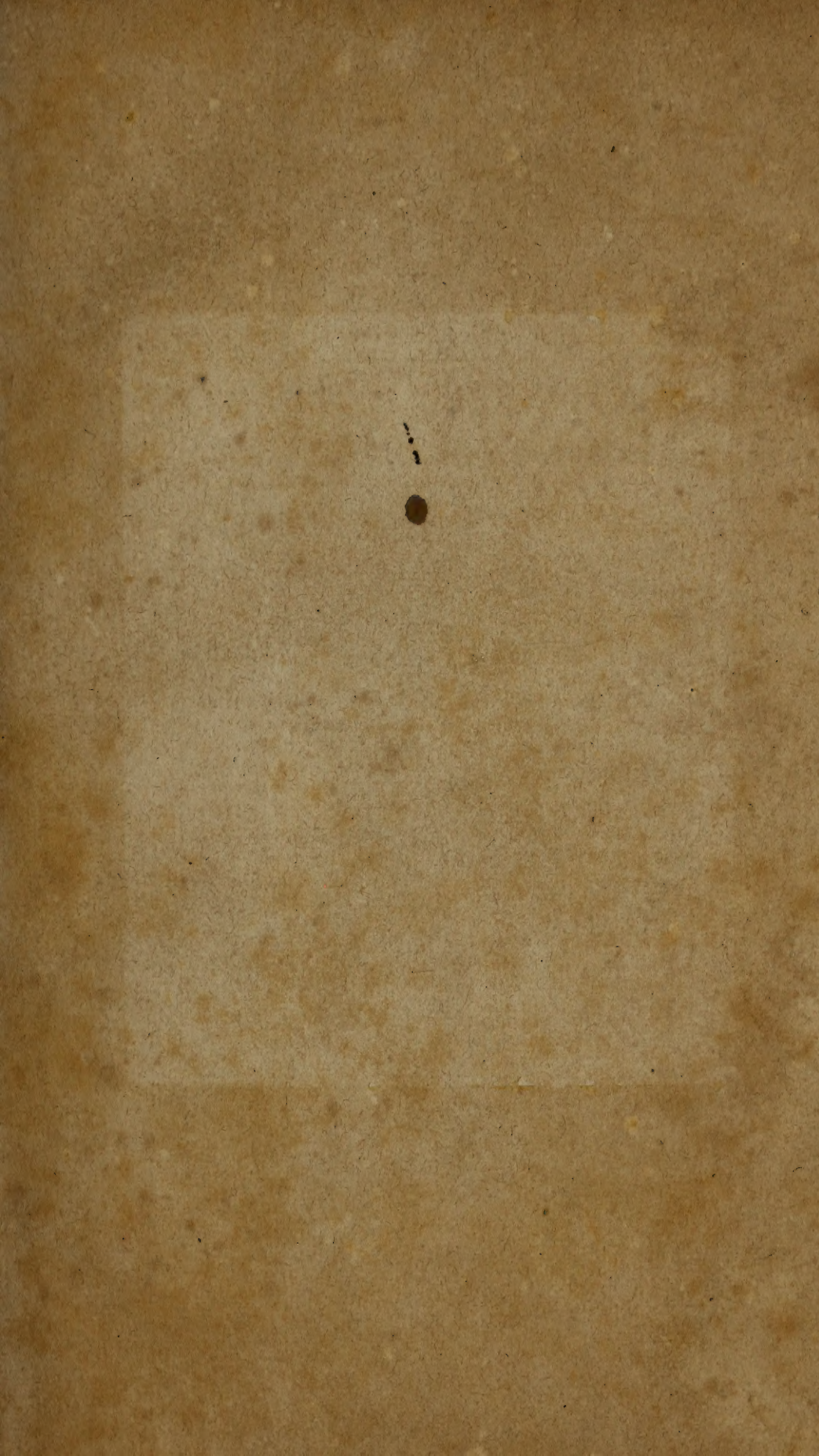
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THE WARS OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR, IN 1792, TO THE
RESTORATION OF A GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815;

COMPREHENDING
THE CIVIL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
• DURING THAT PERIOD.

==
BY EDWARD BAINES.
==

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

*WITH NOTES, AND AN ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.*

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS
OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS OF THE AGE, AND
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VOL. I.
==

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MCARTY & DAVIS,
South East corner of Ninth and Race streets.

1819.

vol. 1

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Be it Remembered, That on the eleventh day of May, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1819, M'Carty & Davis, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

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D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

WHEN the reprinting of this work was undertaken by the American publishers, it was placed in the hands of the present editor, for the purposes of revisal and correction. Without interfering at all with the text, it was proposed to annex notes to such parts of it, as might be found erroneous or objectionable ; and to add such information as the progress of time has since brought to light. The editor has found little occasion, as the reader will observe, for the exercise of this duty. When the great extent of the work is considered, Mr. Baines must, upon the whole, be regarded as remarkably accurate in his narrative of the European contest, or, at least, of those parts of it in which his countrymen were not concerned. With respect to the war, however, between the United States and England, he is far from being candid or impartial. The whole history of that contest, in the English edition, is indeed a tissue of mistakes, natural enough to an Englishman, who relied on the fidelity of British official statements, but plainly prejudicial to the cause of truth, and the interests of this country. To enter the lists in every case, with Mr. Baines ; to refute in a note, almost every

assertion of the text, would have swelled these pages to an enormous length, and wearied the patience of the reader, without, perhaps, giving him a satisfactory view of the contest. It was deemed most advisable, therefore, by the publishers, to cause this part of the work to be written anew ; and it is presumed, that this deviation from their original plan, will not be unacceptable to the public. In the performance of this task, the editor has aimed at producing a concise, but clear and impartial relation of occurrences. His limits equally forbade his entering into minute details of military operations, and into the discussions of party measures or principles. No pains have been spared to obtain accurate information ; the official accounts of each nation have been consulted ; but, where any doubt has existed, he is not ashamed to say, he has invariably leaned to the side of his country.

Philadelphia, 1819.

PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

OF all the studies which occupy the attention of the statesman, or employ the leisure of private individuals, that of history justly claims the pre-eminence, in dignity and in utility: to the statesman it furnishes the most important lessons of political wisdom, and the private individual may hence extract maxims for the improvement of his understanding, and rules for the regulation of his conduct. This remark, though applicable to history in general, applies with peculiar force and cogency to the transactions of that period which this work embraces.

If the importance of events be estimated by the magnitude of their effects, and the extent of their influence on the happiness of mankind, we shall be compelled to confess, that this portion of the history of the world, is infinitely more interesting than any that has preceded it. The period of the last five and twenty years, commencing with the dawn of the Revolution in France, has given birth to events, which fix the attention by their novelty, gratify curiosity by their variety, and overpower the imagination by their magnitude—events which powerfully interest the heart, by the astonishing influence they have exerted, not merely on the fate of monarchs and of empires, but over the domestic circle of the most retired individual; and it is no exaggeration to assert, that there is scarcely a sin-

gle inhabitant of Europe, that has not been affected by these tremendous occurrences, either in his own person, in his family, or in his near connections.

If time were measured by events, instead of years, centuries might be said to have passed, during the age in which we live. To compress the records of these transcendently important occurrences, into a moderate compass; to narrate them in a connected and lucid order; and to furnish a memorial, not merely instructive and interesting to his contemporaries, but useful to the future historian, have been the primary objects of the author's labours. A work undertaken with such views, will, of course, be rather a record of facts, than a medium of opinions. The time indeed has not yet arrived, for exploring the secrets of cabinets, or for developing the hidden springs, by which the principal actors in this mighty contest have been actuated. This is the work of posterity, and can never be successfully accomplished, till time shall have shed his mellowing influence over the passions and feelings which still continue to agitate the present age.

In presenting to the public the history of the Wars arising out of the French Revolution, the most scrupulous regard has been had to fidelity of representation. No event has been suppressed, nor has any fact been distorted, to gratify the partiality, or to advance the interests of a party. Truth has been the polar star by which the author has shaped his course; and though he makes no pretensions to freedom from political predilection, he assumes perhaps a higher merit, when he declares, that in the prosecution of this undertaking, he is not conscious of having, in any instance, suffered his mind to be biased, or his narrative tinged, by any thing approaching either to national antipathies, or to party asperity.

Impressed for several years with a persuasion, that a history of his own times would be an acceptable tribute, both to the present age and to posterity, he waited only for the arrival of that period, when the termination of the war should render the annunciation

of such an undertaking expedient ; and no sooner had the long-distracted nations of Europe begun to repose under the olive, than he addressed himself with unremitting assiduity to the completion of a duty, which he had contemplated with mingled feelings of hope and apprehension. Rising into manhood, at the memorable epoch when the French Revolution burst upon an astonished world, he has in effect witnessed the events it has fallen to his lot to record ; and engaged in a pursuit, which necessarily fixed his attention upon the military and political occurrences of the world, he has brought to his voluntary task, a portion, at least, of the necessary qualifications for collecting and arranging the materials, which lie scattered through immense masses of state papers, official despatches, and periodical publications, and it is to the honour of having faithfully discharged this humble, but laborious duty, that he aspires.

To every class of readers, a publication of this nature must be acceptable. To those who are sufficiently advanced in life to have witnessed the rise, progress, and consummation, of the scenes here brought under review, this work will serve as a remembrancer, and present a tablet on which they will find inscribed the topics that fixed their attention in the morning of life, when impressions are the most vivid and durable, and that will afford an inexhaustible theme for conversation and reflection, in their more mature years. Those who entered the theatre after the rising of the revolutionary curtain, and when the great drama had made some progress, will here be able to learn why they found a world in arms ; and to take a clear and comprehensive view of the early, as well as of the latter, stages of the contest ; while those, whose youth has hitherto prevented them from feeling any interest in the affairs of nations, will be brought acquainted with events which have stamped the features of gigantic greatness upon the days of their fathers.

A better defined period of history, than that embraced in these volumes, it is impossible to imagine.

It comprehends every thing that gives dignity, interest, and importance, to the historic page. The opening scenes are calculated to impress the mind, by their magnitude and grandeur ; the progress of the narrative is marked by a rapid succession of events, rising in importance as they advance in the order of time ; and in conclusion we behold the world emancipated, by an agency more than human, from a tremendous military despotism, that had nearly drawn into its vortex all the States of Continental Europe ; while Great Britain, after braving the revolutionary storms of a quarter of a century, has come out of the contest, not merely with her liberties and invaluable institutions unimpaired, but with her national character exalted, and her army and navy irradiated by wreaths of imperishable renown.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

TOWARDS the close of the fifth century, the Franks, a nation the very name of which implies the free condition of the individuals who composed it, determined to leave their native forests, situate in that part of Germany, enclosed by the Rhine, the Elbe and the sea. They accordingly crossed the former of these rivers under Clovis, defeated their enemies in a pitched battle, acquired full possession of an extensive territory, which some of their countrymen had before invaded, and imposed at once their dominion and their name on Gaul. Under the first, or *Merovingian*, and the second, or *Carlovingian* race, the throne was elective; and the people not only possessed the power of nominating, but according to indisputable testimony,* they also exercised the right of deposing the sovereign if he proved unworthy of his station. (*Note 1.*)

The great council of the nation was assembled every year in the *Champ de Mars*, so called from the month† in which they usually met. In this assembly the King presided as chief, and decided on all public affairs.

In the year 987, on the demise of Louis V. a new dynasty called the *Capetian*, succeeded to the crown of *Franco-Gallia*, as it was then called, in the person of *Hugh Capet*, son to Hugh, Earl of Paris, to the prejudice of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, uncle to the deceased Monarch, and his heir by blood. This prince, after overcoming and imprisoning his less fortunate rival, associated his own son with him on the

* See Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia*. cap. VI.

(*Note 1.*) The question whether the crown of France under the first race was elective or hereditary, has been frequently and warmly discussed by the French historians. Some of their most distinguished political writers are to be found on opposite sides of the controversy. The better opinion seems to be not as might be supposed from the text, that the monarchy was purely an elective one, but that the executive power continued in particular families, out of which the assembly of the nation selected such individual as they thought proper to fill the vacant office.

† March.

throne, and even contrived to get him declared his successor. The crown having thus become vested in his family; in the course of the same reign, and in consequence of this very event, the dukedoms, earldoms, and all the magistracies and honours of the kingdom, which before were temporary, now became hereditary also.

No sooner had a middle class arisen among the people, and begun to acquire some degree of opulence and respectability, than Philip *le Bel* determined to introduce their deputies into the general councils; and that they might be more at his devotion, these were chosen from the cities and towns within his own domains. This memorable event, which occurred in the first year of the fourteenth century, was productive of correspondent consequences; and the third estate sat ever after in the assembly of the nation called the states-general, which was convoked occasionally during a period of three hundred and fifteen years. The states-general were again convoked under Charles V. in 1369, when they granted certain subsidies *during the war* only; and Charles VI. his successor, thinking, no doubt, that an assembly of notables might prove more tractable, summoned one accordingly in 1413. He appears to have solicited and obtained the consent of the university and citizens of Paris to this measure, which was rendered more agreeable by the plausible pretext of reforming the state: to keep up appearances, commissioners were chosen from the three different orders of the notables, but nothing beneficial appears to have been effected.

But it was not until the reign of Charles VII. that any thing resembling an uniform system of tyranny was aimed at; and it is to the long and bloody contests with England, that we are to attribute that despotism, which overwhelmed France for ages. The victorious monarch, availing himself of the popularity he had acquired by his success, retained a body of *men at arms* in his pay, amounting to no more, however, than seventeen hundred.* To this increase of power, Charles added the influence of corruption; and by means of both, became the first King of France, who, by his own royal edict, and without the concurrence of the states-general of the kingdom, levied subsidies at his pleasure.

Louis XI. who to the policy of our Henry VII. added a far more cruel and capricious tyranny than Henry VIII. succeeded but too well in reducing the innovations of his predecessor to a regular system. He also contrived to render his own despotism more formidable, by adding to the military

* Communes, c. 7.

establishment of his father; and to lessen the general odium, he had recourse occasionally to the states-general, which he garbled at his pleasure, taking care that his own creatures only should be permitted to repair to the assembly, where no one was allowed to deliver sentiments in opposition to the will of the monarch.

Richlieu, a great and fortunate minister, about the year 1620, undertook the management of public affairs, and bereaved his country even of the hope of regaining any portion of her liberties. During his administration, the catholic grandees were kept in subjection, and the protestants who always entertained liberal notions respecting government, were completely humbled; in short, the crown was rendered independent both of the nobles and the people.

His successor, Mazarine, imposed a series of enormous taxes during the minority of Louis XIV. The long and extensive hostilities carried on by that monarch, after he had attained manhood, contributed also to subdue the spirit of the nation. The wars and dissipation of Louis XV. tended equally to harrass the public; arbitrary arrests by means of *lettres de cachet*, rendered personal liberty insecure; and had it not been that the parliaments, from time to time, exhibited a noble spirit of resistance, every notion of public liberty would have been extinguished, and the government of France must have speedily approximated to an oriental despotism.*

Having thus briefly exhibited the means by which France lost her liberties, it now remains to enumerate the events, in consequence of which, the power of the monarch was overthrown.

SECTION II.

AFTER the demise of Louis XV. who, like Francis I. fell a martyr to his debaucheries, the cares of government were destined to be endured, rather than sustained by his grandson, a Prince only twenty years of age. The young King, had, however, conducted himself with great propriety while dauphin, and it was fondly hoped by the French, that they had at length found a good and virtuous sovereign.

Louis XVI. finding himself in want of a Mentor to superintend his conduct and regulate his judgment, selected the Count de Maurepas, and that nobleman, formerly banished from court, and now more than seventy years of age, was im-

* The French lawyers had by this time introduced the maxim, "Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi." The will of the king is the will of the law.

mediately elevated to the post of prime minister, and to restore confidence to the nation, and security to the state, Turgot was soon after placed at the head of the finances, and exhibited a series of talents and virtues which rendered his administration uncommonly brilliant : but his severe probity, and strict economy, accelerated his fall, and the Queen, MARIA ANTOINETTA, whose expensive habits began to give umbrage, solicited, and at length obtained his dismissal.

When the unhappy contest occurred between Great Britain and her colonies, France, though already involved in a labyrinth of debts and anticipations, took part in the war in favour of the Americans, and Louis XVI. the descendant of so many absolute monarchs, did not deem it either impolitic or unjust, to enter into a treaty with, and acknowledge the independence of a people struggling for liberty. At this period, M. de Vergennes directed the department for foreign affairs ; M. de Sartine was at the head of the navy ; and M. Necker regulated the revenues as Comptroller-general.

This was the first conflict with the same enemy, during some centuries, that did not prove inglorious to France ; for although England displayed her ancient valour and superiority on the occasion, yet she failed in the object of the contest ; (2.) while the alliance of the American states, the temporary humiliation of an ancient rival, and the triumph ever attendant on success, gratified in no small degree the national vanity of the French people.

This triumph was but of short duration, for it was soon discovered that the profusion of a race of weak and profligate Princes, added to the expences of the war, and aggravated by the extravagance of an intriguing and luxurious court, had plunged the finances into a state of extreme embarrassment, and Necker was exiled to make way for De Calonne, his enemy and rival. Calonne, ever fertile in expedients, resolved to have recourse to a measure, which had often been resorted to in former reigns. This was the convocation of the notables, a body nominated by the Prince, but yet bearing some resem-

(2.) It may reasonably be doubted whether the ancient superiority here ascribed to England over her French antagonists, was displayed with much éclat during the revolutionary war. With the exception of some engagements in the West Indies, the war was fought in the United States, and on its borders ; and certainly the encounters of the two nations here did not add much to the credit of the British arms. On the ocean, it is true, a signal victory was obtained by Admiral Rodney, but it is well known that the combined fleets of France and Spain rode at one period triumphant in the channel, while the skilful manœuvres of the French commanders on the American coast, effected all they desired to obtain.

blance to the states-general. This assembly accordingly met, on the 22d day of February, 1787, and was dissolved on the 25th of May following, without having contributed in any degree, towards removing the public difficulties. The disgrace of Calonne followed close upon the dissolution of the convocation of notables, and that minister, was in his turn, succeeded by Cardinal Leomine de Brienne.

Recourse was now had to the odious measure of raising money by the king's edict alone ; and the doubling of the land tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp duty, were immediately proposed. But to render these effective, it was absolutely necessary that they should be registered by an august tribunal, that had of late acquired the confidence of the people, and by its sacrifices during the last reign, had merited their esteem. The *Parliament of Paris*, on whose deliberations the eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned, instead of a ready compliance as was expected, exhibited a steady opposition, and even insisted, that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should be previously laid before it.

No sooner did the King learn that the parliament had refused to register the edict, than he had recourse to a *bed of justice* ; at the best an equivocal, and at present, a very unpopular measure. This assembly met on the 6th of August, 1787, and registered the edict ; but the next day, the parliament entered a formal protest against the registration of the edict, declaring it to be "*performed against its approbation and consent*," adding, "*that the edict neither ought nor should have any force*," and that "*the first person who presumed to carry it into execution should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the gallies !*"

In a few days after this spirited and formidable protest, the King ordered the hall to be surrounded by a body of troops, and banished the members to Troyes, in Champagne, but not before they had drawn up a remonstrance, in which they displayed equal energy and eloquence. They were, however, recalled soon after, in consequence of a compromise, which was considered, in some degree, to have tarnished the glory they had acquired.

While the public mind was thus agitated by successive hopes and fears, the ministry persuaded the King to take a novel and extraordinary step. Accordingly, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th of November, he visited the parliament of Paris, and produced two edicts, which were required to be enforced, one of which indicated a new loan to

the amount of 450 millions of livres, (about 19,000,000*l.* sterling.) A discussion continued for nine hours, when his Majesty suddenly arose, and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered. This being considered as a direct violation of all the forms of this august assembly, the Duke of Orleans, with equal firmness and respect, protested against the proceedings, which, he said, had been rendered null and void by the unprecedented conduct of the sovereign.

The King, in return, immediately sent the Duke of Orleans into exile, and issued *lettres de cachet* against two other members. Such arbitrary proceedings on the part of a monarch, hitherto respected for his humanity, produced the most spirited remonstrances on the part of the parliament. In one of these, no less celebrated on account of its eloquence than its boldness, they claimed, not the favour of the monarch, but his justice, which was subject, they said, to regulations independent of the will of man; they maintained, that kings themselves were bound to obey it, and that his glorious ancestor, Henry IV. acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, "God and the laws." The reply of the King, "that they should not demand from his justice, what solely depended upon his will," tended only to irritate the members; who, recurring to the ancient principles of the constitution, at length declared, "that it was neither in their power, in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to levy any new taxes upon the people!"

This appeal to the paramount authority of the states-general, rendered the Parliament of Paris, the idol of the people; but the ministers were at that moment secretly meditating its humiliation: and M. de Brienne, the Prime Minister, aimed a deadly blow at the power of the assembly, by the project of a *cour pleniére*, composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men, devoted to the court, by which the royal edicts were henceforward to be registered. This produced a fresh remonstrance, containing an attack on the ministers, a protest against the plans in agitation, and a declaration, that "France is a kingdom governed by a King, according to the laws; and that the right of raising subsidies is in the nation, represented by the states-general duly convened."

On this, the palace in which the parliament assembled was once more encircled by troops, and some of its members seized and confined: the king also held a *bed of justice*, on the 8th of May, 1788, in which he presented a number of edicts to be registered; among these was one for the establishment of the *cour pleniére*, and another for the diminution

of the members of the parliament of Paris, from one hundred and twenty, to sixty-seven, as had been done by Louis XI.

The magistrates having entered a solemn protest, his majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations by means of an armed force : he at the same time suspended all the parliaments throughout the kingdom ;—a measure which was opposed by an address, signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, “in behalf of themselves and the nation.”

Commutations of an alarming nature now ensued. In Brittany, the nobles and the people seemed to suspend their disputes on purpose to investigate public grievances ; the intermediate commission of the states exhibited great firmness on this occasion ; and Rennes, the capital of the province, experienced an unusual degree of agitation. Of the members constituting the parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble, part were in exile and part in prison ; and the inhabitants were so irritated, that they had driven the governor of Languedoc out of his capital ; while the troops, hitherto the firm supporters of arbitrary power in every monarchy, and particularly in France, refused to fire upon the populace. At Grenoble in Dauphiny, the peasants collected in large bodies from the neighbouring country, to assist the townsmen if necessary, against the soldiery ; and terror and indignation, rage and dismay, prevailed every where by turns.

At length the court, seriously alarmed by the agitation in the provinces, dismissed the ministers, and such was the deplorable state of the finances, that only part of the demands on the treasury was paid in cash ; the remainder being liquidated by means of bills, due at the end of a year ; and the appearance of a partial bankruptcy was only avoided by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* as money. In addition to this a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread : the notion therefore became prevalent, that the states-general could alone rescue the nation from misery and despair.

At the earnest entreaty of M. Necker, who had been recalled to the office of Minister of Finance, his Majesty consented to the convocation of the states-general, (3.) and much

(3.) The resolution of convoking the states-general, a measure which in the existing state of public opinion was of itself a revolution, is here improperly attributed to the advice of M. Necker ; and to the prevalence of a similar belief, we may refer much of the odium which was attempted to be thrown upon the character of that able and virtuous statesman, by the partisans of the ancient system. Whatever may have been the sentiments of Necker upon the abstract propriety of a representative government, it does not appear that he was, while in office,

debate took place relative to the mode of forming that assembly; but an order of council was at length procured on the 27th of December, declaring that the deputies to the states-general, should at least amount to one thousand; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates.

The meeting of this celebrated assembly being at length fixed for the first of May, 1789, the whole nation appeared to be electrified. The city of Paris was divided into districts for the elections, and the bailiwicks began to draw up their instructions to the deputies, for the reformation of a multitude of abuses that had prevailed for ages.

SECTION III.

AT length, the states-general, which had been by turns, promised, delayed, and precipitated, after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-five (4.) years, assembled at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion; the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the King, having repaired to the temple of the Deity, amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to

the first adviser of any step of that nature. The proposition of assembling the states-general, originated in the Parliament of Paris, and was seconded by the public voice with so much warmth and unanimity, that the King had solemnly promised to comply with the wishes of the nation in this respect, previous to the recall of Necker. Upon this point, the observations of his daughter, Mde. de Stael, are conclusive. "If M. Necker, in his ministerial capacity, had proposed the convocation of the states-general, the world might then have accused him of a dereliction of duty, since it is a settled point in the doctrine of a certain party, that the absolute power of the monarch is a sacred thing. But when public opinion had compelled the court to dismiss the Archbishop of Sens, and to recall M. Necker, the states-general were solemnly promised; the nobles, the clergy, and the parliament, had solicited this promise; the people had obtained it, and such was the power of the general opinion on this point, that neither the military nor civil force would have put itself in opposition to it. If this assertion diminish the merit of M. Necker in acknowledging that it was not he who promised the states-general, it at least places the responsibility of the events of the revolution where it ought to rest. For, how could such a man as Necker propose to a virtuous monarch, like Louis XVI. the violation of his word? And of what service could that minister be to him, whose power consisted in his popularity, if his first act had been to advise the king to break his engagements with his people." *Sur la Revolution Française*, t. 1. p. 155.

(4.) One hundred and seventy-five years. The last meeting of the states-general took place in the year 1614, a short time previous to the rise of Cardinal Richlieu.

reform and regenerate the state. The splendour and variety of the robes of two of the orders, added greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle; for the dignified clergy were dressed in a style of grandeur suitable to their respective ranks, being adorned with scaifs, crosses, and crosiers, while the nobility were decorated as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles covered with lace; plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribbons, calculated to produce a theatrical effect, and swords glittering with gold and diamonds. The third estate, on which the people chiefly relied, on the other hand, seemed to affect simplicity, the members appearing in plain clothes, surmounted by short woollen cloaks, as in the time of Philip *le Bel*; but they were hailed by the surrounding multitude as the hope of their country, while a solemn and inauspicious silence prevailed during the procession of the rest of the assembly.

After a long and tedious ceremonial, the King, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the Queen on his left hand, and the Princes and Princesses of the blood around him, delivered a discourse to the assembly, in which he expressed his hope, that the convocation of the states-general would communicate new vigour to the nation, re-establish public credit, and open additional sources of happiness. The speech of his Majesty was listened to with profound attention, and hailed with repeated bursts of applause. The keeper of the seals followed, and enlarged on the advantages of a *limited Government*, equally remote from absolute monarchy on the one hand, and anarchy and republicanism on the other. M. Necker succeeded the keeper of the seals, in a speech of great length, in which he wished to direct the attention of the assembly principally to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged, but stated the actual *deficit* not to exceed fifty-six millions of French Livres.

Subsequent to this sitting, some disputes arose between the respective orders. The third estate (the Commons) to the number of 583, declared themselves the representatives of the nation; and their first act was to declare all the imposts illegal, because they had not been consented to by the nation. They, however, re-enacted them instantly in the name of their constituents, declaring that they ceased on the very day on which the present assembly should be dissolved. All future proceedings were prevented in consequence of an extraordinary step on the part of the King, who on the 20th of June, declared by a herald at arms, that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that it was his Majesty's intention, to hold a *Royal Session* on the 22d. This assumption of power,

wholly unprecedented in the history of the states-general led to the most disastrous consequences. The members of the assembly, finding themselves excluded from the National Hall, by a guard of soldiers, assembled in the Tennis-court at Versailles, and the people, electrified by the conduct of their deputies in their turn excited new zeal by their plaudits ; some of the soldiery, partaking of the general enthusiasm, formed a guard of honour at the entrance*, while one of the members, who had been confined to his bed, caused him to be carried into the Hall. And as if actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies arose and took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France completed.

On the 23d of June, the three orders were assembled by the King's command, in *Royal Session*. The speech which the King was advised to deliver on this occasion, was not in the least calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes that had taken place, his Majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulled the celebrated decree, by which the commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He, at the same time, alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people ; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the states-general in the enactment of laws ; on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of *lettres de cachet*, subject, however, to certain restrictions ; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal incidents, the most cruel of all the restraints to which any nation can be subjected.

The sittings, of the assembly having been continued, an union of the orders took place, and on the 27th, 47 of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, repaired to the hall of the states, and the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the King, followed their example.

In the mean time, notwithstanding these appearances of cordiality, orders had been for some time issued by the court to collect a large body of troops ; and as the French soldiery could not now be depended on, foreigners were preferred to the national regiments. Thirty-five thousand men were already cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital ; twenty thousand more were expected ; a formidable train of artillery was provided at a prodigious expense ; camps began to be

* *Precis de la Revolution Fran. par Rabaut de Saint Etienne.*

traced out; the commanding eminences were crowded with batteries; the roads and bridges occupied by military posts; and the Marshal de Broglio was nominated to the chief command.

The capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now agitated to an extraordinary degree. The people assembled in prodigious multitudes in the gardens of the *Palais Royal*, and dividing into groupes, were addressed by certain persons, whom they styled "orators," with a degree of eloquence that did not fail to please and even to fascinate.

A large body of the soldiery, having become a part of the people, in consequence of their long residence in and connection with the capital, began to make a common cause with its inhabitants, and to discriminate between the rights of men and the duties of soldiers. Nor were other means of seduction wanting: they were loaded with presents and caresses; they were feasted for whole days and nights in the *Palais Royal*, the residence of the Duke of Orleans; and to the delights of wine, were added the fascinations of gold, and the blandishments of women.

On the 12th of July, Necker, the only minister on whom either the nation or its representatives had any reliance, being suddenly deprived of his office, was sent once more into exile, and the new administration was said to consist of De Breteuil, Foulon, La Galesiere, La Porte, and the Marshal de Broglio; all of whom were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient despotism.

The period of the Revolution was now advancing with rapid strides; and here it may be proper shortly to advert to the numerous causes which conspired to shake the foundations of a throne, upheld by the veneration of fourteen centuries, and to facilitate the downfall of a prince, the successor of sixty-eight kings.

SECTION IV.

THE causes of that tremendous event, which was in its consequences to shake not only the monarchy of France, but all the kingdoms of Europe to their foundations, are various and palpable. Among these may be ranked the progressive improvement of the human mind: and the extension of letters and philosophy, as exhibited in the writings of Montesquieu, Raynal, Rosseau, Voltaire, Bailly, Buffon, Condorcet, Diderot, d'Alembert, &c. The age of Louis XIV. when writers of this description began first to flourish, and enjoy the fostering smiles

of the great and powerful, has been considered as the Augustan epoch of French history : and it was then that, under the shelter of royal despotism, those weapons were forged which were afterwards destined to break its chains.—Another of the causes of the Revolution may be traced to the extreme embarrassment of the national finances, and to the writings of the rival financiers, Necker and Calonne, which disclosed secrets that proved ruinous to the credit of the monarchy ; and which gave to the parliaments and the states-general, a zeal and decision commensurate with the arduous duties imposed upon them by the difficulties of their country. There were also many other circumstances which contributed to produce this change. The liberties and prosperity of England—a country separated only by a narrow strait, could not be contemplated with indifference.—But a still more permanent cause was to be found in the example of America, where M. de la Fayette and many thousand other French officers and soldiers, had fought for the establishment of liberty, and where they had seen a happy nation in which the distinctions of rank and birth were unknown. There they, for the first time, saw virtue, talents, and courage, rewarded ; there they viewed with surprise, a sovereign people, fighting, not for a master, but for themselves, and administering the laws by representatives of their own free choice.—On their return, the contrast was odious and intolerable ; they beheld family preferred to merit, influence to justice, and wealth to worth. They began to examine a constitution, in which the monarch, whom they were accustomed now to consider only as the first magistrate, was every thing, and the people, the foundation of all power—nothing : and they may reasonably be supposed to have wished, and even languished for a change. Nor was the spirit of disaffection to the existing order of things, confined to the French soldiers who had served in America, and there imbibed the principles of Republicanism : but the whole army itself, properly so called, which had hitherto been the bulwark of the monarchy, conceived a deep-rooted disgust against the punishments introduced in the reign of Louis XVI. under the administration of the Count de St. Germain, and by which they were coerced into submission by the military punishments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, instead of being, as hitherto, flattered into obedience by the *principle of honour*. At this critical period, when union and ability might have protracted the fate of the Government, the court was distracted by private jealousies, and divided by petty feuds. The prerogative, omnipotent in theory, was now for the first time bounded in practice. The King, possessing many virtues, but feeble, irreso-

lute and uxorious, excited pity and even contempt. Vibrating between the virulent counsels of his court and the timidity of his own nature, he appears to have been, by turns, tyrannical and complaisant. The Queen, while dauphiness, had obtained the respect of the nation by refusing to countenance the licentiousness of the court of the reigning monarch ; and her beauty had long commanded the admiration of the capital. But her levities had now sunk her into dis-esteem ; and her enormous expenses, her haughty demeanour, and her aversion to every thing that bore the name of liberty, exposed her to general censure ; and the manner in which she governed the King, subjected both him and herself to increasing suspicion.

Her majesty and the King's two brothers were also at open variance. The eldest of these had acquired and retained the respect of the nation ; but the profusion of the younger, and still more his zeal against every innovation on the ancient despotism, at length rendered his name odious. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and his adherents, openly aspired to popularity, and expended an amazing fortune to produce, strengthen, and support a Revolution, that in the end proved their destruction. The numerous and notorious abuses in the government, also produced an effect correspondent to the knowledge of an inquisitive and critical age, and France was denied even the *sleep of despotism* the only consolation that a people can derive from the degradation of servitude.

The feudal hierarchy had become burdensome and oppressive. Instead of softening, as formerly, the exercise of the royal prerogative, and presenting a barrier between the King and the people, it divided into casts of old and new, nobles of the sword and of the robe, of the court and of the provinces, who all claimed an exemption from taxes ; and although jealous of each other, cordially united in treating the inhabitants of the towns with insufferable haughtiness, while they considered those of the country as little better than their slaves.

What the possessors of fiefs originally acquired by their swords, the clergy had obtained by the profusion of the people in times past, but their influence was now visibly on the decline throughout the nation ; and an age devoted to the cultivation of literature and the sciences, felt itself but little interested in those polemical contentions which at once occupied and disgraced the two former reigns. The amazing wealth possessed by nineteen arch bishops, and one hundred and twenty-two bishops ; the immense revenues belonging to twelve hundred and eighty-eight abbeys, twelve thousand four hundred priories, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and

eighty convents ; excited the surprise, and perhaps also the envy of the laity.—The parochial clergy, although poor themselves, constituted the only stay and consolation of the people ; they also were oppressed by their more opulent brethren, for the prelates had continued to throw the burden of the *voluntary gift* upon the great body of the priesthood, whose complaints had long proved unavailing, but whose resentment, at a subsequent period, by inducing them to join the third estate, produced a schism in the church, and put an end to the established hierarchy.

Among the other changes that had taken place, that of the liberty of speech was not the least conspicuous. Writings were every where read and circulated against the weight, number, inequality, and misapplication of the taxes ; the vexations of the farmers-general ; the venality of offices ; the imperfection of the criminal code ; and those arbitrary and illegal imprisonments produced by *lettres de cachet*. There was a general outcry against the tributes paid to the pope, the wealth of the clergy, and the profusion with which pensions were assigned on an exhausted treasury.

The Bastile, and a variety of subordinate prisons, had always opened their dreadful dungeons at the voice of an absolute Prince ; a free press, which leaves to a bad minister the choice of his duty or his dishonour, was still unknown ; and *lettres de cachet*, sold publicly towards the end of the late reign, had been granted during the early part of the present, with scandalous impunity.

The bulk of the people was overburdened with taxes, many of which were rather oppressive than productive : offices conferring nobility were publicly bought and sold ; while the nobles were exempt from the operation of imposts, and the clergy contributed only what they pleased under the name of a *benevolence*.

The occupations of the merchant and the farmer were considered as discreditable ; the plebians were excluded from all the high offices of the state, and the profession of arms, alone honourable, was consecrated to the enjoyment of a particular *cast* : to command a regiment, or a man of war, it was necessary to be a noble.

The people being thus left destitute of redress or protection ; the royal authority paramount and unbounded ; the laws venal ; the peasantry oppressed ; agriculture in a languishing state ; commerce considered as degrading ; the public revenues farmed out to greedy financiers ; the public money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with justice, policy, and reason ;—a change became inevitable

in the ordinary course of human events, and, like all sudden alterations in corrupt states, was accompanied with evils and crimes, that made many good men look back on the ancient despotism with a sigh.

SECTION V.

FROM the contemplation of the various and multiplied causes that produced the destruction of the monarchy of France, it is proper to turn to a review of the events that attended and flowed from the Revolution in that country.

While the deputies, incapable of making any resistance, stood aghast, the citizens of Paris were taking measures to alter the destiny of the assembly, the monarch, and the empire. They began by carrying in triumph the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, each of whom, had been, at different times, the victim of despotism. Being attacked by a patrolle of the Royal Allemande, several persons were wounded, but the guard was at length obliged to take refuge in the Thuilleries.

It was at this critical period, that Gorsas, then a school-master, and afterwards a deputy, with a stentorian voice, continued to harrangue a large body of citizens in one quarter ; at the same time that Camille Desmoulins, a celebrated advocate, with a pistol in each hand, addressed an eloquent oration to the surrounding multitude in another ; and after being exhausted with fatigue, and rendered unable to proceed, still contrived to articulate the words,—“ To arms ! to arms ! ”

While the women and children terrified at the first appearance of the troops, rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, the alarm bell was rung in every parish ; the theatres were shut ; cannons were fired by way of signal ; some of the citizens barricaded their houses, and prepared to defend themselves against the assailants ; while the multitude unprovided with any certain means of annoyance, rushed into, and seized all the arms to be found in the shops of the gun-smiths and armourers, and then proceeded towards the town-house.

In this critical moment, when every thing depended on the conduct adopted by the French guards, the Marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in that corps, repaired to the barracks and contrived to excite their passions, arouse their ambition, and subdue their fidelity. At nine o'clock in the evening, they accordingly sallied out, when being joined by patrolles of armed citizens, as well as by a mob, many of whom carried torches, they attacked and dispersed a company of the Royal Allemande. The fugitives having retreated to the main body of their regi-

ment posted in the *Place de Louis XV.* twelve hundred of the guards repaired to the *Palais-Royal*, where they held a council of war, and at length determined, though destitute of both officers and artillery, to give battle to the *foreign troops*.—They accordingly commenced their march, obtained a complete victory, obliged them to retreat, drove them before them to the *Boulevards*, and at length forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris, and withdraw to Versailles, where they spread dismay and consternation among the adherents of the court, whose projects had been thus anticipated and disconcerted, the evening of the 14th of July having been the day fixed for an attack on the capital.

An extraordinary circumstance occurred at this moment which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe that ensued. Twenty thousand men of different nations, who had been employed in cutting roads, over Montmartre, but who were now without bread and without occupation, threatened to plunder the capital, which was itself rapidly approaching to a state of famine. These banditti had already approached to the suburbs, and after burning the outlet called the *white barriers*, began to enter several houses.—To meet this emergency, it was resolved to form a city militia, and the citizens ran in crowds to inscribe their names, as the defenders of their country. Arms being still wanting, upwards of thirty thousand men ran to the hospital of the invalids, seized on the artillery, and obtained possession of about fifty thousand muskets, sabres, and pikes, which had been concealed there.

The citizens were immediately marshalled, and more than sixty thousand enrolled and distributed into companies; patrols were established in every district; the serjeants and grenadiers of the French guards were appointed officers: cannon were immediately posted on the *Pont Neuf*, the *Pont-Royal*, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the *Place Dauphine*, admirably situated for this purpose, was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the headquarters of the patriotic army, as it now began to be called.

The revolution had thus actually commenced; and some unknown individual, on the morning of the 14th of July, after attracting the attention of the citizens, exclaimed,—“*Let us take the Bastile!*” The name of this fortress, which recalled to the memory of the people every thing hateful and odious in the ancient despotism, operated with all the effect of electricity. The cry of “*To the Bastile!*” resounded from rank to rank, from street to street, from the *Palais-Royal* to the suburbs of *St. Antoine*. An army, composed of citizens and soldiers, provided with pikes forged during the night, with

muskets procured at the Invalids, with gilded lances and battle-axes, snatched from the *Garde Meuble*, was immediately formed, and the French guards were prevailed upon to join this motley crew. During the attack, the insurgents were joined by a detachment of grenadiers of Ruffeville, and fusileers of Lubersac; and though a formidable resistance was made by de Launay, the governor, the gates were at length forced, the besiegers entered, and a castle was taken by storm in less than four hours, which had menaced France for nearly as many ages, and which an army, headed by the great Conde, had formerly besieged in vain during three and twenty days!

De Launay, whose name had been long odious to the Parisians, was put to death in his way to the town-house; M. de Losine, the major, a man of great humanity, unhappily experienced a similar fate; Requait, a subaltern officer, who had prevented the governor from setting fire to the powder magazine, was also killed; and the whole garrison would perhaps have been sacrificed by an enraged populace, had it not been for the generous intervention of the French guards, who petitioned for, and obtained mercy.

In the mean time, De Flesselles the provost of the merchants having been accused of a conspiracy, escaped from the Hotel de Ville, but was shot in the *Place de Greve*, and his head carried about in procession with that of the governor of the Bastile:—a horrid kind of spectacle, which at length accustomed the people to the spilling of human blood, and let loose all the furies of vengeance and proscription.

These events, which had been carefully concealed from the unfortunate monarch, although they occurred at seven in the afternoon, were first communicated to him by the Duke de Liancourt, who repaired to his chamber at midnight, and made him acquainted with the situation of the capital. On the succeeding morning his majesty repaired to the assembly, and intimated that he had given orders for the retreat of the troops; on this a deputation of eighty-four members was sent to communicate the intelligence to the citizens, who now elected M. Bailly mayor of Paris, and intrusted the command of the national guard to the Marquis de la Fayette.

The Bastile was immediately devoted to destruction: the unhappy prisoners* were released; in triumph; the instru-

* 1 Tavernier,

2 Pujade,

3 La Roche,

4 The Count de Solages,

5 De Whyte, supposed to be an Englishman,

6 La Caurege, and

7 Bechade.

It appears clearly from the annals of the Bastile, that insanity or

ments of torture were dragged from the dungeons, and exposed to day ; and the destiny of the monarch and the monarchy seemed to be already decided.

Many of the grandees, alarmed in the highest degree at the revolutionary movements in the capital, resolved to emigrate, and the Count d'Artois, for whom it was reserved, after a lapse of five and twenty years, to be reinstated in his right of succession to the throne of France, having been informed that a price was set upon his head, escaped with his two sons, during the night. The Princes of Conde and Conti, as well as the Dukes de Luxemburgh and Vauguion, quickly followed, and their example soon became epidemic.

In the mean time, while the assembly was yet uncertain of its own fate, and that of the nation, it had determined, in case of the worst, to leave behind it a monument of its patriotism and zeal. The following celebrated "DECLARATION OF RIGHTS," the ground work of the new constitution, was accordingly voted, after three different plans had been submitted by La Fayette, Mounier, and Sieyes, and presented to the King on the 3d of September, 1791, and at length obtained the sanction of his majesty. (5.)

"The Representatives of the French people, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the *Rights of Men*, are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit in a solemn Declaration, the natural unalienable, and sacred Rights of Man, in order that this Declaration, ever present to all the members of the SOCIAL BODY, may incessantly remind them of their Rights and of their Duties ; to the end, that the acts of the Legislative Power and those of the Executive Power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect ; in order also, that the remonstrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on simple and incontestible principles, may ever tend to maintain the Constitution, and to promote the general good.

"For this reason, the National Assembly recognizes, and declares in the presence of, and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Men and of Citizens :

1. Men were born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect to their rights ; civil distinctions, therefore can be only founded on public utility.

2. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natu-

idiotism generally results from the system of secret imprisonment ; of the seven prisoners enumerated above, two were actually sent to a mad-house.

(5) The declaration of rights is here confounded with the constitution, afterwards framed by the National Assembly. The former was agreed to on the 1st of October, 1789, and approved of by the King on the 5th of the same month. The labours of the Assembly on the Constitution were not brought to a close until the month of September, 1791. when it received the sanction of the King.

ral and imprescriptible rights of man ; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty ; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

4. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever doth not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights ; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

5. The law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered ; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes ; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished : and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

8. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary ; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

10. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

11. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of his liberty in cases determined by the law.

12. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

13. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community according to their abilities.

14. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

15. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity. (6.)

"The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY desirous of establishing the French Constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes irrevocably, those institutions, which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

"There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary distinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal governments*, nor *patrimonial jurisdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations*, and *prerogatives* which are derived from them ; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required ; nor any kind of superiority but that of *public functionaries*, in the exercise of their functions.

"No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchasable*.

"No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

"There are no more *wardenships* or *corporations* in professions, arts, or trades.

"The law recognizes no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the Constitution."

The attention of the assembly was now suddenly diverted from the formation of a constitutional code, to the unhappy situation of the empire in consequence of the anarchy that succeeded the extinction of the ancient despotism, and for which it was found difficult to administer any immediate or effectual relief. It is truly lamentable, that among the many ills originating from, or inherent in slavery, it renders its victims long unfit for the enjoyment of the very blessings they have panted after : and that the enfranchised bondman, like the miserable prisoner, long immured in a gloomy dungeon, is utterly unable at first to enjoy the genial light of liberty. We accordingly find, that the vassalage of several centuries had steeled the hearts of a great portion of the nation to humanity, and instead of deriving happiness from the transition, many dreamed only of avenging the wrongs of ages in the blood of their oppressors, and obtaining that wealth from plunder, which they had hitherto been deprived the chance of acquiring, by prejudice and injustice.

All the great cities were at the same time agitated by the dread of famine, and the necessities of the populace, fanaticised by the spirit of the times, unfortunately mistook licentiousness for liberty, while Paris, the cradle of the revolution, contained a prodigious number of individuals, whose daily subsistence

(6.) Here ends the Declaration of Rights, adopted in 1789. What follows is a part of the Preamble to the Constitution of 1771.

arose from fraud and violence alone. The peasantry, but too long oppressed by their lords, seemed to consider this as a favourable opportunity for making reprisals: unhappily they were not content with the liberation of themselves and children from manual servitude. Many of the castles of the nobles were accordingly attacked, pillaged, and burned; while they themselves, with their wives and their offspring, by a sad reverse, were now exposed to the insults, the menaces, and sometimes even the vengeance of the unhappy villagers. Many however were the instances in which a generous oblivion ensued, and only in a few cases did the good and beneficent landholder experience ingratitude as a retribution for his benevolence.

The assembly, fully impressed with the necessity of restoring peace and tranquillity, passed a decree on the evening of the 4th of August, enjoining the taxes to be paid as usual, and enforcing the law for the security of persons and of property. But in the course of that celebrated night a memorable measure was proposed and carried, and to the honour of the nobles, it must be acknowledged to have originated with them. This measure was no less than the abolition of the feudal system:—that system of privileges and exemptions to one class of the community, and of oppression and tyranny to the other, was abolished, and it was declared that henceforth in France there should be only one law, one nation, one family, and one honourable title—that of a French citizen. (7.)

On the succeeding day it was suggested, that as tithes operated in the manner of a premium against agriculture and a tax upon industry, they should be immediately suppressed; this was at first strenuously opposed by the clergy, particularly by the Abbe Sieyes, but the archbishop of Paris at length consented in the name of himself and his brethren.

(7.) From the construction of this sentence, it may be supposed that the titles of the nobility, as well as the whole of the feudal system, were abolished on the fourth of August, 1789. This was not however the case, to the extent stated. The most grievous of the feudal exactions, such as the claim of the lord to the personal service of his vassal, and other degrading duties, were abolished, but his right to the land and to money rents was not disturbed. Neither was the question of hereditary titles agitated at that time. In the enthusiasm of the moment, the deputies of certain provinces and cities, which had enjoyed particular immunities, surrendered their franchises, and it was then that the famous *wish* was expressed, that in future there might exist no more provinces, but one nation, one family, and one law. No decree however appears to have been adopted on the subject, and titles were not abolished until the 24th of February, on the succeeding year. *Precis Historique, &c. by Rabaut de St. Etienne.*

The next object that engaged the attention of the assembly was the constitution; and after a variety of long and interesting debates, France was divided into eighty-three departments—the qualifications of the electors were fixed—*lettres de cachet* were abolished—the sale of offices made criminal—the feudal system annihilated—all distinctions of orders abolished—biennial legislatures were agreed to—the *suspensive veto* on all laws was granted to the King—and the representatives were to form but one chamber. (8.)

The national assembly had by this time acquired an ascendancy over the nation, and its popularity was daily increasing both in the capital and the provinces. Between the assembly and the court considerable jealousies existed, which were heightened by the introduction of a corps of Swiss guards into the metropolis; and while affairs were in this situation, the inhabitants of Paris, goaded on by famine, were thrown into a state of violent agitation. The commotion began among the women, who ran about the streets, crying out “Bread! Bread!” on the morning of the 5th of October. Seizing on a person of the name of Maillard, they forced him to become their conductor; and being joined by a multitude of armed men, and followed by a company of the volunteers of the Bastile, and several cannon, they set out for Versailles, the residence of the Royal Family. The national guards, actuated by a similar impulse, insisted on marching thither also; and La Fayette, after obtaining the sanction of the municipality, deemed it prudent to accede to the proposition. He was unable, however, to prevent the events that ensued; for some of the mob, having burst into the castle, sacrificed two of the body guards to their fury, and the life of the queen was perhaps saved by the gallantry of a third, called Miomandre. The guards now, for the first time, placed the national cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy. On this the popular fury seemed to subside, but the cry of “To Paris! to Paris!” clearly intimated their intentions, and his majesty thought proper to comply. The King accordingly repaired thither, on the 6th of October, preceded by an executioner, between two wretches, each carrying a bloody head on a pike, accompanied by an immense mob, a deputation of two hundred members of the national assembly, the troops of Paris, and the French guards, who had prevented much violence and bloodshed.

1790.—In the midst of this disorder, a national bankruptcy

(8.) The constitutional ordinances in regard to biennial legislatures, the suspensive veto of the King, and the union of the representatives in one chamber, were not enacted until the year 1790.

was apprehended, to avert which, the territorial possessions of the clergy were declared at the disposal of the nation, and written assignations were given on this fund, which obtained the name of *assignats*. The King had already repaired to the assembly, and given the sanction of his name to the new constitution: and the nation, almost frantic with joy at its deliverance from regal and feudal bondage, celebrated the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, on the 14th of July, the epoch whence France now dated her liberties, in the *Champ de Mars*, at which appeared the King, the representatives of the nation, deputations from all the military and naval bodies in the kingdom, in addition to 300,000 spectators of both sexes: and at the close of which, the monarch, the national assembly, and the armed citizens, took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution.

The spirit of anarchy and disorganization continued however to spread over the kingdom of France, and the discontents of the nobility and clergy at the new order of things, rose to such a height, as to produce an insurrection and a civil war in *La Vendee*.

1791.—The King, Queen, their children, and Madame Elizabeth, fled from the capital, on the 20th of June, and took the road to Montmedy, her Majesty personating the Baroness de Knoff, and her consort the superintendent of her family. No obstacle intervened until their arrival at Varennes, when Louis was recognized by Drouet, the post-master of St. Menehould, and detained in consequence of his zeal. Paul le Blanc, and Joseph Poncin, two national guards, were the first to stop the carriage, which was drawn by six horses, and accompanied by three out-riders. After some delay, the King and his family were re-conducted on their way back to the capital, in the face of a large body of the Royal Allemande. His majesty's brother, *Monsieur*, was, however, more fortunate, for he fled nearly at the same time, and arrived at Mons, without experiencing any interruption.

At length, the royal family approached the capital, conducted by the citizens of Varennes, and surrounded by an immense body of national guards. More than half a million of spectators filled the streets and squares as the captive monarch passed along to the Thuilleries, but neither reproaches nor murmurs were heard this day, on the contrary, a sullen silence prevailed; not a single hand was uplifted to express joy; every head remained covered; and the sovereign was already dethroned in the hearts of his subjects.

The assembly acted upon this occasion with great magnanimity, and an act of oblivion took place. In order to prevent

further tumult, it declared, that "the Revolution was complete:" it also revised its former decrees, completed the constitutional act, removed the suspension imposed upon his majesty, and left him at full liberty either to accept or refuse it.

The King addressed the assembly by letter, on the 13th of September, and stated that he had given his sanction to the constitution: on the succeeding day, he repaired in person to the hall, and affixed his signature; a decree was accordingly issued, by which it was enjoined that the King's solemn declaration should be proclaimed throughout the empire, and that all prisoners confined for debt should be set at liberty.

Soon after this the legislature having concluded the object of its mission, and afforded a prospect of freedom to the nation, dissolved itself on the 30th of the same month, the president having proclaimed, "that the national assembly declares its power to be at an end, and that it will sit no longer."

Thus ended the labours of the first, commonly called the constituent assembly, which possessed a number of distinguished members, and a collection of talents scarcely to be surpassed in the annals of any nation upon earth. Amongst these were a number of persons who have since distinguished themselves in the various periods of the war, and some of whom have outlived the events that expelled the Bourbon race of kings from the throne, and witnessed a revolution still more extraordinary, by which the sovereigns of that house have again been restored to the throne of France. Amongst these are found the name of the ABBE SIEYES, a catholic priest, at once a profound metaphysician, and an adept in the formation of constitutions: TALLEYRAND, who by living in habits of familiarity with the most celebrated men of the age, had enhanced his own reputation: yet at the period in question, acquired less notice by his talents in the pulpit and the tribune, than by his activity in the committees, and his facility in the penning popular addresses to the nation: and the ABBE MAURY, since invested with the Roman purple, and who had acquired considerable preferment, by the splendour of his clerical talents. Such however was the attachment of the Abbe to the ancient government, that he wished to countenance its very abuses. Possessed of a ready wit, he was indebted for his life to a joke*: and his happy talent at unpremeditated oratory, rendered him the second man in the assembly. MIRABEAU was assuredly the first.

* "Eh! Messieurs, quand vous m'aurez mis a' la lanterne, y verrez-vous plus clair?"—Ah! Sirs, when you have hung me to the lamp-post, do you think you will see any better?

At the first meeting of the second, or legislative assembly, the constitutional act was introduced with great ceremony, and every deputy in succession ascending the rostrum, and placing his hand on the original, swore to maintain the constitution decreed during the years, 1789, 1790, and 1791. Previous to the appearance of the King, the mode in which he was to be received and addressed underwent a long discussion; and it was determined that the expression of "*Sire*," should be omitted, as partaking of the feudal forms, and that of "*majesty*" as incompatible with a limited monarchy.

The emigration now became greater than before, and the roads were covered with the nobles and priests who fled in all directions: some repaired to England, others reached Austrian Flanders, and the Electorates, but the chief place of rendezvous was Coblenz. The French princes resorted to that city: the ancient household troops of the King were re-established there, all the ceremonial of Versailles was practised, and the Prince of Conde actually began to assemble an army of malcontents.

On this the assembly passed a decree, (October 14th) declaring Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return within the space of two months: by another, all the French thus assembled were proclaimed traitors; while a third, drawn up in the form of a manifesto, renounced in future all wars for the sake of aggrandisement. But neither did the two first of these, nor a law passed against the nonjuring clergy, receive the sanction of the King, who opposed his *veto*, by the advice of Lameth and Barnave, members of the former assembly, whom he was pleased to consult upon this critical occasion.

In fine, although Louis XVI. had made many sacrifices, he had not regained his popularity: and it is only necessary to take a superficial view of the kingdom at this eventful period, in order to prognosticate some of the various evils that speedily ensued.

SECTION VI.

FRANCE at this moment was divided into, and distracted by contending parties. The King was averse to a constitution to which he had reluctantly sworn. Around the royal standard appeared to be assembled a remnant of the ancient nobility, and all those devoted by place, sentiment, attachment, or prejudice to the crown. On the other hand, the popular cause was sustained in the assembly by a decided majority; Paris, Bordeaux, Marseilles, all the great cities now partici-

pating in a municipal jurisdiction, were devoted to it; and as it had as yet been uncontaminated by excess, a large portion of the population of Europe beheld the new order of affairs with a favourable eye. Many of the troops of the line, indeed, still entertained a secret enmity to a constitution, which while it was calculated to benefit the people, and even themselves, lessened the power and influence of the prince; but an immense multitude of national guards, faithful alike to their interests and their oaths, were determined to maintain their new-born liberties at the expense of every thing dear to them. The ascendancy of the metropolis, now become the joint residence of the assembly and the King, contributed also to give a decided preponderance to the patriots, while the astonishing influence of the press scarcely admits of calculation. Every printing-house in the capital teemed with productions; and, in addition to innumerable hand and posting bills, journals, and regular periodical works, it has been estimated that, during the first years of the revolution, no less than one hundred and fifty pamphlets issued weekly from the shops of the book-sellers.

Newspapers of all kinds, sizes, forms, and prices, from two duodecimo pages to two sheets, and from a halfpenny to a *livre*, were regularly published to the amount of about forty: The royalists possessed a few; the democratical party a multitude; the constitutionalists countenanced two or three; the ministers also had their favourite papers; and the King himself was persuaded to waste his civil list, to obtain the support of a few of the Editors.

LANJUINAIS, a deputy to the states-general, and a president of the national assembly, was the founder of a political society called the Jacobin Club, which discussed a variety of important questions, and investigated the means of ensuring the safety and prosperity of the state. It originated in 1789, under the denomination of the Breton Club, in consequence of having been first established by the representatives of Brittany; when it was afterwards frequented by several of the deputies from the other provinces also, the members assumed the appellation of "The Friends of the People;" but they were at length better known by the place where they assembled, which was called the hall of the Jacobins, from having formerly belonged to a fraternity of Dominican friars, whose patron saint was of that name. The most celebrated orators, patriots, and politicians, for some time after its institution, considered it as an admirable engine for the sustenance of the public cause. All the zealots of democracy, all the decided enemies to the court, all the foes to the privileged orders, and many of the

most virtuous and moderate members of the assembly, at first appertained to it. Its ascendancy was not confined to Paris ; with every city and with almost every village in France, it kept up a constant intercourse, by means of twenty thousand *affiliated* clubs, which looked up to the central meeting in the capital as a mother society, imbibed all its notions, diffused all its opinions, and propagated all its alarms. Such was its influence, that the legislative body was often guided by its decisions, the soldiers were permitted to leave their barracks in order to frequent its galleries, while the *red cap* of the president was seen by turns encircling the brows of the mayor of Paris, elected by the people, and the minister of state, nominated by the King.

But although its power had greatly increased, its character was manifestly on the wane.—The incendiary motions, the outrageous proceedings, and the equivocal characters of many of the ruling members, had cast an indelible stain upon a society, which, after counter-balancing the influence of the court, and efficaciously serving the public cause, by the talents and zeal of those who had acquired for it a dangerous pre-eminence, was likely, at no distant period, to endanger the fabric of national liberty, by its unqualified violence. The greater part of the deputies, and some respectable private individuals, had accordingly withdrawn, while the names of many of those most conspicuous for their virtue, patriotism, or oratorical powers, were erased from the list of members ; and the committees were now regulated, and the chair filled, according to the secret suggestions of two or three ambitious and aspiring individuals.

But when it was abandoned by most of the other deputies, MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE, one of the six who remained, acted frequently as president, and at length acquired a complete ascendancy. Gloomy, vindictive, ferocious, and at once replete with cowardice and malignity, such was his matchless hypocrisy, that he concealed his real character until he had triumphed over his enemies ; and such his unabating envy, that he considered all those as enemies, whose superior talents and virtues had procured them a place in the public esteem. As yet his reputation was unstained by crimes, but even now he appeared to be secretly contemplating an original and monstrous species of dominion, unknown before in any age or country, and alike alarming on account of its novelty and atrocity. The jacobins were the engine by which he purposed to execute the suggestions of a gloomy ambition ; and crimes which a Nero or a Caligula would scarcely have dared to dream of, (although invested with the imperial purple, and

surrounded by the satellites of despotism,) were at length achieved with facility by a private individual, and that too in the name of "liberty!"

DANTON, first the associate, then the victim of Robespierre, and like him also an advocate by profession, seemed to be intended by nature for the tempestuous period in which he lived, and the bold and decisive character which he assumed. Open, daring, generous, and unreserved, he exhibited some good qualities in conjunction with many vices, but he was consumed by a devouring ambition.

MARAT, a native of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, was the creature of the two former, who not unfrequently protected him from well-merited punishment, and directed both his pen, and his vengeance.

Such were the present leaders of that famous club, destined in a short time to regulate the fate of an empire : but they would never have been suffered to acquire so fatal a pre-eminence, had it not been for the open hostility of the court to the new constitution : the impolitic and insulting interference of foreign powers : and finally, a war equally hostile and repugnant to the pride, freedom, and independence of a great nation.

While the present leaders of the jacobins scarcely concealed their wishes to dethrone the King, and either nominate a new dynasty to the throne, or erect a republic on its ruins, a rival society existed, the members of which, under a name (Constitutionels) expressive of an implicit attachment to the new constitution, were desirous of a legislature consisting of two houses ; many of them also had now made their peace with the court, and were even devoted to it. In consequence of a schism among " the friends of the people," Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun ; Emery, a member of the assembly ; the Dukes de Rochefoucault and Liancourt ; the two Lameths ; la Fayette, and many others, had left that celebrated society, and determined to found another. They at first assembled in the magnificent hotel belonging to the younger Crillon, son of the conqueror of Minorca ; and when they became more numerous, assumed the appellation of " The Club of 1789 : " but they were afterwards better known by the name of the convent of the *Feuillans*, which they hired, because the hall being large and spacious, was calculated for their debates.

While these two formidable societies evinced a rooted hatred to each other, and were both in their turn detested by the royalists ; the legislative assembly, neither equal in point of talents nor of energy to the states-general, began to be split into parties, and at times exhibited some presages of that in-

tolerant spirit which, soon after the convocation of the convention, involved France in blood and calamity. The power and influence of the court, however, still contributed to produce a certain degree of apparent union, and it was not until the royal family had been made prisoners, and the monarchy itself was dissolved, that the blood of the advocates of liberty flowed on the same scaffold that had received the victims of aristocracy, and the founders of the republic began to proscribe each other with an envenomed rancour, that admitted neither of compromise nor of mercy.

The GIRONDISTS, so called from the department whence they were deputed, possessed great influence in the legislative body at this period, and were equally celebrated for their talents and integrity ; but they were far better calculated to rule in the halcyon days of tranquillity, than to preside amidst the awful storm that was about to ensue.

The leading members of this party were BRISSOT, chairman of the diplomatic committee, the son of an obscure plebeian, but originally bred to the bar ; he had been imprisoned in the Bastile ; and it was his singular good fortune to have presented to him, as president of a committee of his district, the keys of that odious prison, in which he had been immured.—VERGNIAUX, a native of Limoges, and one of the representatives of Bourdeaux ; and GENSONNE, an advocate of the same city, were likewise distinguished members of this society ; which comprehended also in its number, GUADET, late president of the criminal tribunal of Gironde, and CONDORCET, one of the forty members of the French academy, whose learning and talents conferred a lustre on the party that obtained his support.—Such were the principal leaders of a party, sometimes termed the Girondists, and sometimes the Brissotins, which, at the epoch we now allude to, maintained a steady preponderance in the legislative assembly, as well as in the city of Paris ; Petion, the mayor, and many of the municipal magistrates being devoted to it.

Upwards of forty different ministers, during the short space of fourteen years, had already been called in at different times to support the tottering edifice of the monarchy. Louis XVI. had by turns employed the frivolous Maurepas, the virtuous Turgot, the indefatigable Sartine, the politic Vergennes, the weak and tyrannical Brienne, the faulty but well-meaning Lamoignon, the amiable Malesherbes, the prodigal Calonne, the economical Necker, the wily Montmorin, and the impotent Delessart ; of these, not above two or three exhibited any talents for government, and the others contributed in their

turn, less by their wishes than their misconduct, to the revolution.

The present administration, which the courtiers sometimes termed the *jacobin*, and sometimes the *sans culotte*, consisted of six members, and exhibited a striking contrast, both in respect to talents and principles. DUMOURIEZ, the minister for foreign affairs, had been a soldier of fortune ; he was employed in 1757, as a commissary at war, in the army of M. d'Étrees, and having conceived an attachment to a military life, procured a cornetcy of horse, and was wounded in the battle of Emstetten. After having obtained the rank of a captain, he was dismissed at the end of the war with the cross of St. Louis, which he had merited by his bravery, and a pension, no part of which was ever received by him. His colleagues were LACOSTE, who was appointed to the marine department, DURANTON, an advocate, to the place of minister of justice ; CLAVIERE, a banker, and native of Geneva, to the administration of the finances ; and ROLAND, a member of the jacobin society, to the home department.

Such was the administration selected at this critical moment for the government of France. Most of the members were odious to the King : some were beloved by, and others suspected by the Jacobins ; but they were all alike abhorred by the Feuillans. They were accordingly abused in the newspapers devoted to the cause of the monarchy and the aristocracy : they were also ridiculed by the courtiers, treated with contempt by the grandees, and so much were they hated within the precincts of royalty, that if we are to believe one of themselves,* the body guards always assumed a menacing air, when they appeared at the castle of the Thuilleries.

No sooner had the new ministry commenced the exercise of their functions, than they were surrounded by a multitude of dangers and difficulties, both domestic and foreign, whence they found it extremely difficult to extricate either their country or themselves. The new body guard of the King had been lately augmented from eighteen hundred to near six thousand men, by means of disaffected persons, commanded by officers who had quitted their respective regiments because they would not subscribe the civic oath : and it was with great difficulty that the King was at length induced to promise his acquiescence with the wishes of the legislature to disband them. The struggle was still greater on all occasions in which the interests of the dissident clergy were concerned ; nor could he be prevailed upon to withdraw his countenance

* Memoires du General Dumouriez ecrit par lui-meme, tome II.

from that body, which was encouraged in its opposition by knowing that the conscience of the monarch was regulated by a ghostly director of the same principles.

In the mean time, a portentous cloud now collecting in the north, threatened to burst suddenly upon France, and overwhelm a distracted nation with misery and despair. But it may here be necessary to survey the European hemisphere, in order to discover the quarter whence this new storm was generated, and after making ourselves acquainted with the nature and intenseness of the elements of which it was composed, endeavour to calculate its direction, and estimate its force.

SECTION VII.

FRANCE, as we have already seen, had limited the power of her kings, and established a constitution for the nation, faulty indeed, like all human institutions, but certainly preferable to the ancient despotism. In accomplishing this object, the national constituent assembly only exercised the acknowledged right of internal regulation appertaining to every independent state ; but it was soon apparent that these essential reforms had given umbrage to several of the absolute princes on the continent.

SPAIN, feeling indignant at the late memorable events, and the court acting under the influence of the queen and a favourite, disposed Charles IV. to depart from those principles of sage neutrality, which had long regulated his conduct. PORTUGAL following the train of Great Britain, was not yet stimulated to war. SARDINIA, under the government of the house of Savoy, united to the royal family of France by a double marriage, was of course alive to the interests of the Bourbon family on that throne, and disposed to support such measures as might be thought conducive to the security of the sovereign and his family, and calculated to re-establish the splendour of his crown. PIUS VI., now sovereign pontiff, mourned over the schisms of the Gallican Church, and launched forth the thunders of ROME against her undutiful children. FREDERIC IV. listened to his family connexions rather than the interest of his subjects, and involved the kingdom of NAPLES in a quarrel foreign to his interests.

ENGLAND, at this period, seemed to be conscious of the immense advantages arising to a great manufacturing and commercial state, from the adoption of a wise and rigorous system of neutrality. Many obvious motives enforced the policy of peace. An immense national debt called aloud for a system

of economy, and the pressure of the existing taxes seemed to render any increase burdensome to the nation. Many of the people too, had hitherto rejoiced at the progress of liberty in France, and felt a generous indignation against those princes, who presumed to meddle in her internal disputes; while a King, now finally seated on the throne of the Stuarts, was indebted for the elevation of his family, to a revolution founded like the present, on the rights of a nation.

The court of COPENHAGEN, while it beheld its King reduced to a state of the most deplorable imbecility, experienced a rare instance of good fortune in having its affairs conducted by an amiable regent and a sagacious minister. Wholly intent on the happiness and prosperity of those committed to their charge, the Prince Royal and the Count de Bernstorff, were averse to intermeddling in the internal polity of other nations.

It was far otherwise with another of the Baltic powers, though but just released from the burden of a disastrous war. SWEDEN, which by turns has enjoyed liberty, and suddenly relapsed into servitude, was now under the dominion of a prince, who languished for an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his exploits. But from some cause, still involved in considerable obscurity, Gustavus III. fell by the hand of a titled assassin,* leaving to a minor son an immense debt as well as an impoverished and distracted country. (9.)

The genius of one man civilized Russia, and by erecting a capital on the shore of the Baltic, rendered his native country a preponderating power in the scale of European politics. In Catharine II. was found a successor, in many respects, worthy of himself. This ambitious female, following the track prescribed by her illustrious precursor, had conceived the gigantic enterprise of chasing the Turks from Europe, substituting the Greek cross for the Turkish crescent on the walls of Constantinople, and creating a new empire in the east. The revolution which had recently occurred in France, made her pause however in the midst of her victories: Sweden was permitted to breathe from slaughter; and the Ottoman Porte now found itself more indebted to her policy than to her moderation for its existence.

* Ankerstroem.

(9.) The cause of the assassination of Gustavus, has never, we believe, been at all doubtful. The indignation of the nobility at his conduct in reducing their overgrown power led to a conspiracy against him. Three of that body cast lots to determine by whom the blow should be given, and the choice fell upon Ankerstroem.

But it was from another quarter that France was doomed at this period to be assailed. While employed in the extension and security of her liberties, amidst the struggle, with a reluctant monarch, a discontented priesthood, and a hostile nobility, she was menaced at the same time by a sudden and portentous combination of two great military states.—PRUSSIA, under the dominion of Frederick William, and AUSTRIA, under the Emperor Leopold, brother to Maria Antoinette, Queen of France.

Affected by the situation of the King, alarmed for the fate of a sister, and perhaps desirous also to signalize his reign by some brilliant exploit, Leopold seems to have determined on a war, which, unable to prosecute in his own person, he was forced to bequeath as a legacy to his son and successor, Francis II. While visiting his Italian dominions in 1791, he is said to have concerted a plan with the envoys of two great powers* for intermeddling with the internal concerns of a third,† and soon after the celebrated interviews took place between his Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia, at Pillnitz; in consequence of which, measures of an alarming nature were said to have been adopted relative to France; and, if we are to give credit to assertions, the dismemberment of that kingdom was actually determined upon. It is proper, however, to observe, that the authenticity of the treaty has been denied, and that no positive proof of its reality has ever yet been publicly adduced. (10.) But it can no longer be denied that a formidable and hostile combination was now actually formed against France; and in the place of Gustavus III., cut off by a sudden and violent death, Frederick William II. became the Agamemnon of the league. But although the most numerous and best disciplined armies in Europe were actually destined for the undertaking, yet even at this period,

* Lord Elgin and M. Bischofswerder.

† Tableau Histor. et Polit. de l'Europe, &c. par L. P. Segin.

(10.) That a treaty did exist between the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, the object of which was to restore Louis to the exercise of his full despotic power, has never we believe been denied. It has been referred to in many authentic state papers, and particularly in the address of the French Princes, published in the year 1791. Many circumstances however have led to the belief that the anxiety manifested by these monarchs for the prerogatives of their fellow sovereign, was merely assumed as a cover to their design of subjecting France to the fate experienced by Poland. The authenticity of *this* treaty of partition has been denied by some of the English ministerial writers, but it has been asserted by M. Bertrand formerly minister of Marine, under Louis XVI, and the articles which were published in the *Leyden Gazette*, were never contradicted by the allied courts.

in whatever point of view France might be contemplated, her importance in the scale of European politics must be allowed to have been still immense. A central position afforded great advantages in point of celerity and exertion. A salubrious climate and an excellent soil were favourable to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. Her territories were at once compact and extensive, consisting of 157,924 square miles, according to the testimony of one author, and 160,000 of another.* Her population, calculated at from 24 to 25,000,000 of inhabitants, was greater than that of any other individual state on the old continent; she possessed upwards of one hundred cities and large towns, besides two hundred navigable rivers; her provinces were intersected in every direction with spacious roads; while an immense canal seemed to unite all the advantages of two distant seas, on purpose to embellish and enrich her empire. Part of her frontiers was at once defined and defended by the Alps, the Pyrenean mountains, and a triple chain of fortresses, either erected or improved by the genius of Vauban. Her shores were watered by the Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Channel, which seemed to unite the commerce of the Levant, the Atlantic, and the narrow seas; while her ports and harbours, some of which were formed by the hand of nature, and others by the unceasing industry of art, conferred great and inestimable advantages.

Nor did she appear less formidable in another point of view: for her revenues amounted to 18,000,000 pounds sterling,† while her standing army, at a peace establishment, was estimated at 136,000 effective men,‡ and her navy consisted of seventy-two sail of the line.

* The following are the different estimates, the lowest of which has been quoted in the text:

<i>Extent of France.</i>		
157,924 square miles,	according to	Necker.
160,000	- - - - -	Busching.
163,000	- - - - -	Statistische Uebersicht.
<i>Population.</i>		
24,800,000 inhabitants		Necker.
25,300,000	- -	Schloezer.
26,000,000	- -	Busching.

† The gross amount of the public revenue was estimated by M. Necker at 600,000,000 livres, a sum equal to 25,000,000l. sterling; and the whole of the public expenditure at 610,000,000 livres; but the *Compte Rendu* states the net produce at only 18,000,000l. sterling.

‡ The army of France has been generally calculated at 150,000 men; and it appears that in 1784, she actually possessed a total of 212,924, if we are to credit a work entitled “*Etat Milit. de France, par Roussel, pour l’Anne’e 1785.*”

Nor ought it to be omitted here, that France had experienced nearly eight years of repose since the conclusion of a war during which her fleets had covered the ocean in both hemispheres, and in conjunction with those of her ally, had actually lorded it for a moment over the narrow seas.

But it must be allowed that this specious picture of prosperity was, in some respects, false and delusive; her territories, her cities, and her towns still remained; but her population was beginning to be diminishing by emigration, and her strength seemed to be lessened by intestine divisions. Of her troops, some had declared for the people, and some for the King, while a large portion wavered between ancient principles and modern innovations. Her trade and commerce, acted upon by the general pressure, began to decay; the fine arts were in danger of being entirely neglected; her manufactures were already reduced to a languishing condition; a national debt, which even in 1784 was estimated at 3400,000,000 livres;* which, after undermining the superstructure of the monarchy, threatened the new constitution with ruin; while the navy was suffered to fall into decay.

But on the other hand, a body of national guards amounting to almost four millions of fighting men, the spirit infused by a love of liberty, the energy produced by a collision of opinions, the hope arising out of a better form of government, and even the despair incident to such a novel and disastrous situation, operated as so many resources, unknown to the ancient monarchy. To these considerations may be added the well known fact, established upon the testimony of history, that associations for the purpose of conquest prove in general less fatal to the state against which they are directed, than to the powers in whose behalf they are formed.

It was assuredly the interest, and appears also to have been the general wish of the French, after they had attained their liberties, to cultivate the inestimable blessings that arise out of freedom and tranquillity. But this happiness was interdicted. Several of the great continental powers, clearly indicated by their movements that numerous armies would soon be brought into action; and those Frenchmen who had either fled or been driven from their native country, already appeared in arms as the precursors of their vengeance.

At this momentous period, the court of Vienna judged it expedient to interfere in certain domestic negotiations carrying on between France and the German powers, for an indemnity on account of their claims in Alsace; and in the course

* See "A collection of state papers relative to the war with France."

of these negociations, the Emperor, by his minister Cobentzel, insisted on the re-establishment of the French monarchy, as it was in June, 1789 ; the restitution of the property of the clergy ; the re-instatement of the German princes in their feudal claims on Alsace ; and the restoration of Avignon and Venassin to the sovereign pontiff. The minister for foreign affairs now deemed it incumbent on him to deliver a report to the assembly, containing an account of the proceedings of this cabinet, and inferred, from the hopeless state of the negociations, that the nation ought to consider itself *in a state of War*. The indignation was general on hearing the terms exacted in the name of the Emperor ; it was asked, by what right did the court of Vienna pretend to interpose, either in the internal affairs of an independent nation, or in a dispute about a territorial possession between France and the Pope, or France and the German princes ? All exclaimed that it was necessary to maintain the glory of their country ; and the idea of hostilities, hitherto so much dreaded, became at length popular.

Negotiations were now at an end. The fatal decision of all the hostile parties was taken ; and Europe had to witness one of the most sanguinary wars ever recorded in her annals, attended by a succession of political events that, by the rapidity of their occurrence, and the magnitude of their consequences, stand unparalleled in the history of the world.

HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BOOK I.

1792.

CHAPTER I.

Military Preparations—French Decree of War—Commencement of Hostilities—Excesses on the 20th of June—War declared against France by the Allied Sovereigns—The Duke of Brunswick appointed Generalissimo—His Manifesto—Its immediate consequences—Military Force of the Confederates—Plan of Operations.

EUROPE at this moment presented one vast theatre of hostile preparation. PRUSSIA, SWEDEN, and RUSSIA, had entered into engagements for the restoration of the ancient despotism of France. GERMANY, though no party to these engagements, was collecting a large army on the Netherland frontier of France, which was represented as a measure of mere defence: and the French emigrants continued to form themselves into military bodies in the electorates of Germany, and to menace their distracted country with invasion. These hostile indications, which could no longer be mistaken, awakened the national assembly of France to a sense of the perilous situation of their country; and the King, who had done every thing in his power to avert an appeal to arms, at length repaired to the assembly on the 20th of April, and in concluding a speech to his senators, said:—"Frenchmen, prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating situation, that alike affects our constitution and our dignity. I come, therefore, in the terms of the constitution, to propose to you formally to declare War against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The diplomatic committee immediately withdrew to deliberate on the proposition made by his Majesty, and on their

return presented the following "DECREE OF WAR," which was adopted by the legislative body, on the 20th of April, with only seven dissentient voices :

"The national assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the King, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, hath continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels ; that it hath excited and formed a league in concert with several powers of Europe, against the independence and security of the nation ;

"That Francis I. King of Hungary and Bohemia, hath, by his notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this league ;

"That, notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment, the troops on the frontiers, he hath continued and increased his hostile preparations ;

"That he hath formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the German princes who have possessions in France, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnities ;

"That he hath attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the mal-contents, by means of a combination of foreign powers.

"Considering, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the King of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiations, the redress of these different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war ; decrees, that there exists a case of urgency.

"The national assembly accordingly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the rights of any people, but only to take up arms in defence of their liberty and independence ; that the war into which they are now compelled to enter, is not a contest of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch ;

"That the French will never confound their brethren with their enemies ; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war ; to preserve property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, as well as to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from hostilities ;

"That they will adopt all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of their enemies, shall join their standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom ; and that the national assembly will favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France :

"The national assembly, accordingly, after deliberating on the formal propositions of the King of the French, hereby decrees War against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

Although, in consequence of the necessary formalities, it was late in the evening before the representatives of the nation had assented to the demand of his majesty, this decree was immediately carried to the palace by a deputation of 24 members, and the next day received the royal sanction. This intelligence was communicated by extraordinary couriers to all the ambassadors at foreign courts, and also to all the departments. Prompt and vigorous means were adopted for increasing the troops, supplying the garrisons, and furnishing the

magazines; measures, which however obvious, had hitherto been most shamefully neglected; and such was the deficiency of fire-arms in particular, that agents were dispatched to different parts of Europe, and even to America, on purpose to obtain them.

The assembly also published an address to the citizens armed for the defence of their country, which tended not a little to inflame the minds of the people, and infuse a martial spirit into the nation.

"The fate of our liberty," said they, "that perhaps of the whole world, is in our hands. We do not tell you of our confidence, like *your courage*, it is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and when the King proposed to us, at length, to avenge the outrage committed against the dignity of the nation, we resisted for a long time the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A free people recurs to arms with regret, but it does not recur in vain. The shame and tortures incident to an eternal servitude, would not be an adequate punishment for a nation who should suffer their liberty to be wrested from them after having conquered it.

"And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of Kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or we must return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of vexation, oppression, and servitude. Your own individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, is thus intimately connected with the safety of the country.

"But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtue to courage. The men whom we fight to-day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm during misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to the vanquished; such are a free people.

"The laws will punish with just severity all outrages against the rights of nations, and the still more sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain forever the gratitude and the homage of the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of their country.

"As for us, immoveable in the midst of political storms, we will carefully watch over all the machinations of all the enemies of the empire. The world shall determine, whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of an arbitrary King. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we will keep our oath—'Death! death! or victory and equality!'"

This address was immediately succeeded by offers of voluntary contributions from numerous classes of society, and demands from some of them to be sent to the posts of the greatest danger, "in order that Kings, their valets, and princes, might know the men of the 14th of July."

The next concern of the assembly was to provide a sufficient force for the exigencies of the state, and for this purpose a vote was passed, by which it was enacted, that the army should be increased to 450,000 men, and that a sum of money

amounting to 300,000,000 livres, in government paper, called *assignats*, should be placed at the disposal of ministers, to support and uphold that large military establishment.

It is proper to observe, that Great Britain took no part in the campaign of 1792, and that as soon as it was known that there was a war on the Continent, a proclamation was published by the King, prohibiting all his subjects from taking any part in it, by accepting commissions from either party, fitting out privateers or letters of marque, by virtue of such commission, or serving on board any ship of war belonging to one of the belligerent powers, against the other. And in his speech to both houses of parliament on the 15th of June, he thus expresses himself:—"In the present situation of affairs it shall be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good understanding which subsists between me, and the several belligerent powers, and to preserve to my people the uninterrupted blessings of peace."

The command of the French army destined to act against Germany, which consisted of three separate bodies of troops, extending from Switzerland to Dunkirk, was confided to three commanders of approved talents. The Marshal *Rochambeau*, who had acquired renown in the seven years' war, commanded an army of from 30 to 35,000 men in the north, and took up his head-quarters at Valenciennes, having under his command d'Arville, Biron, Delbeck, and D'Aumont. The Marquis de la *Fayette*, who had distinguished himself in America, commanded the army of the centre, and while he occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville, established his head quarters at Mentz, having at his disposal an army of 20,000, and under his command de Wittgenstein, de Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defranc. While the army of the Rhine, consisting of 50,000 men, was placed under the command of Marshal *Luckner*, a foreigner, extended itself from Landau to the frontiers of Switzerland, and in which army, Berthier, Lameth, and Jary, had subordinate stations.

The first operations of the French army were directed against the Low Countries, usually called the Austrian Netherlands. To this vulnerable point, the attention of both ministers and generals was directed, but the plan of operations marked out by Dumouriez, who conducted the war department, was at variance with that proposed by the generals, and it is not difficult to trace the disasters which soon after fell upon the French army, to these conflicting counsels. The plan laid down by the cabinet was precisely the same as that which General Dumouriez himself afterwards carried into execution, and according to which there were to be two real

and two false attacks.* But the three generals, without consulting the cabinet, had concerted among themselves a different scheme for obtaining the same object, by which La Fayette was to have been entrusted with the execution of the enterprise against the Low Countries, at the head of 50,000 men, supported by a second army under Rochambeau, while a third was destined to take possession of Mentz.†

On the first of May, General Dillon, with a force consisting of ten squadrons of cavalry, marched from Lisle towards Tournay; this force was opposed by a body of Austrians under Count d'Happencourt, and the French troops not being yet accustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were soon thrown into disorder. Their general did what he could to rally them, but in vain. Struck with an universal panic, the whole body fled precipitately, and were pursued to the gates of Lisle. No sooner had General Dillon entered that city, than he was murdered by his fugitive soldiers, and his dead body torn in pieces by the mob, under pretence of his having betrayed his troops to the enemy:‡ Lieutenant-colonel Berthois, of the engineers, shared the same fate, and the surviving officers were stigmatized as *aristocrats*.

The same day another expedition, consisting of ten thousand men, under Lieutenant-general Biron, directed their march towards Mons. They took possession of Quievrain without opposition; but when they arrived in sight of Mons, they found the heights before the city occupied by a considerable body of Austrians. This determined Biron to wait for news of the attack upon Tournay, before he proceeded to action. But a part of his right wing were attacked about five o'clock in the evening by the Austrians, whom they repulsed. Notwithstanding this success, two regiments of his cavalry mounted their horses without orders, about ten o'clock, and moved off to the left of the camp. The general observing this, rode after them alone and unarmed. But they being on a quick trot, carried him along with them for more than a league:—nor could he procure a hearing while they all cried

* See "La Vie du General Dumouriez, tome II."

† Tableau Hist. and Polit. de l'Europe, par P. Segur, tom. II. p. 239.

‡ Count Theobald Dillon, descended from an ancient Irish family, which had followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart, was a colonel in the service of France anterior to the revolution, and had recently been invested with the rank of *marechal de champ*. It was at first asserted, even in Paris, that he had betrayed his army and deserved his fate; but the national assembly did justice to his memory, June 9, 1792, having on that day voted him funeral honours, and provided both for his family, and for the widow and children of Lieutenant-colonel Peter Francois Berthois.

out that they were betrayed. At length, however, they were prevailed with to listen to him, and he succeeded so far as to bring them all back to the camp, except about forty or fifty, who proceeded to Valenciennes, reporting that the whole army was betrayed by their general, who had deserted to the Austrians. Next morning, which was the 30th of April, Biron having been informed of the failure of Dillon, began his retreat; and leaving a part of his army to keep possession of Quiévrain, he led the rest to a camp which he had formerly occupied in that neighbourhood. The party who had been left in Quiévrain were soon driven thence by a body of Hulus. Biron finding his camp not tenable, while the enemy was in possession of that place, determined to attempt the recovery of it, which he effected. But not being able to keep it without reinforcements, he was obliged to give it up; and leaving his camp and his whole train of artillery to the enemy, he retreated with the utmost precipitation to Valenciennes. In this expedition the French lost a number of men, by hunger and fatigue, as well as by the sword of their opponents.

The third expedition consisted only of fourteen hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty horse, under the command of M. Carl. These presented themselves before Furnes; and upon their declaring that they came not to make war upon the Flemings, but to treat them as brethren, the magistrates offered them the keys of their gates. But the failure of the general plan obliged Carl also to retreat; and he arrived at Dunkirk without affecting any thing.

In the mean time M. la Fayette, who had the command of the main army, had orders to proceed to Givet, where he was to be on the 30th of the month; and they with the other armies under Dillon, Biron, and Rochambeau, were to form a general rendezvous in the heart of the Austrian Netherlands. La Fayette having collected a train of seventy-eight pieces of cannon, sent it off with a large convoy, under the command of M. Narbonne, who marched fifty-six leagues in the space of five days; himself followed with the rest of the army, and arrived on the day appointed; but the failure of Dillon and Biron rendered this expedition also in a great measure abortive, though la Fayette continued to keep his ground.

The Austrian army, on the contrary, was a considerable time before they were able to act on the offensive, and it was not till the 17th of May that they made an attack upon Bavai, and took the garrison prisoners. As soon as the French were informed of this, M. Noailles was sent against them with a van-guard of cavalry, accompanied by Marshal Luckner himself. Marshal Rochambeau followed with a body of infantry

to support him ; but before their arrival the Austrians had retreated, carrying with them a considerable quantity of forage, which seems to have been their principal object.

La Fayette's army occupied the tract of country extending from Givet to Bouvines. His advanced guard under the command of M. Gouvion, being employed in foraging, were attacked on the 23d May near Florennes, by a body of Austrians, who obliged them to retreat with the loss of twenty tents, three pieces of cannon, and nearly one hundred men killed and wounded. Another attack was made upon them near Maubege on the 11th of June. Gouvion, as soon as he perceived their designs, sent off his camp equipage to that town, and began a retreating fight. La Fayette having got intelligence of his danger, sent him a considerable reinforcement under Narbonne, who fell upon the flank of the Austrians, while Fayette himself advanced against them with the main army. This obliged them to retreat, leaving some killed and wounded behind them. In this skirmish the French lost Gouvion, who was esteemed one of their best generals ; but the troops which he had commanded took possession of their former post.

In the month of June, the armies of France made some progress in the Netherlands. They obtained possession of Courtenay, Ypres, Menin, and some other places of less importance. But they did not long enjoy these conquests. Being informed that the Austrians and Prussians were bearing down upon them in two columns, with a force much superior to their own, they retreated to Valenciennes and Givet.

While these events were taking place in the field, the French cabinet was distracted by angry contests, which terminated in the resignation of Marshal Rochambeau, the commander in chief of the Northern army, and of M. de Grave, the minister for the war department ; the former of whom was succeeded by Luckner, and the latter by Servan. The determination of the King not to give the royal assent to a decree for embodying 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and his refusal to discard his confessor, who had refused to recognise the new order of things, produced an intemperate letter from Roland to his Majesty, which led not only to his removal from the cabinet, but also to the dismissal of Servans and Clavieres, and after some other changes they were succeeded by a new administration, of the Feuillant party.

In the mean time, a great change had taken place in the public mind in Paris, and the conduct of the King had given rise to suspicions which the dismissal of Roland, one of the Girondists, had tended considerably to increase. On the 20th

of June, the suburbs of St. Antoine were perceived to be in commotion : and one Santerre, who placed himself at the head of the mob, produced a petition to the King for the dismissal of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the *veto*, by means of which he had been persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude then commenced their march, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women: increasing as they advanced, they at length reached the assembly, and having halted some time, deputed a few persons to require permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, which was shut ; but they soon burst their way, in spite of every opposition, and arrived in the presence of his Majesty, to whom they read their petition. Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion, a degree of courage, which had been supposed wholly incompatible with his character ; neither the threats nor howlings of this insolent mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his *veto* ; but he was under the necessity of wearing the red cap, the symbol of the jacobins, which was placed on his head by the hands of a man inebriated with liquor, and ejaculating the most terrible oaths.

At length, in consequence of a long and animated speech, delivered by Vergniaux, who placed himself on the shoulders of one of the mob, and a few words from Petion, mayor of Paris, the populace was persuaded to retire, without committing the least injury against any part of the royal family. This visit to the Thuilleries was but a prelude to one far more terrible ; for though the Girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion from the shedding of blood ; yet it was otherwise with their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country. It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the new ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the people ; and that the hostile preparations at the castle, the retention of a body of Swiss guards, in express opposition to the laws, and the seduction of some battalions of the national volunteers, tended not a little to irritate the minds of the Parisians.

On the 14th of July, the day of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince ; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss guards, and the national grenadiers, could insure his safety amidst the immense and exasperated crowd that surrounded him.* His enemies, however, were

* *Precis Historique de la Revolution, par Lacretelle, p. 257.*

divided in respect to his punishment; Brissot, Vergniaux, and the other popular leaders, desirous to act in compliance to the constitution, repeatedly invoked the assembly to depose him; but the jacobins, in conformity to the violence of their character, were for recurring to more desperate measures.

On the 29th of April, a declaration of war against France, was promulgated in the names of *Maria Christina*, Princess royal of Hungary and Bohemia, and *Albert Casimir*, Prince royal of Poland and Lithuania, the Governors-general of the Austrian Low Countries. This proclamation was followed on the 5th of July, by a counter-declaration against France, on the part of *Francis II.* King of Hungary and Bohemia, and on the 26th of the same month, *Frederick William II.* published a concise exposition of the reasons which determined Prussia to take up arms against France. It was at this crisis, that the armies of the Allied Sovereigns, amounting to 80,000 of the best troops in Europe, accompanied by a formidable band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France under the command of the Duke of *Brunswick*, a leader who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederick the Great, and who had gained fresh laurels by the sudden conquest of Holland. On the arrival of the Duke at Coblenz, with the first division of his army, he was proclaimed *Generalissimo*, and on the 25th of July, he put forth a manifesto, explanatory of the reasons which actuated the Allied Sovereigns in taking up arms against France, and pointing out the line of conduct which would be pursued by the invading army towards that nation. This memorable document was expressed in the following terms:—

DECLARATION.

Addressed by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to the inhabitants of France.

“Their majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed, against the most sacred person of the King, and against his august family; those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measures of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the Emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German

empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the impetuous threats of the domineering party and their emissaries.

“ His majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is, to put an end to the anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the King to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

“ Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the under-written general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare—

“ 1st. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

“ 2dly. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the King, the Queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to insure to his most Christian Majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to insure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

“ 3dly. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King; and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France.

“ 4thly. That the national guards are called upon to preserve provisionally tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace.

“ 5thly. That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the King, their legitimate sovereign.

“ 6thly. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent, within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

“ 7thly. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall

dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open country, or through half-open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished, or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their Majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

“8thly. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the King, to set that prince at full liberty, and to insure to his and all the royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern: and their Imperial and Royal Majesties further declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved; their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most Christian Majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above instructions.

“Finally. Their Majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the King, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kind of declarations which may be issued in the name of the King, so long as his sacred person, and that of the Queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and, with this view, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and intreat his most Christian Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the Queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

“In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, and manifest evil intentions.

“I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where

to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

“ Given at general quarters at Coblentz,

“ July 25, 1792.

(Signed)

“ CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,

“ DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG.”

Additional Declaration by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, addressed to the inhabitants of France.

“ The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblentz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of the combined armies.

“ The liberty and safety of the sacred persons of the King, of the Queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments if the least insult should be offered to his most Christian Majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

“ Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy and baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the King, the Queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the King and the royal family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

“ All the inhabitants of France are in general to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the King and royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most Christian Majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him,) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

“ All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

“ Given at general quarters at Coblentz,

“ July 27, 1792.

(Signed)

“ CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,

“ DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG.”

The immediate effect of this dictatorial and impolitic manifesto, was to unite all parties in France. The Brissotines, and the Feuillans, were alike desirous to save themselves from the menaced chastisement, and to preserve their country from a foreign yoke. The duke, speaking in the name of his royal masters, protested indeed “ that they did not mean to meddle with the internal government of France,” but at the same time

he denounces vengeance against all those who should be found in arms in defence of the existing government and institutions of their country ; and these denunciations are directed alike against the mildest advocate of a limited monarchy, and the most furious partizan of plunder and revolt.

On the fourth day of the following month, a long manifesto was published by the King of Hungary, now become the Emperor of Germany, in conjunction with the King of Prussia, in which they condemned the French Revolution as unjust and illegal in its principles ; horrid in the means by which it was effected ; and disastrous in its consequences, both as it regarded the happiness of the people, and the just prerogative of the sovereign, who was reduced to the necessity of writing that he was free ; “ which,” say the allied sovereigns, “ is a sufficient proof that he is not so in reality.”

On the 8th of the same month, the French princes, on behalf of themselves and the emigrants, published a manifesto, wherein the limitation of the monarchy is considered as “ a monstrous system ;” produced by “ a conspiracy of atrocious minds ;” and require “ in the King’s name,” all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses, throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys on the first summons, on pain “ of being tried for disobedience to the King, and treated as rebels.”*

The hero of the league, Frederick William II. who was declared chief of the Germanic confederation, soon after arrived at Coblenz, where he was received as a conqueror by his own troops, while the emigrants hailed in him their deliverer. His majesty soon afterwards reviewed his army, composed of 50,000 Prussians, at the head of which he himself intended to take the field. The auxiliaries were to consist of 30,000 Austrians, under the command of the prince de Hohenlohe, and the Count de Clairfayt. The Prince Hesse was to supply 6000 of his subjects ; and the French nobles and their followers, who now assumed the name of the *royal army*, already amounted to 22,000, led by the Counts de Provence and Artois, and by the Prince de Conde, and the Duke de Bourbon, and cantoned on the borders of the Rhine. This military force, which amounted to 108,000 men, was now preparing to open a campaign, on the success of which, the fate of so many monarchs, princes, and nobles depended.

The Duke of Brunswick, in conformity to a previous agreement between the combined powers, was to march against

* See “ A collection of State Papers, relative to the war against France.”

Longwy, by the way of Treves and Luxemburg. After having reduced that place, and if possible, Montmedy also, both of which were to serve as arsenals and magazines for his army, it was intended that he should obtain possession of Verdun, Sedan, and Mezieres. The court of Vienna promised to second these efforts by means of two armies, one of which was to attack Thionville, and menace Landau and Saarlouis, while another, issuing from the Austrian Netherlands, overran the northern department and laid siege to Lisle ; but in consequence of the inability of the court of Vienna to fulfil its engagements, this plan of hostilities underwent some modification.

CHAPTER II.

Agitations in Paris—Massacre of the 10th of August—The Royal Family take refuge in the Assembly—The King deposed—M. La Fayette's conduct and history—Disposition of the other French Generals—Distracted state of the Capital—Popular Enthusiasm.

THE situation of Louis XVI. like that of his kingdom, was now critical in the extreme. An opinion had gone abroad that the Sovereign was in league with the enemies of France, to crush the constitution that he had sworn to support ; and it must be confessed, that the declarations of the emigrant nobles, gave too much countenance to that opinion. On the 3d of August, Petion, the Mayor of Paris, at the head of the sections of that capital, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, demanding the deposition of the King. Petitions of a similar import were brought up from other bodies, and the two great parties in opposition to the crown, concurred in the expediency of removing the King from the head of the government. The Girondists contented themselves with declaring, that he had incurred the penalty of forfeiture ; but the Jacobins determined not only to punish the King, but also to destroy the monarchy. For this purpose, an extensive conspiracy was formed, at the head of which stood Conville, Desmoulins, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, and Santerre, who met on the evening of the 9th of August, in the hall of the *Cordeliers*. Danton, with a loud and furious voice, recapitulated the crimes of the court : " Let us cease," said he " to appeal to the laws and the legislators, the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of La Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor is to deliver ourselves to

him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced Kings—What do I say? It is this very night which the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage, and to the flames, that capital he wishes once more to leave.—To arms!—to arms!”*

This cry was instantly repeated a thousand times, and from a thousand different mouths: at eleven o'clock, the assembly formally declared itself in “a state of insurrection,” and a musket was fired as a signal for action.

On this, all the members sallied forth: some snatched up their arms; others helped to draw the cannon; a few were dispatched to give notice of their approach. Chabot, Camille, and several more, ordered the bells of the churches to be rung; and in a few minutes the dreadful *tocsin* was heard throughout Paris, impressing all its inhabitants with alarm, and wafting terror and dismay to every apartment in the castle of the Thuilleries.

Nor was the palace wholly unprovided in respect to defence. The Swiss guard retained about the person of the King, in express opposition to a decree of the assembly, had been gained by the liberality and caresses of the court; but although devoted to the royal cause, their number was incomplete, nearly one half being absent at Courbevoie. A few companies of grenadiers belonging to the national guards had also repaired to the court of the Thuilleries, while the interior was garrisoned by between seven and eight hundred royalists, all well armed, and resolved either to conquer or die. The Queen conducted herself, on this trying occasion, with equal policy and intrepidity. With a countenance that seemed still to beam with hope, and an eye denoting courage, she repaired from rank to rank, and from post to post, accompanied by the virtuous and accomplished Princess, Madame Elizabeth, sister to the King. Such was the general enthusiasm, that it was resolved at one time not to remain on the defensive, but to sally forth against the insurgents, seize on their cannon, annoy their line of march, dissipate their columns, pursue the fugitives with the horse, and thus put an end to the insurrection. But Louis, although he had at first consented, did not long approve of so bold a measure; for no sooner did the danger seem imminent, than he was persuaded by Ræderer to abandon his palace, his nobles, and his guards; and before a single shot was fired, he took refuge with his consort, his children, and his sister, in the bosom of

* *Precis Historique de la Revolution Francoise*, par Lacretelle, p. 294.

the assembly ; thus annihilating at the same time the hopes of his defenders and the fears of his enemies. (11.)

The King, on entering the assembly, took his seat near the president, and addressing himself to the assembly, said :—" I come hither to prevent a great crime ; among you, Gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." After some discussion, the Royal Family was placed in a small box appropriated to the reporters of a newspaper called the *Logographe*, and in this place spent at least fourteen hours. Scarcely had the Royal Family got seated in the box, when a dreadful cannonading shook the assembly. The insurgents, amounting in number to upwards of 20,000, provided with 30 pieces of cannon, and commanded by a military adventurer, of the name of Weissterman, had marched in battle array to the palace of the Tuilleries, which they found defended by the Swiss guard, consisting of about 700 men, about 1,200 gentlemen, ardent friends of the monarchy, 2,400 national guards, under the command of M. Mandat, a firm supporter of the constitution, and a body of cavalry, amounting to about 1000 men. The most daring of the rebels consisted chiefly of the lowest classes of the inhabitants, distinguished by the name of *Sans Culottes*. At nine o'clock in the morning, the gates of the *cour royale*

(11.) The conduct of Louis on this and some preceding occasions, has excited the censure of many others besides Mr. Baines, who have thought that more energetic measures would have saved both his crown and life. It is possible, that a more consistent course of conduct from the first, might have had the effect of postponing the period of the revolution ; but, after the acceptance of the constitution, it is doubtful, whether any line of measures could have retrieved his sinking fortunes, so much were the minds of the people estranged from their former loyalty, and such had been the increase of their power, and the decline of that of the monarch. Against an exasperated populace led by military men, and provided with every species of arms, the King could oppose only the feeble barrier of his Swiss guards, reduced in numbers and spirit, and of a few hundred of his personal friends. These might have succeeded for a time in repulsing the assailants, but their prodigious force, and steady purpose of vengeance must have ultimately prevailed, and the lives of all the royal family would probably have been sacrificed. The consideration of the danger of that family, appears to have weighed deeply on the mind of the King. When after the events of the 20th of June, he was urged to adopt strong measures against the insurgents, he is reported to have said,* " I see plainly that it was their intention to assassinate me, and I cannot conceive why they did not carry their project into effect ; but I shall not always escape ; there are many chances against me, and I am far from being at my ease. If I were alone I would risk another effort. Oh ! if my wife and children were not with me, the world would soon see that I am not so irresolute as it imagines ; but what would be their destiny if rigorous measures were not followed by success !"

* *Precis Hist. de la Revolution, par Lacretelle.*

were forced, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, a kind of revolutionary volunteers, who were instantly drawn up in two squares facing the palace. Having taken this station, a number of the *Sans Culottes* rushed upon the Swiss centinel; seized, and beat out the brains of six of their victims. The Swiss soldiers on observing this outrage, drew up in order of battle, and seeing no other alternative, fired upon the insurgents. The assailants then applied their matches to the cannon, and the engagement soon became general. The national guard not having received any orders from the King before his departure for the assembly, were at a loss how to act, and the contest lay chiefly between the Marseillois and the Swiss. The gendarmerie, who had their station near the coach-house, were placed between the fire of both parties, and out of 100 men, 25 of them at least fell a sacrifice without firing a shot. After a gallant resistance, which continued for upwards of an hour, the Swiss soldiers, who had frequently enjoyed a momentary victory, but who were now reduced to the greatest extremities, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way, and to cry for quarter; but their murderous adversaries, instead of feeling a generous sympathy towards their vanquished foe, pursued the fugitives with implacable hostility, and the victory in the end was converted into a massacre; the national guard so far disgraced themselves as to unite with the infuriated populace in the murder of their fellow-soldiers. Every Swiss soldier in the palace fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable resentment of the insurgents; and a small party of seventeen, who had taken refuge in the vestry room of the chapel, no sooner laid down their arms than they were put to death.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace now had no alternative but to seek a place of security from the fury of the mob, and after rallying about 500 of the fugitives, they at length succeeded in taking refuge in the national assembly, but not till they had passed through the ordeal of a galling fire from several of the insurgent battalions stationed at about 30 yards from the gates of the palace. Of the whole regiment of the Swiss, the number that survived this terrible day of slaughter did not exceed two hundred, and these by a decree of the assembly were placed under the protection of the state, but which in fact had no longer the power to afford protection to its own institutions. The defenceless victims who still remained in the palace, were involved in one promiscuous murder, and the massacre was followed by a general pillage. Without the precincts of the palace, the fury of the mob was

directed even against the porters at the coffee houses and hotels, who passed under the general appellation of Swiss, numbers of whom fell a sacrifice to popular fury ; and M. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, M. D'Hermigny, a colonel in the same corps, and M. Clermont Tonnerre, a sincere friend to the cause of liberty, but at the same time a strenuous opposer of popular licentiousness, shared the same fate.

While these sanguinary scenes were transacting, the national assembly continued, as they expressed it, "to deliberate," but their deliberations, like the acts of the Sovereign, were no longer free. Their gallery was continually crowded with a turbulent auditory, that took their tone from the clubs, and that in effect dictated laws to the law-givers. Under the guidance of these men, the assembly passed a series of acts, "declaring the executive power suspended ; the authority given by the constitution to Louis XVI. from that moment revoked ; and inviting the people to meet in primary assemblies to form a national convention, to assemble on the 20th of September." This change in the government was followed by a decree, declaring the King to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was formed, consisting of M. Roland, for the home department ; M. Servan, Minister of War ; M. Claviere, of Finance ; M. Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; M. Monge, of Marine ; and M. Danton, Minister of Justice. On the following day, the statues of Louis XIII. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. which had been erected in different squares of the metropolis, were overturned and defaced, and even the memory of Henry IV. could not protect his effigy ! Louis XVI. was in the mean time conveyed under a strong escort to the Temple, while a decree of accusation was issued against several of his late ministers. In fact, the whole fabric of the constitution, which had been erected by some of the ablest men France ever produced, crumbled into dust in a single day, under the licentious grasp of a sanguinary and misguided populace, that had now begun to supply the place of enthusiasm with terror.

M. La Fayette, who was amongst the first to oppose the despotism of the court, was equally adverse from the tyranny of the jacobins ; and no sooner had the intelligence of the events at Paris on the 10th instant, reached his headquarters at Sedan, than he addressed the following letter to his soldiers.

" Citizen Soldiers,

"It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward : the constitution you swore to maintain is no more ; a banditti from Marseil-

les, and a troop of factious men, besieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

“General d’Affry, his aides-de-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

“The King, Queen, and all the Royal Family, escaped to the national assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the King, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

“Citizens, you are no longer represented; the national assembly is in a state of slavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representatives to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your King.”

The national assembly, which now exercised the sovereign authority, had anticipated the defection of La Fayette, and to counteract its effects, three commissioners, Antonelle, Kersaint, and Perraldi, were dispatched to his army, either to gain the commander, or to induce the troops to desert. These commissioners, immediately on their arrival at Sedan, were, by the direction of La Fayette, arrested as hostages for the safety of the King and his family, and kept in custody from the 14th to the 20th instant. Luckner, the generalissimo of the French army, heard of the outrages at Paris, without equal emotion, and after displaying a great deal of irresolution, at length declared for the assembly. Lieutenant-general Arthur Dillon, the commander of the Northern army, who had sat as a deputy in the first assembly, on hearing of the dethronement of the Sovereign, and the horrible excesses which preceded that act, assembled his troops in the camp of Pont sur Sambre, and prevailed upon the soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity “to the nation, the law, and the king.” Dumouriez, who had already proceeded to the armies in a military capacity, and who aspired to the chief command, hailed the recent transactions in the Metropolis as events at once calculated to gratify his resentments, and administer to his ambition. According to his own account he had been grossly deceived by the King,* and his only hope of advancement was from the Republican party; he therefore refused to take or to administer the oath of fidelity, and the assembly rewarded his devotion to the new order of things, by immediately conferring upon him the chief command of the army. The other Generals, Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, all bowed to the authority of the assembly, and of the provisional council, and along with the soldiers of their respective armies, took the republican oaths.

* See “La Vie de Dumouriez.”

La Fayette, finding that every day rendered his situation more critical, and that he was on the eve of being abandoned by his army, at length determined on flight: on the night of the 19th instant he mounted his horse with seventeen of his companions, and quitting his army, took the way to Switzerland, when falling into the hands of a party of Austrians, in the neutral territory of Liege, they were all made prisoners and sent to Namur*.

* LA FAYETTE.—M. P. J. R. Y. G. Motier, Marquis de la Fayette, was born in Auvergne, and descended from an ancient family. He was educated in the college of Louis le Grand, at Paris, and received a commission in the Mousquetaires; soon after which he married a lady of the family of Noailles. When only nineteen years of age, this nobleman repaired to America, where he acquired considerable reputation by his military achievements, and rendered himself still more celebrated by his disinterestedness, he having refused, during the winter of 1777, to accept of the command of the American army, in prejudice to his friend General Washington, whose talents and virtues had not at that period been sufficiently appreciated. (12.)

When the French Revolution occurred, La Fayette prepared to act a distinguished part. In 1789 he became a member of the states-general, as a deputy from the nobility of Riom, in Auvergne; he had already been a member of the Notables, in 1789, and his attack on the administration of Calonne is said to have contributed to the downfall of that minister. He was the first to propose to the national assembly a plan for a “declaration of rights,” and after the recal of Necker, was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the national guards. In this capacity he presided at the grand confederation on the 14th of July, as the generalissimo of a greater body of troops, perhaps, than had ever been commanded by any other man since the days of Xerxes. No sooner was the constitution organized, than he resigned his power and retired to one of his family estates, whence he did not return until a war against Austria had been resolved upon. He was at that period a Major-general, but soon obtained the rank of Lieutenant-general, and finally that of Marshal of France, with a red riband.—Having been invested with the command of the armies of the Meuse and the Moselle, he left his head-quarters soon after the 20th of June, 1792, on purpose to complain of the indignities to which the King had been exposed in the course of that day. Subsequently to this period he expressed his abhorrence of the catastrophe of the 10th of August, and his determination to support the “nation, the law, and the King;” but a decree of accusation being at length voted against him, he was forsaken by his troops, and deemed it prudent to seek an asylum in a foreign land.—Being seized on neutral ground in contravention of the laws of nations, he was considered in the light of a prisoner of war after he had ceased to be a soldier, and conveyed to Luxemburgh, where he was exposed to

(12.) Never was there a more unfounded statement than this. The bravery, talent, and virtue of La Fayette were justly appreciated in the United States, but at no period of the Revolution, could he or any other foreign officer have possessed the slightest prospect of commanding the American army. In this country, however, it is only necessary to advert to this assertion as furnishing another proof of the gross ignorance that prevails in Europe, with respect to the history and dispositions of the American people.

The public mind in the French capital, as well as in several of the provinces, was at this period wrought up to the highest

the insults of the emigrants, who saw in him one of the prime authors of the revolution; the Duke of Saxe Teschen went so far as to tell him he was destined to the scaffold. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia, who caused him to be removed to Wessel, and afterwards to Magdebourg, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, the prisoner was restored to the Austrians, who sent him to Olmutz, where he was treated with still more rigour than at Magdebourg. A long illness however, compelled the physicians to request that his captivity might be mitigated, and then Dr. Bollmann and the young Huger, the son of the man with whom La Fayette had originally lived in America, executed the bold project of having him carried off, when he was led out to take the air; but eight leagues from Olmutz he was re-taken and confined more strictly than before, which increased his illness, and during the severe illness of 1794, he was without light, and even without linen, but at the end of the year 1795, his wife and daughters obtained permission to share his captivity. At last, after three years and five months of imprisonment, he obtained his liberty in August, 1797, at the repeated request of the directory, and of General Bonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburgh; and after the 18th Brumaire returned to France to his estates in Auvergne, which were restored to him. (13.)

(13.) La Fayette was detained in captivity exactly five years, having been liberated in September, 1797. It would be difficult to point out an æra in which (considering the comparative civilization of mankind,) actions more discreditable to the human species were committed, than that of the French revolution. The crimes and cruelties that followed the abolition of royalty in France, will long remain a blot upon the history of that country, although some apology may be found for the excesses of the people, when we reflect upon their sudden transition from the darkness of slavery to the full blaze of emancipation. But for the monstrous doctrines, and grievous oppression of the combined monarchs, it would be difficult to find a reasonable excuse. When posterity shall review the history of that æra, it will mark with the most signal reprobation the page in which is recorded the persecution of La Fayette, the generous, the enlightened, and the brave. His crime, the greatest that can be committed in the eyes of a monarch, was the attempt to give freedom to his fellow-citizens. Detesting alike the tyranny of a single despot, and the unbridled licentiousness of a mob, he sought to obtain for his country, a rational and temperate freedom, like that he had fought for and witnessed in America. To this righteous end, all his efforts were directed, with a zeal and devotion that at a happier period, would have enrolled him among the great benefactors of mankind.—But to the advocates of despotism, a philosophical and rational votary, of liberty, like La Fayette, is more formidable than a whole host of enthusiasts. Excesses of every kind, injure the cause they are intended to serve, and between the tyranny of one man and that of a thousand, the difference is not very great. No prisoner could, therefore, have been more welcome to the confederated Kings, than La Fayette. The length and severity of his confinement, evince their fear of his talents, and character, as well as the light in which his preceding conduct was viewed, by those who regarded the interests of the monarch, as the supreme law of nations. For five years, did this disciple of liberty, the friend of Washington, and the ornament of his country, suffer in a succession of loathsome dungeons, the punishment of his political heresies. At

pitch of frenzy: and the leaders of the conflicting factions found in this state of things a full scope for their talents.—The jacobins now become lords of the ascendant, prevailed over their rivals the Girondists, and Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, like dregs in a violent fermentation, rose to the top of the state vessel. Robespierre, surrounded by assassins, coolly dictated lists of proscription, while domiciliary visits under the direction of the revolutionary tribunals, took place in every direction, amidst the silence of night. Not content with these terrible engines of despotism, the prisons were forced, and the refractory priests massacred without ceremony, while a multitude of nobles and officers, attached to the royal cause, were cruelly butchered under the form of justice.

But although the jacobins displayed a bloody, vindictive, and ferocious disposition, it cannot on the other hand be denied, that they exhibited at this critical moment a degree of courage, energy, and perseverance, which achieved, for a while, not only the complete triumph of their own party, but also the independence of France. All the implements of war were placed at the disposal of the ruling faction; the capital, and every city in the empire became at once an arsenal and a workshop for the armies, while each of the departments presented the appearance of one immense camp teeming with soldiers.—The property of the emigrants, hitherto only sequestered, was now ordered to be sold, to oppose them and their allies. The brazen statues of their ancient monarchs furnished cannon to encounter the princes marching against them; the lead stripped from the palace of the last of their kings was melted into bullets, for the purpose of annoying the armies advancing to his support; while, by extracting saltpetre from the walls of the abandoned monasteries, and converting the forests appertaining to the royal domains into charcoal, thousands of chemists were enabled to supply the deficiency of the arsenals, and obtain the elements of destruction by means of a new and an easier process.

length, with a broken constitution, but an unchanged mind, he was allowed to revisit France. Consistent throughout in his political principles, he opposed the assumption of the imperial dignity by Napoleon; when the allies invaded France in 1814, he offered his services in defence of his country; on the return of the Emperor in 1815, he accepted a seat in the legislative assembly, under the new constitution, and voted in favour of his abdication, and against the return of the Bourbons after the battle of Waterloo. In his present retirement, respected even by his political enemies, beloved by his friends, and honoured by the enlightened part of the world, he exhibits a brilliant example of the faultless patriot, unmoved by the ambition of shining at the expense of his country's liberties, and unchanged by suffering, or even by the ingratitude of his countrymen, "without fear and without reproach."

The silver saints,* the consecrated vessels, and the bells of the cathedrals, were at the same time coined into money for the maintenance of the armies: when this resource was exhausted, the *assignats* seemed to compensate for the loss of the precious metals; and the stamp, impressed by means of a paltry bit of copper, being circulated in the *name of the nation*, at length exhausted the treasuries of many of the crowned heads of Europe.

The guilty magistrates of Paris, as if desirous to obliterate their inhumanity by their patriotism, displayed a promptitude of exertion worthy of better men; and at the very moment when they continued the massacres of their countrymen, they took the most vigorous steps to repel the invasion of a foreign enemy. Under their direction, all the inhabitants of a proper age, and every horse fit for service, were put in what was termed a *state of requisition*; in other words, they ordered them to be kept in readiness for marching to the frontiers. An immense multitude of the youth ran eagerly to their respective districts, for the purpose of inscribing their names in the new military registers; a number of old men also enrolled themselves as volunteers; such as were disabled by age or infirmities, confided their arms to those who enjoyed health and strength: a military enthusiasm inspired all ranks and all parties; and the victors and the vanquished, who had so lately fought at the assault of the Thuilleries, mingled together in the same battalion.

These new troops, embodied under such unhappy auspices, immediately marched to Chalons, and carrying along with them a spirit of mutiny and insubordination, became more formidable at first to their own officers than to the enemy. But no sooner were their suspicions allayed, than they displayed an unexpected degree of zeal and valour, and contributed greatly by their gallantry, as well as by their obedience, to the victories that ensued.

The resolution taken to collect an army of reserve at Chalons, which was to form a junction with that of Flanders, in case of extremity, and instead of retiring behind the Loire, as

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—*August 28, 1792.*

“Certain petitioners appeared at the bar with a St. Roche and his dog in silver. They said, that they had prayed with great fervency to the saint, to cure their fellow-citizens of the political plague with which so many were afflicted, but in vain. The saint could do nothing for them in his present shape. They therefore requested the assembly to order him to be coined into *crowns*, in which new form they had no doubt but he might still be of service.

“Their gift was received with loud applause; and St. Roche, accompanied by his dog, was immediately sent to the mint.”

had been suggested, to send immediate and effectual succours to Dumouriez, instilled hope into the people, while it diffused courage among the armies; and the same man who had so recently countenanced the vilest murders, was now seen exhibiting the stoical virtue of a Roman; for when urged, as to the proximity of the danger, and told that the King of Prussia would sup on that day fortnight in the palace of the Thuilleries, Danton replied, with a fervour peculiar to his character in times of danger: "I have sent for my mother and two children to Paris, and they arrived but yesterday; sooner, however, than behold an audacious and triumphant army enter this city, I and my family will perish here, for twenty thousand torches shall reduce it to a heap of ashes."

CHAPTER III.

Opening of the Campaign—Surrender of Longwy, Verdun, and Ste-nay—Dumouriez repairs to Sedan, and takes the command of La Fayette's army—Precarious situation of the Prussian Army—Oversight of Dumouriez—Position of Croix-aux-bois forced by the Prussians—Retreat of the French to St. Menchould—Affair at Valmy and its consequences.

No sooner had Frederick William received intelligence of the insurrection in Paris, the siege of the Thuilleries, and the captivity of the monarch, than he redoubled his exertions.—The main body of the Austrians had not as yet arrived, but his own army was numerous; and while his infantry was allowed to be excellent, the cavalry was considered as the best appointed, and most formidable, that had perhaps ever taken the field; while the general who had acted under him, was pointed out by the voice of the Prussian monarch, and of Europe, as the first captain of his age. Both the King, and his son, who accompanied him on this expedition, appeared to be avaricious of glory, and careless of danger: it was imagined that their presence would insure success, and that commanders, unacquainted with the art of war, unadorned by titles, and alike unknown in camps and in courts, would be abashed in the sight of Kings. Although the combined army was amply provided with field pieces, it happened to be completely destitute of the heavy artillery so necessary for the success of a siege; but it was hoped that no city would dare to resist, and that the fortified places would be readily surrendered by the very garrisons appointed for their defence. The exiles, too, offered, with their accustomed gallantry, to act as

an advanced guard, and were not only desirous of encountering all the dangers of the expedition, but likewise admirably calculated, by means of their information and connections, to insure its success. Among them were many Princes and Peers of France, who were still supposed to possess immense influence: in their ranks were seen several generals, such as the Marshals de Broglie and Castries, who had acquired glory in the last continental war, while the name of the Duke de Bourbon, and the military talents of the successor of the great Conde, seemed to reflect lustre on their cause.

The combined troops were at last put in motion, and as the season for action was already pretty far advanced, hopes were entertained that the celerity of their motions would fully compensate for the delays that had already intervened. They accordingly commenced their march in three separate columns, and after reaching the frontiers, entered France on the 19th of August.

On the 21st, General Clairfayt, at the head of sixty thousand men, made an attack upon Longwy, a strong fortress garrisoned with three thousand five hundred French.—The siege lasted only fifteen hours, when the fort surrendered, and was taken possession of in the name of *Louis XVI.* On the 31st the Duke of Brunswick himself summoned Verdun, where M. Beaurepaire was governor. His resolution was to defend the town to the last; but finding himself outvoted by the municipal officers, he drew a pistol from his belt, and scorning to survive his honour, he discharged it against his temples in the midst of a council of war. About the same time the Austrians took possession of Stenay, after a slight skirmish with Dumouriez's van-guard, whom they obliged to retreat, and take post at Mowzon, close by the main army.

Dumouriez, who had, on the defection of La Fayette, hastened to Sedan, found there the French army, not exceeding twenty three thousand men, in a state of despondency and disorganization, opposed to a body of eighty thousand chosen soldiery, with four times the number of his cavalry, conducted by a powerful monarch, and generals grown hoary under arms. His first concern was to assemble a council of war, composed of Lieutenant-General Dillon, and the four Major-Generals, Vouillers, Chazot, Danget, and Dietmann; to these he added Pettit, the principal Commissary, and three officers who composed his own staff.

Having presented a map of Champagne, he told them, "that the King of Prussia, having taken Longwy, and sat down before Verdun, while another body of the army advanced beyond Thionville and menaced Metz, there were no means left either

to form a junction with Marshal Luckner, or to procure succours from any other quarter in sufficient time to march against the Prussians and deliver Verdun ; that he had despatched General Galbaud thither with two battalions ; that whether he did or did not succeed in throwing himself into a place, with the weakness of which every body was acquainted, it ought to be regarded as lost, for it could only hold out a few days, more or less, according to the success of Galbaud's mission ; that, whatever might occur, he could not receive any reinforcements for upwards of a fortnight, and even these reinforcements would be very insignificant.

“ That accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but the little army which they had along with them, and which was entrusted with the salvation of their native country. It did not, in truth, amount to one quarter of the enemy's forces ; but, on the other hand, the cavalry was composed of the best regiments of France, and consisted of upwards of five thousand men ; more than one half of the infantry, which exceeded eighteen thousand, was formed of regiments of the line ; the remainder of battalions of national guards, well disciplined, rendered warlike by a whole year's encampment, perpetual marches, and continual skirmishes with the enemy : the artillery was numerous and excellent, there being more than sixty pieces in the park, in addition to the battalion guns.

“ That with these means, and the advantage of acting in their own country, every thing was to be expected ; because the Prussians would of course be retarded by the necessity of undertaking sieges, the difficulty of finding provisions, the delays incident to their convoys, their own numbers, and above all by their artillery. A numerous cavalry, the brilliant equipages of so many princes, and the quantity of draught horses necessary to transport their cannon and provisions, would render their march tedious and embarrassing.” He concluded by observing, “ That it was impossible to remain inactive in the position before Sedan, and it became necessary on the instant to take some decided part.”

Lieutenant-general Dillon proposed “ to post the army behind the Marne, on purpose to defend the passage of that river, and to wait for reinforcements, which would pour in from all parts, and enable the French once more to advance.” This scheme, plausible in itself, was supported by such forcible and cogent reasons, that it was instantly adopted by the council ; all the members of which immediately separated, except the Adjutant-General Thouvenot, who remained alone with Dumouriez. It was to him alone that he disclosed his plans, and detailed his reasons for opposing the prevailing opinion.

He observed, "that he did not approve of retiring to Chalons, and abandoning Lorraine, the Bishoprics, and the Ardennes, which could not easily be reconquered ; that besides it would hold out a fresh inducement for the Prussians to pursue him, and in such a case a retreat would soon degenerate into a flight."

Then, pointing to the pass of Islettes, on the confines of the forest of Argonne,* upon the map, "Behold," continued Dumouriez, "the Thermopylæ of France ; if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved." The forest which Dumouriez intended to occupy, was of an oblong form, at least thirteen leagues in length, and varying from three to one in breadth ; it extends from the neighbourhood of Sedan to more than a league beyond St. Menchould. Being intersected with mountains, rivers, and marshes, this woody country is rendered impervious to the march of an invading army, except by five avenues, called Le Chene-populeux, leading from Sedan to Rhetel ; La Croix-aux-bois, in the direction from Briguenai to Vouziers ; Grandprey, in the neighbourhood of which is the great road from Stenay to Rheims ; La Chalade, which crosses the woods from Varennes to St. Menchould ; and Les Islettes, through which lies the road from Verdun to Paris, by St. Menchould.

Having employed three whole days in making the necessary preparations, the commander in chief determined instantly to occupy these important passes, and having divided his army into three bodies, he gave orders that his van-guard should advance against Stenay, which it was instructed to mask, and, lest any obstacle might intervene, he himself was to follow with the main body, composed of twelve thousand men, in order of battle, without any incumbrance whatever ; while General Chazot, with a detachment of five thousand troops, should escort the baggage and artillery through Tanny and Armoises, without any danger of molestation, in consequence of this decisive movement in front.

Accordingly, after leaving a garrison of four battalions at Sedan, he made a movement with his army and artillery on the 31st of August, and commenced his march on the next morning. In consequence of orders transmitted to Dillon, General Miaczinsky was sent forward with fifteen hundred men to attack Stenay, and he himself was enjoined to support him by occupying the left bank of the river and the wood of Neuville. The brave Pole executed his instructions with equal promptitude and success, and a sharp action ensued, during

* See vol. III. of the Life of Dumouriez.

which the cavalry on both sides displayed great courage ; but the Imperialists, under Clairfayt, at length fell back to Brouenne.

Having encamped the first night by the side of the great road leading to Stenay, with his head-quarters at Yon, Dumouriez posted some infantry in the wood of Neuville, and along the borders of the Meuse : on the evening of the next day he took post at Berliere, and Dillon at St. Pierremont ; on the succeeding afternoon the latter passed through the defile of Chalade, and occupied the pass of Islettes, already taken possession of by General Galbaud, with four battalions and the garrison of Longwy, while the main body remained on the same ground, on purpose to allow Chazot's column to pass ; after which it continued its march, and reached Grandprey.

This position, rendered so memorable in consequence of the events to which it gave rise, was found to be nearly inexpugnable. Placed between two rivers, it was flanked by hamlets on the right and left, provided with a convenient village in the rear for the artillery, and defended on all sides by means of woods, eminences, a castle, and redoubts lined with cannon.

The army, which now considered their own fidelity as the sole resource of their country, found themselves in possession of a strong post, to which they had been conducted by means of a masterly manœuvre ; and they began to respect a leader, of whose zeal and talents they were the daily witnesses.

The general himself, with his usual confidence, transmitted the following letter to Servan, Minister of the war department, in which he affected a laconic style, joined to a republican audacity, on purpose to keep alive the zeal of the Parisians.

“ VERDUN is taken, and I expect the Prussians. The camps of Grandprey and Islettes have become the Thermopylæ of France : I shall prove more fortunate than Leonidas.”

The combined troops had as yet been uniformly fortunate. Two garrisons had capitulated in the most shameful manner ; several other towns appeared ready to open their gates to them ; and their camps were crowded, not only with disaffected persons, but also with many who wavered between the two parties, and were desirous, by recurring to a temporising policy, to have it in their power to declare in favour of the victor.—Some trifling events, however, served to intimate that they were not always to expect cowardice, disaffection, or treason ; and it is not a little remarkable, that the first checks received by the army of the coalition proceeded from two foreigners. It has been already stated in what manner a Pole drove in the outposts of the Austrian army, and forced the brave but cau-

tious Clairfayt to retreat to the intrenched camp of Brouenne. The next exploit was performed by a native of the *Pays de Vaud*, a country always treated with peculiar cruelty and injustice by the canton of Berne. Laharpe, one of its most illustrious defenders, driven into exile because he had endeavoured to loosen the chains of his countrymen, took refuge in the French camp, where he was welcomed as the martyr of liberty. Appointed chief of a battalion of volunteers, he was stationed at the castle of Rodemark, and exposed to the first onset of the invaders. Shocked at the general defection, he determined to give an example of devotion to the nation which had adopted him, and was lucky enough to communicate to the troops under him the enthusiasm with which he himself was actuated. Well knowing that their little post was not tenable, they entered into a solemn engagement not to capitulate, but either to open a passage through the enemy with their bayonets, or bury themselves under the ruins of the castle, the vaults of which they converted into mines for that purpose. Having received orders, however, from his commanding officer to evacuate this position in consequence of the approach of the enemy, who were already masters of all the surrounding posts, the Swiss Colonel sallied forth at the head of his garrison, and transported the artillery and stores to Thionville, in the face of a superior force. This daring feat, calculated to inspire the troops with valour, and prove that the foe was not invincible, procured for him who achieved it, the appellation of "the brave Laharpe," with which he was afterwards honoured at the head of the French army.

In the mean time, Dumouriez did not neglect the necessary dispositions for resisting the enemy, in which he was seconded by the ardour and patriotism of his troops. He ordered the inhabitants to cut down the trees on the skirts of the forest; then to inter the roots, and, pointing the branches in a horizontal position, thus form them into *abates*: he commanded them also, on hearing the alarm bell, to fly to arms and oppose the enemy: he established a chain of posts to keep up the communication with Dillon, the second in command, by Marque, Chatel and Apremont, to Chalade and Islettes, and urged General Kellermann, who had assumed the command of the army of the Moselle, to approach nearer, and effect a junction. The enemy, the quickness of whose motions could alone insure success, spent nearly seven days in complete inactivity after the capture of Verdun. On the 8th of September, the vanguard of the Prussian army was at length discovered, and the main body began to occupy the extensive plain, and display its front from Briquenay to Clermont; its head-quarters were

established at Raucourt. On the succeeding day the Prussians commenced a series of attacks on the out-posts of the French army, which, instead of being intimidated, expressed much joy at the appearance of the foe, and repulsed them at all points.

A celebrated foreigner, who arrived that very evening, distinguished himself in the course of the next forenoon. This was *Miranda*, who after forming the daring project of achieving a revolution in New Spain, of which he was a native, and refusing the most brilliant offers on the part of the Empress of Russia, had repaired to Paris, and tendered his services to the patriots. Being posted with a detachment at Mortaume, he conducted himself with great gallantry, and withstood a brisk assault on that village, which he had been ordered to occupy. General Stangel, born in the dominions of the Elector-Palatine, also acquired credit by his defence of St. Jouvin, and the enemy were repelled on all sides, without having been able to make the least impression.

At length, the grand army seemed determined to put an end to the awful suspense in which Europe had been for some time kept. The King of Prussia in person now began to menace the camp of Grandprey, while the Prince of Hohenlohe appeared before Islettes, and General Clairfayt presented himself at the pass of Croix-aux-bois. But a variety of circumstances seemed to combine, in order to render these tardy attacks inefficacious. At this critical period the rainy season had set in; the roads were extremely bad, and famine and disease already made their appearance among the invaders.— Having consumed all the provisions found in Longwy and Verdun, and being unable to draw further supplies from a country previously exhausted by the French army, the Duke of Brunswick was obliged to have recourse to Luxembourg and the Electorate of Treves, which exposed his convoys to the attacks of the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Mety. In addition to this, a body of French troops under General Custine, had already penetrated into Germany, and was supposed to have meditated the capture of Coblenz, which would have enabled him to attack the enemy in flank and rear, and rendered a retrograde movement, in case of any disaster, extremely hazardous.

Such was the melancholy situation of the invading army, when an unpardonable omission on the part of the French General, revived its hopes, and reduced his own country to the very brink of despair. Although Damouriez was well acquainted with the importance of the various passes leading through the forest of Argonne, and by a bold and decisive

movement had rendered himself master of them ; yet, in consequence of an oversight, equally gross and obvious, he had committed the defence of the important pass of Croix-aux-bois to the care of a Colonel of dragoons, who, by the nature of the service to which he had been accustomed, was unqualified for a situation, where alone a veteran officer of infantry could have been useful. He had also neglected the professional assistance which might have been derived from the corps of artillery or engineers ; and, notwithstanding he possessed a park, well stored with cannon, this important avenue into the heart of France was not guarded by a single eight or twelve pounder. On the 11th of September the Colonel reported his entrenchments to be impregnable, but on the twelfth he was obliged to evacuate them on the first attack of the enemy.

It was not until five o'clock in the evening, that the Commander-in-chief received intelligence of the retreat from Croix-aux-bois from some of the fugitives ; all the fatal consequences likely to ensue from this event, were immediately anticipated by him, and he could depend on the vigour and resources of his own mind alone to extricate himself and his army from their present perilous situation. The number of his troops was now reduced to fifteen thousand men ; before him was an army of forty thousand Prussians ; in his rear were twenty thousand Austrians ; and a body of enraged emigrants had already penetrated into the forest, and was advancing on his flank. He was thus liable to be assailed in front by the Duke of Brunswick, while General Clairfayt, by occupying the position of Croix-aux-bois, actually commanded his camp, and by inclining to the left, might descend towards Olizy Termes and Beauregard, and thus cut off the passage of the Aire and the Aisne at Senecque.* But notwithstanding the imminent danger he was in, the French general exhibited great presence of mind, and never betrayed the least symptom of fear relative to his perilous situation. On the contrary, he mounted on horseback, exhibited himself with confidence to the troops, and, after calling in all his detachments, dispatched orders to Beurnonville to set off instantly from Rhetel, and following the course of the Aisne as far as Attigny, to march towards St. Menehould, with a view of effecting a junction there ; he also instructed Kellermann to hasten by Bar and Revigny for the same purpose.

While incessantly occupied by preparations for securing his retreat, an *Aide-de-Camp* arrived from the Prince of Ho-

* Memoires du General Dumouriez, tome II.

henlohe, requesting an interview. This embarrassing circumstance was turned to advantage by Dumouriez, who took care on this occasion to remove many of the prejudices entertained on the part of the enemy. He accordingly selected Major-general Duval, who had served during the seven years' war in the legion of Soubise, and was rendered respectable by his grey hairs and majestic figure, to meet the Prussian officer at the time and place appointed: the latter was unable to conceal his surprise at seeing so much order and regularity observed at the out-posts, and so many well-bred officers adorned with ribands and crosses; for the emigrants had represented the army as commanded by taylor, shoemakers, and obscure tradesmen. It also added not a little to his astonishment to hear that most of the generals had served during one or two wars, and that Dumouriez himself was a Major-general before the revolution. By way of concealing the intended retreat, it was at the same time intimated to him, in pursuance of one of those maxims by which untruth is admitted among the legitimate stratagems of modern warfare, that Beurnonville was to enter the camp in the course of the next day with a reinforcement of eighteen thousand men, while Kellermann, at the head of twenty thousand more, was only two marches distant.

On that very evening however, the moment it became dark, the French advanced guard, in pursuance to orders, fell back in three columns, without either augmenting or diminishing the number of its fires; the right retreating through Marque, the centre by Chevieres, and the left by Grandprey. Having arrived at Damurartin, and ordered the troops to remain all night under arms, the general, who had been twenty hours on horseback, alighted, and sat down to table at six o'clock, with a view of taking some refreshment: but he was disturbed by an alarm, which had taken place in his camp. Although the rear guard remained undisturbed at a league distance, the appearance of the enemy was every where announced; the artillery which was harnessed, endeavoured to gain a height on the other side of a rivulet, called the Bionne; all the troops were mingled together in the confusion, and a general and immediate flight appeared to be inevitable. Dumouriez having remounted his horse, instantly repaired to the spot, accompanied by the officers of his staff, his *aides-de-camp*, and his escort of dragoons, who at length succeeded in rallying the fugitives by means of blows.

At break of day, order was restored among the dispersed soldiery, after which the tents were struck; the army continued its march in three columns, and arrived without any

accident at the camp of St. Menehould ; for the enemy had not taken advantage of the confusion that ensued, but advanced with caution, and did not appear in sight of the French until the next day. Being no longer under any apprehensions, the commander in chief immediately communicated his situation to the president of the national assembly, in a letter written with Spartan brevity, and calculated to inspire confidence :—

“ I have been obliged to abandon the camp of Grandprey ; the retreat was completed when a panic terror seized upon the army : ten thousand troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians. The loss does not amount to more than fifty men, and some baggage : order is again restored, and I am ready to answer for the consequences.—DUMOURIEZ.”

In the mean time it was determined by the allies to lay siege to Thionville. This important fortress was invested on the 17th of September, by the Austrians and emigrants, under the command of the Princes of Hohenlohe and Conde ; and but little doubt was entertained that the garrison would follow the example of Longwy and Verdun. General Felix de Wimpffen, a native of Alsace, and a colonel of dragoons, under the old government, happened to be entrusted with the command of the place ; but this, like all the other frontier towns, was unprovided with the means of effecting a vigorous resistance, and did not contain a sufficient quantity of provisions to enable the garrison to sustain a long siege. The enemy, on the other hand, was but ill prepared to reduce so formidable a fortress, for M. d'Antichamp, who superintended the attack, was not in possession of any battering cannon.

Not content with remaining merely on the defensive, Wimpffen immediately evinced a degree of activity that proved highly disastrous to his opponents. He made a vigorous sally at the head of four hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry ; and with this small detachment destroyed a large quantity of forage in front of the camp at Richemont, by means of a stratagem ; for by dividing his party into six separate bodies, and concealing the depth of his columns, he deceived the besiegers in respect to his numbers, and amidst the general confusion carried off their magazine, with one hundred and thirty-three waggons, which had been mistaken by them for a train of artillery. He was also fortunate enough to cut off a convoy in the course of the same evening ; and four days after he seized upon and destroyed a large quantity of provisions at Gavisse, destined for the supply of fifteen thousand men.

St. Menehould, the place at which Dumouriez had established his head-quarters, is the chief place in the district of Ar-

gonne, and only one hundred and ten miles from Paris. This place is rendered strong by nature, and the general, resolving to add all the advantages resulting from art, erected batteries in his front, so as to command the valley, by enfilading it on every side. He stationed his vanguard along the Tourbe, with orders to retard the enemy's march by every possible means, and to retire slowly, and in good order, taking care to cut down all the bridges in the rear; after this the troops were to take post behind the Bionne. Injunctions were at the same time issued to lay waste the country around, and to forage in all the adjacent villages, so that nothing might remain for the enemy's cavalry.

It now became necessary to effect the junction so much desired by the general, whose army was not sufficient to check the progress of the Prussians, although hunger and disease began already to make great havoc in their camp. Beurnonville, misled by the accounts of the fugitives, had at first retreated to Chalons, but he at length arrived very opportunely with a body of troops, who were happy at the idea of rejoining and serving once more under their old commander, at the camp of Maulde. Intelligence was also received in the course of the same day, that Kellermann, after leaving a detachment of five thousand men to cover Bar and Ligny, was only two leagues distant with fifteen thousand men, one third of which consisted of excellent cavalry, being chiefly composed of regiments of the line.

On receiving this joyful news, Dumouriez instantly dispatched instructions to his colleague, to continue his march and occupy the camp between the villages of Dampierre and Elise, behind the Aube, in the course of the next morning; and as he began to suppose from the extension of the enemy's line, that they meant to try the fate of an action, he pointed out the heights of Valmy and Gizancourt, as a proper station for his field of battle; but having neglected to repair thither in person, or even to send an engineer to mark out the ground, the former mistook his field of battle for his camp, and much confusion ensued in consequence of this event.

In the mean time the Duke of Brunswick's operations had been greatly retarded, by the difficulties incident to the subsistence of so great an army in an enemy's country. His ovens were at Verdun, and much time was consumed in bringing bread to the camp: in proportion as the season became wet, obstacles of all kinds would of course multiply; and it at length appeared hazardous to advance a single march further from the magazines, for fear of being entirely deprived of their benefit. The commander in chief, therefore, was fet-

tered in respect to his future progress, as he dared not to lose sight of his communications for a moment, but he had it still in his power to compel the enemy to make such movements in his presence, as would afford him an opportunity of attacking them to advantage.

At length it became evident that the French, instead of be-taking themselves to flight, now occupied a strong entrenched camp, supported by an immense park of artillery, and were prepared to give battle. As Dumouriez appeared to have assumed a masked position, with a view of concealing the number and situation, of his troops, orders were instantly issued to obtain possession of the heights of Gizancourt. Several columns were accordingly put in motion; and the artillery was sent forward. On this, Kellermann brought up the whole of his cannon to a commanding eminence, on the hill of Valmy, and by means of a well-directed fire arrested the progress of the combined army.

In the mean time, the King of Prussia had established a battery on the heights of Gizancourt, which commanded the position at Valmy, but as Stengle now out-flanked the enemy, and had opened a sharp fire on the left of the attack, the assailants received a check, and were not only prevented from storming Valmy, but perhaps, from also breaking, surrounding, and cutting off the detachment under Kellermann; for as his troops were encumbered, and the great road leading to St. Meneshould choaked up with the baggage, a retreat would have become extremely difficult.

At the close of day the artillery ceased to fire, and the troops detached by Dumouriez retired; those commanded by Kellermann remained under arms, on purpose to withdraw to the station originally intended for them, while the Prussians not only retained the heights of La Lune and Gizancourt, but completely blocked up all intercourse with Chalons, and occupied a position between the enemy and the capital.

Thus ended the skirmish of Valmy, during which only three or four hundred men were killed, although the rival armies fired more than forty thousand cannon-shot. The combined forces on this occasion, by means of a masterly evolution, had contrived to cut off all direct communication between Dumouriez and his magazines; but they completely failed in the main object of the contest, as the French were neither beaten nor intimidated. On the contrary, they in the end derived from this contest all the advantages that could have been expected from a signal victory.

The action at Valmy, since dignified with the appellation of the *battle of Valmy*, completely dissipated the illusions of

Frederic William II. who, after seeing the hopes of the emigrants in some measure realised by the surrender of Longwy and Verdun, is said to have expected either the immediate flight or desertion of the French forces ;* but their intrepidity and patriotism not only disappointed his hopes, but gave a new turn to the war. The veteran troops, who had neglected on the preceding day to carry the heights of Valmy by the bayonet, might still indeed have marched straight to Chalons, which was only a few leagues distant ; but the enemy, whose supposed disadvantages were now fully counterbalanced by a decided superiority in respect to artillery, as well as by recent events, would have cut off all communication with Verdun.

The King of Prussia accordingly began to reflect seriously on the critical situation to which he was reduced. He had fully acquitted himself of his engagement to enter France. None of the armies appeared in the least disposed to join him, and not a single department, or even district, had declared in favour of the ancient monarchy. He himself had already expended immense sums, and hazarded the existence of an army on which the security of his own dominions depended, in behalf of the common cause. In addition to this, the fervour of his zeal had induced him to neglect many necessary precautions ; several fortresses had been left in his rear, many of his convoys had been cut off, and not only famine, but disease already prevailed in his camp.

CHAPTER IV.

State of the Armies—France declared a Republic—Frederic William solicits and obtains an Armistice—Cordiality between the two Armies—Rupture of the Armistice—Disastrous retreat of the Prussians—Observations on the failure of the Enterprize—Agitations in Paris—Massacre of the 2d and 3d of September.

WHILE the combined army was encamped within sight, fifty thousand French maintained the formidable position of St. Menehould, and were in daily expectation of receiving fresh succours ; for general d'Harville was assembling troops at Rheims, and General Sparre at Chalons. Paris, Soissons, Eprenai, Troyes, and Vitry, were also pouring forth swarms of volunteers, unacquainted indeed with discipline, and impatient of restraint, but zealous to shed their blood for their

* Tableau Historique and Polit. t. II. p. 283.

country, and acquire liberty and glory for themselves. On the other hand, the forces of the allied courts, which had been deceived as to the opposition they were likely to experience, became dispirited and dejected.—They found themselves entangled amidst the fastnesses of a sterile province, destitute of water, forage, and provisions, with a resolute enemy in front, fresh levies pouring in from all quarters, and their own resources diminishing daily.

Dumouriez, on the other hand, was equally aware of the superiority of his own position, and the critical and even desperate situation of the enemy. But a different opinion prevailed at Paris, whence he received couriers daily, with injunctions to retreat. The romantic hopes and extravagant projects of this General, instead of allaying, served to increase their fears; for, although the combined forces were posted between him and the capital, and the immediate communication with his own magazines cut off, regardless of these directions, he continued to assert with great confidence, that his Prussian Majesty would not be able to penetrate farther into Champagne; and that within the short space of ten days, his once formidable army, consumed by hunger and disease, must be forced to retreat through the same defiles by which it had entered France. Not content with this prediction, which was speedily realised, he also assured them that he should have time to march to the succour of Lisle, now menaced by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, and demanded by way of recompence for his services, that he might be permitted to make Brussels his head-quarters during the winter, as he intended to be there by the 15th of November!

Opposing, therefore, the intrepidity of his character to the current of opinion, Dumouriez determined, at the risk of his life, to persevere; and as the direct road to Chalons, where his provisions were deposited, was now blocked up, he ordered his convoys to ascend along the left bank of the Marne to Vitry; he also caused new roads to be cut, and posted detachments to keep up the communication. But, notwithstanding all his care, the army, which was sometimes two or three days without bread, began to murmur. On these occasions, in imitation of the generals of antiquity, he was accustomed to mingle with and appease the soldiery.

“The famous Marshal Saxe,” said he, “has written a book on the art of war, in which he maintains that the regular delivery of provisions to the troops should be discontinued at least once a week, in order to make them less sensible of such a privation in cases of necessity. As for us!” he would exclaim, “we have not half so much reason to complain as these

Prussians encamped within our sight, who are sometimes destitute of bread for four days in succession, and reduced to the necessity of feeding on their dead horses ! You have plenty of hogs'-lard, rice, and flour ; make cakes with these, and liberty will give them a relish."

At another time, when a convoy had been retarded, he assumed a severe air, and cried out—

" Which are the bad citizens who are so cowardly as not to sustain hunger ? Let them be stripped of their arms and uniforms, and instantly chased away. Such are not worthy of participating with us in the honour of saving our country ! You cannot receive any bread before to-morrow ; shew yourselves therefore capable of surmounting every thing. No more murmurs : Liberty for ever !" On this the whole camp begun to shout—" Liberty for ever ! Long live our father !"

While Dumouriez was thus occupied by turns in opposing the enemy, and soothing, reprimanding, and acquiring the confidence of his own troops, a great event had occurred at Paris, which produced a complete change in the nature and form of the government. At the very moment when the King of Prussia, at the head of an immense army, had driven the French from the camp of Grandprey, and Longwy and Verdun were in possession of the enemy, a national convention had assembled, royalty was abolished, and France declared a republic.*

This intelligence soon reached the camp of St. Menehould, and was immediately succeeded by three commissioners, who ordered the new oath of allegiance to be administered to the troops ; and the Commander-in-chief, even had he been otherwise inclined, was under the necessity of exhibiting a prompt obedience.

The deputies, Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, had been selected on purpose to procure the accession of the army to the late decree of the convention ; and their success did not belie the expectations which had been conceived of them, for, being indignant at the supposed treachery of the King, and the presence of " a horde of foreign mercenaries," they consented

* NATIONAL CONVENTION—September 21, 1792.

" The national assembly decrees, that *royalty* is *abolished* in France ;

" That all public acts shall be dated—' The first year of the French Republic ;

" That the seal of the state shall be changed, and have for legend ' French Republic ;'

" And that the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it ; on the exergue shall be engraved ' Archives of the French Republic.'"

with joy to pass from a monarchical to a republican form of government.*

The Prussian Monarch had already become tired of a war whence he could reap neither glory nor advantage, and began to wish for an opportunity of withdrawing his army, the safety of which had now become precarious. It was with this intention that he sent Colonel Manstein, his Adjutant-general, to the French head-quarters, on the 22d of September, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Commander-in-chief, about the mutual exchange of prisoners. After many compliments on both sides, it was finally resolved to discontinue skirmishing in front of their respective camps, and a suspension of arms accordingly took place in that direction. Dumouriez, with his usual acuteness, took advantage of this event, for he instantly dispatched orders to General Dubouquet, who was stationed at *Notre Dame de l'Epine*, in the neighbourhood of Chalons, to march at the head of sixteen battalions of infantry, and two squadrons of dragoons, to Fresne, near Sommièvre, while General Despres-Crassier was to advance with two thousand foot and a thousand horse to Espense and Noirliu. He also despatched eighteen squadrons of light horse under Trecheville, towards Sommièvre, Herpont, and Moyon, on purpose to occupy the right flank of the combined army; and he repeated his injunctions to Lieutenant-general d'Harville to proceed to Pont-Fauergues, and even as far as St. Hilary.

As the Prussians by the armistice in the van sacrificed the emigrants who had advanced in flank, the latter were forced by these movements to fall back from Suieppe, which they had reached, towards Croix-en-Champagne, where they already began to anticipate the fate that was preparing for them. But this was not all; for Colonel Trecheville, at the head of a body of horse, advanced boldly in the rear of the Prussians and obtained much booty; while General Neuilly, marching from Papavant with the light troops, took a circuit by the forest of Argonne, on purpose to annoy the enemy's left wing.—Beurnonville's advanced guard at the same time penetrated by Marque across the forest to the old camp of Grandprey, and by cutting off the supplies of provisions, carried on a still more fatal and destructive species of warfare.

The treaty relative to the exchange of prisoners, negotiated by colonel Manstein, on behalf of his Prussian Majesty, extended only to the Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops, for

* Mem. du General Dumouriez, tome III.

the unfortunate exiles were excluded from any participation in this cartel.

The unhappy emigrants being now considered as rebels, in consequence of this concession, the Prussian Adjutant-General assured Dumouriez that his Majesty was no longer desirous of continuing the war against France ; that he did not wish to intermeddle either in respect to her constitution or government, but merely expected that the King should be liberated from his confinement, and his authority restored in the same manner as it existed previously to the 10th of August.

In reply to these propositions, which were unnecessary before the combined forces entered France, but had now become impracticable, the General presented Colonel Manstein with the official documents just received from Paris, by which it appeared that the national assembly had been changed for a national convention, and the monarchy converted into a republic.

In the mean time the utmost cordiality took place between the advanced posts of the two armies. Dumouriez presented the King of Prussia with coffee, sugar, fruit, and wheaten bread, which he knew the monarch to be in want of, while the troops divided their rations of provisions with the enemy, who were dying of hunger, and exposed to the ravages of the dysentery.

Colonel Thouvenot, according to instructions, repaired next day to the head-quarters at Hans, in the rear of the camp of La Lune, where he was well received by the Duke of Brunswick ; and the French general, wishing to take advantage of these friendly dispositions, with his usual readiness and ability drew up a memorial, in which he threw the whole blame of the war on the house of Austria, and endeavoured to persuade the King of Prussia that it was his interest to detach himself from an alliance at once unnatural and disadvantageous. But these remarks appear to have been disagreeable to his majesty ; for an *aide-de-camp* was soon after despatched by the Commander-in-chief, with a manifesto, couched in the same haughty tone as his former proclamations. This production appeared so harsh and ill-timed to Dumouriez, that he spoke to the officer to whose care it had been entrusted, thus :—" Sir, I took the liberty to transmit a memorial to the King of Prussia ; but I did not address myself to the Duke of Brunswick, who undoubtedly mistakes a French Commander-in-chief for a burgo-master of Amsterdam : tell him, that the truce ceases from this moment, and that I have given orders for that purpose in your presence."

The necessary preparations were accordingly made, and the

French army rejoiced greatly at the event, for they began to be jealous of the frequent communications that took place between their general and the Prussians.—The conferences having been thus broken off, the situation of the grand army became every day more critical, but it might still have been relieved from its embarrassments by a victory, and a council of war was held, at which it was determined to hazard the event of a battle, in express opposition to the private opinion of the commander-in-chief. The necessary instructions were accordingly given for that purpose; but after the combined army had been drawn out, and the signal for action was expected with impatience, Frederic William, with his usual irresolution, commanded the troops to retire.*

As it was now not judged advisable either to advance or risk a general action, and the havoc of famine and disease increasing daily in the allied camp, proper precautions were adopted to withdraw the troops as soon as possible from this scene of death and desolation.

In the mean time, the troops who had threatened to avenge the cause of sovereigns, to restore the dispossessed nobles, to rebuild the violated altars, and to reinstate the deposed monarch, were obliged to take advantage of the night, in order to conceal their flight, and insure their own safety. The camp of La Lune was accordingly abandoned late in the evening of the 30th of September, and in the course of the succeeding morning, the main body fell back about a league, the artillery and heavy baggage having been sent off before. On receiving this intelligence, Dumouriez immediately sent a courier to the Minister of War;† and despatched General Dampierre with a

* *Tableau Historique et Politique de l'Europe*, par Segur, ex-ambassadeur, 2d edition, t. II.

† *Copy of a Letter from General Dumouriez, to the Minister at War.*

"MY DEAR SERVAN,

"The Prussians are in full retreat; the brave Beurnonville, who has been christened the 'French Ajax,' has taken within these two days from them above four hundred men, more than fifty waggons, and above two hundred horses. By what we can learn from the prisoners and deserters, their army is wasted by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux. The enemy march always by night, only going one or two leagues during the day-time to cover their baggage and artillery.

"I have reinforced Beurnonville, who has above twenty thousand men, and who will not rest until he has exterminated them. This day I shall join and assist him. I have sent you copies of my correspondence with the enemy, which I have caused to be printed, that no suspicion may arise. I hope, if the troops have any confidence in me, to winter at Brussels. Assure the august assembly of the sovereign people that I will not rest until I have rendered the tyrants incapable of doing us any further mischief.

"DUMOURIEZ."

brigade of infantry : the latter found the ground lately occupied by the Prussians strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, while the ditches were so full of blood, that many of the sick had fallen into them, and actually perished there. Such a position as this became untenable, on account of the infection arising from epidemic maladies, and it was accordingly relinquished by the French.

As might have been expected, the retreat of the Prussians from Champagne was effected with the utmost difficulty, and it is extremely probable, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents of the Duke of Brunswick, and the bravery and perseverance displayed on this occasion by the King of Prussia himself, that if the whole French army had proceeded in pursuit, while Custine advanced on the side of Coblenz, they would have been reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The distance from the Camp of La Lune to Luxembourg does not exceed twenty-eight leagues, yet no less than three whole weeks were consumed in the route. As part of the way led through a marshy country, and the roads were broken up by the rains, while the neighbouring rivers overflowed their banks, but little progress could be made ; accordingly the troops often marched from break of day until night, without advancing more than five or six miles. The whole army was literally *stuck fast in the mud* during a week, before the village of Grandprey ; and in order to save the artillery, it became necessary to cut down part of the neighbouring forests, and by placing the trees side by side, a new road was constructed with infinite toil, for the cannon and baggage.

In the mean time the Generals Stengel, Beurnonville, Galland, and Chazot, although at too great a distance to produce any considerable effect, hung upon their flanks and rear, cut off the stragglers, and destroyed all the forage and provisions they could find in the neighbourhood. Valence, on being nominated to succeed Arthur Dillon, attacked and carried several of their posts, and obliged them to agree to the surrender of Longwy and the evacuation of Verdun before he would consent to an armistice.*

At length, on the 23d of October, the Prussian army reach-

* This armistice is so far memorable, as it afforded the first opportunity of recognising the republic, by the admission of the following article :—

“ Pour donner a' la presente convention la plus grande authenticite', elle sera revetue *du sceau du Peuple Français*, et de celui de S. M. le roi de Prusse.”—“ To give greater authenticity to this convention, it shall be invested with the seal of the French people, and that of his Majesty the King of Prussia.”

ed Austrian Flanders, reduced to the most deplorable state by famine and the dysentery, with the surviving soldiers entirely destitute of shoes, clothes, and not unfrequently even of arms. All the way from the heights of Hans to the fortress of Luxembourg was strewn with the wreck of the fugitives ; the camp equipage was abandoned, and half of the cavalry either killed or rendered unfit for service. (14.)

Thus, after the loss of upwards of twenty thousand Prussian and Austrian troops, the sacrifice of the French King, princes, and nobility, and the recognition of that very republic which had been threatened with annihilation, ended this memorable campaign ; in which, perhaps, for the first time in the annals of mankind, the fate of a great empire was decided without a general battle. A variety of obvious causes may be assigned for the failure of this expedition. The grand army took the field at too late a season of the year for effective operations ; the indiscriminate vengeance of the allied courts, instead of dividing, united France ; the house of Austria, in consequence of a recent war with the Turks, had been rendered unable to fulfil its engagements ; while the increasing jealousies of ancient rivalry, and the secret, and perhaps separate views of those princes who publicly professed to restore the mitre and the crown, perpetually intervened, so as to prevent a cordial union. To these are to be added, the difficulties of the original enterprise, and the constitutional versatility of the hero of the league. Such was the fatal impolicy of the original measure, that it involved in certain ruin all those whom it professed to save : it whetted the axe of the executioner, and prepared the scaffold for the unhappy King ; it put an end to the reigning dynasty, converted monarchical France into a military commonwealth, and at length endangered not the repose alone, but the independence of Europe.

(14.) The distresses of the Prussians on this retreat were trifling in comparison with those endured by the French emigrants. Abandoned by their recent allies in the treaty for the exchange of prisoners, they were exposed to every species of suffering, after that event. During the retreat they were chiefly employed as a rear guard, and according to an impartial historian,* “ both conquerors and conquered, united in showering their indignation upon these unfortunate persons. The aged and infirm, who could not keep up with the march of the army, fell into the hands of the French, and were immediately put to the sword, while the Prussian hussars plundered them with the most revolting indignity.” Such was the fate of those, who but a few months before had entered France, with the threat of reducing the people to unconditional submission. While it is impossible to avoid commiserating the sufferings of these unhappy persons, it cannot be denied that they were well merited, and afford a solemn warning to all who would invoke the interference of foreigners in the internal disputes of their own country.

* Lacretelle.

In the course of a single fortnight after the publication of the two celebrated declarations by the Duke of Brunswick, Louis XVI. was not only suspended but imprisoned; and immediately after the treacherous surrender of Longwy and Verdun, royalty itself was abrogated, and the republic proclaimed. Nor was this all; for the predominant faction, driven to despair by the approach of a victorious army, not only planned and perpetrated the execrable massacres of September, but swore the destruction of the whole Capetian race. From this moment, too, the democracy of France, wielded by a coarse but irresistible arm, after demolishing the nobles, the dignified clergy, and the throne, was uplifted to crush all the surrounding states.

It has been before intimated, that the capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussians, spread an instantaneous alarm throughout Paris, and that the assembly itself was not exempt from the panic. At this awful moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, the Minister of Justice, stood forward in the assembly on this occasion: he observed, that there were more than 80,000 stand of arms in Paris, in the hands of private persons, and with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who should sally forth to meet the enemy. This proposal was immediately adopted; and it was followed by a decree for disarming all suspected persons. Danton was at this time closely connected with M. Robespierre, who occupied the situation of public accuser, and with M. Marat, a Prussian, now become a distinguished member of the Jacobin Club; and to this execrable triumvirate, the horrors of the sanguinary massacres of the 2d and 3d of September are to be imputed. Instead of ordering the enrolment of volunteers to be made in their respective sections with order and quietness, they directed that the alarm guns should be fired at two o'clock; that the *tocsin*, or alarm bell, should be sounded; that the country should be proclaimed in danger; and, that the populace of Paris should be summoned to meet in the *Champ de Mars*, whence, as they pretended, they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy. It is only justice to the Parisians to say, that, on this occasion, they showed more discretion than their rulers; and that, for the most part, they assembled in their respective sections to enrol their names as the defenders of their country. A great concourse was however collected, composed, as the GIRONDE party (which derived its name from the department which returned its leading members) assert, partly of assassins, hired by the MOUNTAIN party, (which took its name from its mem-

bers occupying the highest seats in the convention) and at the head of which, at this moment, stood Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. The resolutions of the assembly had scarcely been formed, when a number of voices exclaimed, that "they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against their foreign enemies; but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes!"

Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of the non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cold blood, the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless, and probably innocent men. From the Carmes, they proceeded to the Abbey Prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impanelled a jury, nine of whom, it is said, were Italians, or assassins, from Avignon, and the other three French. Before these self-constituted judges, the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watchword that pronounced the culprit guilty, was, "Il faut le larger," (he must be set at liberty,) when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted, and these were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except their commander, M. d'Affry.

The assassins continued the whole night of the 2d at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined.—In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. This ill-fated princess was dragged from her bed, and her head being severed from her body, her mangled corpse was exposed to every kind of indignity; and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple, and shewn to the unfortunate Queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. Madame de Tourzelle, her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the 2d and 3d of September. At the Abbey Prison, 159 were massacred, exclusive of M. M. d'Augremont, Rosoy, and de la

Porte, who had been previously beheaded ; at the seminary of St. Firmin, 92 unfortunate victims suffered ; at the Carmes, 141 ; at the Hotel de la Force, 168 ; at the Chatelet, 214 ; at the Conciergerie, 85 ; at the Bicetre, 153 ; at the cloister of the Bernardins, 73 ; in all amounting to the shocking number of *one thousand and eighty-five*. The number of the assassins has been variously reported ; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither by the national assembly, on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins proceeded from Paris, and as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. Thus perished the Duke of Brissac, the Bishop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons also some prisoners were massacred on the 9th.

CHAPTER V.

Spire taken by the French—Surrender of Worms, Mentz, and Francfort—War declared against Sardinia by France—Conquest of Savoy—Of Nice—Geneva acknowledges the French Republic—Unsuccessful attack of the Austrians upon Lisle—Dumouriez's successes in the Netherlands—Battle of Gemappes—Privations of the French Army—Evacuation of Francfort by the French—Dumouriez repairs to Paris to save the life of the King.

AT the very moment when Dumouriez, at the head of a few undisciplined forces, not exceeding, as he asserts, 17,000 men, collected in haste, and bereaved of their original leader, was struggling against the efforts of the combined army in the plains of Champagne, prodigious exertions took place throughout the whole French empire. Camps were formed on all the frontiers, and swarms of armed citizens were put in motion against the enemy in every possible direction.—While the fate of the empire appeared as yet uncertain, inroads were made into the territories of hostile powers ; and those very states that had entertained the project of dismembering France, were themselves taught to experience all the horrors of dismemberment.

On the 29th of September, Custine commenced his march, at the head of about 20,000 troops, and proceeded directly to Spire, which contained immense magazines belonging to the enemy, and the Austrians having recently withdrawn a body

GERMAN OCEAN



Exhibiting the Seat of War from 1792 to 1798.



N E T H E R L A N D S

H O L L A N D

G E R M A N Y

F R A N C E

L U X E M B O U R G

SCALES
British Miles.

French Leagues



of 12,000 troops from the neighbourhood of Landau, to invest the fortress of Thionville, that portion of Germany between the Rhine and the Moselle was entirely unprotected, and nothing was left to oppose his progress but about 4000 troops belonging to the Emperor and the Elector of Mentz.

On his arrival at Spire, the French general found the enemy drawn up in battle array, their right being posted on a declivity, with a ravine in front, while the left was flanked with gardens, surrounded by steep hedges. Notwithstanding the strength of their position, Custine lost not a moment in commencing the attack. While his troops were forming for this purpose under cover of a heavy fire of artillery, four battalions had been despatched to take possession of a height which not only commanded but overhung the enemy's left flank. On this they retired within the city, and the French general advancing in pursuit, orders were issued to force the gates by means of cannon; but on perceiving that the soldiers were animated with an extraordinary degree of ardour, he preferred to make use of the hatchets of the grenadiers.— One of them was accordingly cut open in the course of a few minutes: another experienced the same fate, and the Germans, on seeing themselves repulsed on all sides, immediately retired to the houses, in the walls of which loop-holes had been formed for their musquetry, and as the enemy advanced they poured down an incessant fire upon them. For a moment the French troops gave way under this galling fire, but the general having placed eight-pounders and howitzers at the head of his columns, was soon enabled to rally his troops, and at length succeeded in forcing the Austrians to evacuate the city, with the loss of eight hundred slain during the action. The fruits of this day's victory, besides the magazines, consisted of 2,900 prisoners, who laid down their arms and were sent to France, five stand of colours, and a contribution of 450,000 livres, levied principally on the opulent ecclesiastics.

The conquest of Spire, and the complete defeat and subsequent capitulation of the troops entrusted with its protection, not only affrighted the garrisons of the neighbouring cities, which soon experienced a similar fate, but induced the inhabitants to court rather than avoid the protection of France, as a fruitless resistance would only expose them a bombardment. Custine, taking advantage of the terror recently impressed by his arms, marched against Worms, on the 21st of October, which immediately surrendered; and the valuable magazines contained in that city not only produced a timely supply of provisions and necessaries for his own troops, but

served also to cut off the resources of the enemy. He was now desirous to obtain possession of Mentz, which has always been considered as one of the bulwarks of Germany. He accordingly appeared before that place while still unprepared for a siege, and defended only by a feeble garrison, which, after the exchange of some cannon shot, immediately capitulated, and was permitted to march out with all the honours of war.

A few days subsequent to this, several detachments from the same army, proceeding along the banks of the river, appeared suddenly before Francfort. The inhabitants were greatly astonished to find two columns of French at their gates, the one commanded by General Neuwinger, and the other by Colonel Houchard; but before they could recover from their surprise the magistrates received a summons to admit these troops within their walls. As the sole defence of the city consisted of a broad ditch, and the enemy's cannon were already pointed, resistance became unavailing; the keys were accordingly presented; and the navigation of the Maine became tributary to the victors, while Hesse, Hanau, and the neighbouring country, supplied them with provisions. The French general having exasperated the wealthy inhabitants of the city, by enjoining them to pay the sum of two millions of florins, within a certain period, under pain of military execution, committed a great mistake in placing a slender garrison in the place, for the municipal officers taking advantage of the weakness of the garrison, incited the inhabitants to rise upon them, and succeeded without much difficulty in liberating themselves from the oppressive dominion of a band of foreigners.

While these operations were taking place at Francfort, Coblentz was menaced by the French, and the important fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, would, perhaps, have fallen, had it not been for the forced march of the Hessians. Friedberg, and the salt pits of Neuhein, were seized upon by a body of troops under Houchard, while other detachments took possession of Hombourg, Usingen, and Veelbourg; and in all these expeditions, care was taken to insure the favour of the peasantry, by the most exemplary moderation, while the princes, nobles, and dignified clergy, were treated with great harshness, and the prince of Hesse, in particular, experienced the marked enmity of the French generals.

While the Imperial and Prussian eagles were flying before the army of Dumouriez, and the banks of the Rhine, the Lahn, and the Maine, resounded with the shouts of the victorious French, preparations had been already made to carry

the three-coloured standard into the dominions of the King of Sardinia, and avenge the real or supposed injuries committed by the court of Turin.

From the commencement of the French Revolution, Victor Amadeus III. King of Sardinia, attached by a triple marriage to the court of Versailles, displayed a decided hostility to the recent changes that had taken place in France, and was at length prevailed upon by his son-in-law, the Count d'Artois, to declare in favour of the exiled princes and nobles.—This declaration, combined with a number of hostile indications, at length roused the indignation of the national assembly, who, on the sixteenth of September, passed a decree, declaring war against the King of Sardinia.*

The French, who had been but little ambitious of following the wise maxim of the Romans, never to engage in war with more than one state at a time, had, in anticipation of this event, appointed Montesquiou, in the spring of 1791, to the command of the southern departments. In the course of the ensuing summer, this general denounced the hostile preparations of the King of Sardinia, and on the 24th of September he entered Savoy, on the side of Mount Melian, with near 20,000 troops, without recurring to the formality of a manifesto. Chamberri, the capital, immediately surrendered on his approach, and he subdued the whole duchy without experiencing any serious resistance.

While Montesquiou over-ran one portion of the dominions of the King of Sardinia, Anselme, at the head of the army of the Var, prepared to attack another. He accordingly commenced his march, and planted the tree of liberty in the city of Nice. He then commenced the blockade of Montalban, which soon capitulated, and having obtained possession of Villa Franca, a frigate, a sloop of war, several magazines, filled with naval stores, and one hundred pieces of ordnance, became the prey of the Republicans. But in the course of a few weeks the French General received a check at Sospello, and lost several of his cannon; this being followed by a retreat from Castillon, where he had been beaten, he was immediately suspended by the Commissioners who attended his army, and sent a prisoner to Paris.†

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—*September 16, 1792.*—The minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly, “that the executive council had resolved that war should be declared against the King of Sardinia; his openly encouraging French rebels, and insulting the ambassador from France, having rendered such a step necessary.”

† GENERAL ANSELME. This officer, previously to the revolution, had been Colonel of the Royal Grenadiers. In 1791 he was made a

At this period of the war, the French made a number of proselytes in the conquered countries. A society of "the Friends of Liberty and Equality," was established at Chamberri, and another at Nice, while the inhabitants were eager to transmit addresses replete with attachment to the cause of France: and the republic of Geneva embraced the opportunity of being the first independent state that acknowledged the republic. On the other hand, the court of Turin was reduced to the most deplorable situation, Nice and Villa Franca were already lost; Savoy was annexed to France under the name of the department of Mont Blanc, by a decree of the 27th of November, the island of Sardinia was menaced by a naval armament, and the republic threatened to plant the tree of liberty in Piedmont.

Instead of being reduced to the necessity of defending her own territories, as formerly, France now threatened all her enemies with coercion, and proclaimed "that the country was no longer in danger."* At this memorable period upwards

marechal de camp, and on the 21st of Sep. 1792, nominated successor to General Montesquieu by the executive council, but he had not time to set off for the head quarters of the southern army, as the convention rescinded the appointment in the course of the succeeding day. He however was placed at the head of the army of the Var, and conducted himself with so much moderation that the inhabitants of Nice demanded for him the rank of Marshal of France. At first all his operations proved successful, and victory seemed to be attached to his standards, but he at length experienced a reverse of fortune, and was soon after suspended from his command by the Commissioners by whom he was accompanied. They informed the convention, "that the late disasters had originated in consequence of the departure from principles, carelessness, and want of circumspection, on the part of General Anselme; and that being fully convinced of his incapacity, they had nominated Biron to succeed him." Although neither treason nor venality of any kind appeared to be urged against the conqueror of Montalban, Nice, and Villa Franca, yet Tallien moved for a decree of arrest; but Goupilleau prevented that measure from taking place immediately, by insisting on previously hearing the Commissioners. He was however imprisoned in the abbey a short time afterwards, but on pleading his wounds, permission was granted to retire to his own house. At length he was fortunate enough to be acquitted of all the charges brought against him, and remained in obscurity during the remainder of the revolution.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—October 20, 1792. The foreign enemies of the republic having been forced to quit her territories, the national convention seizes this opportunity to publish the following proclamation to the French armies.

"Citizens in arms, who combat for the rights of men, you whose courage hath insured the triumph of liberty and equality, a grateful country addresses you through us. Receive then the recompence of the danger, the fatigues, and the sacrifices, which have marked your path towards glory. The national convention accordingly declares, in the name of the French people, that you have saved the republic, and that your country is no longer in danger."

of 60,000 men, under the Generals Kellermann, Valence, and Chazot, were employed in pursuit of the retreating Prussians; eighteen thousand more commanded by d'Harville, had assembled at Maubeuge; Labourdonnaye had collected nearly thirty thousand, including the garrisons of the northern departments; Custine, with twenty thousand, kept possession of Mentz and Francfort; from fifteen to eighteen thousand were serving under Biron before Strasburgh and Huningen; the successors of Montesquiou and Anselme were still at the head of thirty thousand; while Beurnonville, with about twenty-two thousand more destined for the invasion of the Low Countries, was on his march to French Flanders. Thus an immense body of near two hundred thousand troops had been brought into action, and great and important designs of conquest and revenge were now meditated.

Dumouriez, after conducting his troops to Vouzieres, on their way to the relief of Lisle, repaired to Paris for the purpose of concerting a plan for the winter campaign. After remaining only four days in the capital, where his military achievements had rendered him extremely popular, he set out for Valenciennes on the 20th of October, where he arrived before the army.

While Dumouriez had defended the important passes leading to the passes of Argonne, Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, the Governor General of the Austrian Low Countries, who was well acquainted with the weakness of the French in that quarter, prepared to invade French Flanders; and in the course of a few days presented himself before Lisle, with 25,000 men, and an immense train of artillery. On the 29th of September, the Duke summoned the city to surrender. To which the commander, Marshal Rualt, answered—"We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation; to maintain liberty and equality; or to die at our posts. We will not perjure ourselves." The Austrians rejoined by opening their batteries upon the town. The inhabitants inspired with a degree of extraordinary heroism, caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square, and hung on the tree of liberty, at the same time determining, that whoever presumed to remove them, with a view of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. The Archduchess Christiana, consort of Duke Albert, was at the siege, and applied the match to the first mortar fired upon the occasion. The bombardment continued for eight days, during which period, the bombs and bullets never ceased to shower destruction on this seemingly devoted city; but the heroic ardour of the little garrison, joined to the well regulated enthusiasm of the in-

habitants, finally prevailed, and the assailants, unable to make any impression on the walls, and hearing of the discomfiture of the combined army, retired amidst the maledictions of the citizens, two thousand of whose houses were destroyed, and six thousand damaged. During this siege, the women, emulous to share the common danger, carried water, consoled and dressed the wounded, encouraged the combatants, and even danced on the batteries in sight of the enemy.

The successes of the French about this period produced a desire to effect a revolution in the conquered countries. The national convention accordingly decreed, "that in all the territories occupied by the armies of the republic, the generals shall proclaim peace, fraternity, and equality; abolish tithes, nobility, and feudal services: that they shall also convoke primary assemblies; but none of the privileged orders are to be allowed to vote until they have sworn to renounce their privileges."

Dumouriez was now prepared with a body of nearly 90,000 men, to make a third attack upon the Austrian Low Countries. Having made all the necessary military arrangements, he resolved to enter immediately on the campaign; but he did not omit to provide himself with arms of a new kind, far more destructive to the power of the enemy than the most terrible engines of modern warfare. These consisted of pamphlets, declarations, advertisements, and addresses, drawn up with skill, and productive of so powerful an effect, that the Austrian Government found it necessary to prohibit "all communication" between the two nations. The French general himself penned a manifesto with his own hand, in which he announced to the Belgians, that his troops intended to enter their country, not as enemies, but as brothers and friends; that their design was to assist them in the recovery of their ancient rights; that they would neither intermeddle in their government nor their laws; that they would also leave it to themselves to organize whatever constitution they might be inclined to adopt; and that they would not levy any contribution, nor exercise any act of conquest whatever.

"Provided," added he, "you but establish the sovereignty of the people and renounce the dominion of despots, we will become your supporters: we will respect your property and your laws, and the most rigid discipline shall prevail throughout the French armies. Belgians, we are brethren! Our cause is the same. You have given so many proofs of impatience under the yoke, that we cannot entertain the least apprehension of being obliged to treat you as enemies."

In the mean time the Austrians, under the Duke of Saxe

Teschen, determined to adopt a defensive system, and by means of a war of posts, provide for the safety of the Low Countries. The Duke, by his junction with General Clairfayt, was now at the head of 25,000 men; and Dumouriez, in consequence of detachments sent on other services, had no more than 32,000, but in order to preserve his superiority, he ordered General d'Harville to reinforce him with his corps, 12,000 strong. Three days after this he advanced from his head-quarters at Hanning, and the first skirmish took place with the Austrians on the part of the Belgic infantry, who of their own accord attacked the enemy's advanced posts on the village of Thielin, and drove them before them; but having pursued the fugitives into the plain towards the mill of Bousac, the Imperial hussars became the assailants in their turn, and four companies were either killed or taken prisoners.

On the 5th of November the French army was ranged in columns along the forest, in such a manner as to be readily drawn up in order of battle parallel to the village of Gemappe, with a wood in the rear, the right at Hamery, and the left at Hormes; it being resolved to attack the heights, on which the enemy were intrenched in the most formidable manner, in the course of the ensuing day.

The French commander in chief having made the proper dispositions for an assault, a vigorous cannonade was begun at seven o'clock in the morning, which lasted until ten. It appeared to Dumouriez that it was necessary for the soldiers to commence a conflict with bayonets: but he feigned to hesitate in giving the order, and merely commanded the batteries to approach nearer the city. At the same time he gave directions that the village of Quareignon, which protected Gemappe on one side, should be carried; and this point was speedily gained. At noon all was disposed for a general attack; it was confided principally to General Beurnonville, called by Dumouriez *the French Ajax*, and to the eldest son of Egalit'e, duke of Orleans. The ardour of the soldiers was not to be repressed; and the first line of redoubts was almost immediately carried. The obstacles to their progress seemed however to increase. The enemy's cavalry advanced at this instant with a view of flanking the French columns: but young Egalit'e was despatched to rally the troops, and attack the second line of redoubts. This assault was favoured by the third regiment of chasseurs, and the sixth of hussars, which arrived in time to charge the cavalry of the enemy, and hold them in check. At the same time, some disorder having appeared in the cavalry of Beurnonville, while he was charging the enemy at the head of his infantry, Dumouriez himself rallied them,

and attacked the enemy's horse with great vigour, which had already encroached upon his right flank. During the interval of the conflict on the right, the left wing of the French had carried Gemappe, and the centre had obtained possession of the second line of redoubts. A second, though a far shorter and less vigorous engagement, now took place upon the heights. The Austrians were at length obliged to retire in disorder and precipitancy upon Mons.

The conquest of the Netherlands was the reward of the victory of Gemappe. It is difficult to state with precision the loss sustained by both sides in this engagement. Dumouriez estimates the loss of the Austrians at four thousand, while he rates his own at only nine hundred killed and wounded. It is however evident from the circumstance of the disadvantageous situation of the latter, that this account is highly improbable, and even impossible.*

The French, pursuing their victorious career, obtained possession of Ath, and of Tournay, two days after the battle of Gemappe; and the commandant of Dunkirk with 1,800 infantry marched to Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, all of which immediately opened their gates at his approach.

On the morning of the 7th, Dumouriez entered Mons, amidst the shouts of the inhabitants, who received the conquerors as deliverers. After possessing himself with some difficulty of the heights of Anderlecht, the French General despatched Colonel Westermann with a trumpet to summon Brussels. Marshal Bender, on this, immediately evacuated that city, and Dumouriez entered it amidst the acclamations of the people, and, what was perhaps still more pleasing, between a double row of Austrian deserters, who lined the streets on each side, and amounted to more than four thousand.†

During this campaign, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, fell in succession before the armies of France, under the

* *Precis Historique de la Revolution Française*, par Lacretelle, t. I. p. 102.

† NATIONAL CONVENTION.—November 14, 1792.
Copy of a Despatch from General Dumouriez.

“CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

“Yesterday I presented myself before Brussels; the Austrians employed a considerable force against me, by means of which they disputed the heights of Anderlecht. Desirous to spare the blood of my fellow-citizens, I lay all night under arms, and was received this morning at Brussels as the deliverer of the Brabant nation. The minister of war will give you further particulars; but what I can assure you is, that it may be said of the French army, *vires acquirit eundo*; (it has acquired strength by the conflict.) The Austrian government has retired to Zuremonde.—DUMOURIEZ.”

command of General Labourdonnaye. Louvain, and Namur, confined to the care of the Austrian General Beaulieu, were taken by General Valence. Ostend fell on the 15th of November, and the citadel of Namur surrendered on the 2d of December, to General Valence.

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp was confined to General Miranda, who, in opposition to the declaration of the states-general, that by "virtue of treaties no ship of war could enter," ascended the Scheldt with a flotilla of five armed vessels under the command of Captain Moultsen,^(15.) and prosecuted the siege with so much vigour as to triumph over all difficulties in a few days.

Thus Dumouriez in some measure realized all his boastings; for, within the space of one month after opening the campaign, notwithstanding the steady opposition on the part of the enemy, and the no less formidable obstacle relative to the supply of money, clothes, ammunition, and provisions, he now found himself completely master of all the Low Countries, and the whole of the territory belonging to Liege, with the exception of the duchy of Luxembourg, and the little town of Herve.

Dumouriez, after despatching General Lamalriere to levy contributions in the duchy of Cleves, belonging to the King of Prussia, determined to march immediately against the Austrians. But his army, still encamped behind Liege, was deprived of every comfort. Some of the battalions were entirely destitute of shoes and stockings; whole regiments were infected with the itch; neither straw nor wood could be obtained; and Rousin, the commissary-general, who was at variance with the commander-in-chief, only supplied the army with provisions from day to day.

At length, the general having borrowed, or rather exacted, the sum of one hundred and fourteen thousand livres from the seven collegiate churches of Liege, determined to set out in quest of the enemy, now posted in divisions communicating with each other at Aix-la-Chapelle, Herve, and Henry-Chapelle. Having dispatched Colonels Trecheville and de Hack, to act against their left flank, he ordered General Stengel to advance in front. The Imperialists after maintaining their position for some time with their accustomed valour, retired with the loss of about 300 men, and General Clairfayt immediately occupied a new and formidable position behind the Herfte. The French in the mean time had only to accomplish a march of ten leagues in order to dislodge him, but both bread and forage were

(15.) Captain Moultsen was an American officer, but at that time in the service of France.

wanting to enable them to conclude the campaign by so brilliant an enterprise.

While the victorious armies of the republic extended their fame and their conquests, and threatened the humiliation of all their enemies, the convention began to experience the degrading influence of Robespierre and Marat. The war department under Pache, was administered without any regard to the wants of the army, and the general complained with too much reason, "that for the purpose of retarding his success, and ruining his reputation, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all the disasters that followed are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than 15,000 men were in the hospitals, more than 25,000 deserted, through misery and disgust, and upwards of 10,000 horses died of hunger."

To add to the calamities of France, a period was about to be put to her successes in Germany, and Custine, partly in consequence of his own imprudence, and partly from not being supported by Kellermann, was forced to evacuate Francfort; while the Prussians, after exhibiting the most distinguished marks of discipline and perseverance, on their retreat from France, now occupied that city as well as Coblenz and Treves.

About this period Dumouriez repaired to France, ostensibly to consult the ministers relative to the approaching campaign, but in reality, according to his own account since published, to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. But the Parisians were at this moment outrageous against their late King, and the influence of the jacobins now preponderated in the convention. The national guards were taught to consider Louis XVI. as a perjured and perfidious prince; and the commander-in-chief himself asserts,* that even the troops of the line had become indifferent to his fate.

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. III. p. 428.

CHAPTER VI.

Observations—Discovery—Contents of the concealed Documents—Trial of Louis XVI—His Conduct subsequent to the Trial—His Execution—His last Will and Testament.

IT has been well observed, that short is the distance between the prison and the grave of a sovereign: and the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI. adds another to the numerous illustrations afforded in the annals of nations, of the truth of this observation. Ever since the massacre of the 2d of September, the MOUNTAIN, or ANARCHISTS, as they were called, had been labouring to wash away the remembrance of their own guilt on that fatal day, in the blood of their sovereign; and in the month of October various motions were introduced into the convention, and carried by overwhelming majorities, sometimes by acclamation, for the purpose of bringing the King to trial and punishment; and though these measures were generally opposed by the Gironde party, their eloquence and influence were found insufficient to restrain that implacable and sanguinary disposition which had taken possession of the breasts of their rivals, and communicated itself to a great part of the population of the metropolis.

About this period a discovery was made which served to heighten the popular resentment against the lately deposed King, and which appeared to involve the most important consequences. A workman, who had been employed to form an iron chest or closet in the wall of the Thuilleries, revealed the Fact to Roland, the minister of the home department, and conducted him to the place which contained the sacred deposit. This chest was found to contain a great number of correspondencies, and a committee consisting of 24 members of the convention was chosen to inspect the papers, and prepare the act of accusation. On the 6th of November, Valaze, the chairman of the committee, presented the report, when the principal proofs of guilt produced against the King from the concealed documents, were the following:—

1. A receipt from Bouille', dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the sum of 993 thousand livres issued for the formation of the camp at Montmedy. This money had been distributed amongst the following persons, viz. Monsieur, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Nassau, the Duc de Choiseul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Lassale, Weyman, and several other general officers and private persons.

2. Another signed Choiseul-Stanville, attesting the receipt and distribution of 600,000 livres.

3. A letter stating that the diamonds of Madame Elizabeth had been

transmitted on the 22d of June, 1791, to an officer of huzzars, who had carried them to the brothers of the late King.

4. A paper proving that the Editor of the "Postillon de la Guerre," (a news paper) had received 8,000 livres from the civil list, and the "Logographe," no less than 60,000 livres, during the space of three months only.

5. A great number of letters, &c. &c. proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of corn, sugar and coffee; these monopolies were made in foreign countries; the treasurer of the civil list superintended the business, and was ordered to advance to the amount of three millions.

6. A new order of chivalry, introduced under the name of "Chevaliers de la Reine;" the decoration of this order consisted of a medal, one side of which was adorned with a portrait of the queen; the other had this inscription: "*Magnum reginæ nomen adumbrat.*"—Several persons had received this decoration, notwithstanding an express decree forbidding the creation of any new orders of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, which prove that a person of the name of Gille had received 12,000 livres in order to pay a band of sixty men, against the express letter of the constitution, which forbids the King to raise or maintain any armed men without the permission of the legislature.

8. A carton full of proofs that Louis Capet had continued the pay of such of his body guards as had emigrated to Coblenz; that a number of conspirators were constantly assembled at the Thuilleries; that Bouille had the audacity to repair there since the invasion projected in 1791; and that, from the day that the *ci-devant* Comte d'Artois had been decreed to be in a state of accusation, Louis XVI. had assigned a pension of 200,000 livres to his children.

The discussion on the report was immediately followed by the introduction of a question, the most embarrassing to his accusers, and to the convention: viz. whether the King was not by the constitution invested with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether consistent with justice, he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial. This objection was strangely and most unjustly over-ruled by the convention, who, in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *expost facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe, their inattention to those "rights of man," which the nation had so solemnly proclaimed.

Immediately on the act of accusation being past, the King was forcibly separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance; and contrary to the practice in all criminal cases, in almost every civilized country, it was decreed that Louis should be brought before the convention without previous notice or preparation. (16.)

(16.) The facts are rather incorrectly stated here. On the third of December the convention decreed that Louis should be tried. On the 10th he was brought to the bar to answer to the interrogatories. At a

On the 10th of December, the unfortunate monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention, and the act of accusation having been read, he was required by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. So important a record, it would be inconsistent with the fidelity of history to abridge, and it is therefore subjoined entire from the most authentic source.

Extract of the proceedings of the National Convention, on the 11th of December, 1792.

LOUIS came to the bar: a profound silence reigned in the assembly. The president said to him,

"Louis, the people of France accuse you; the national convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Louis sit down."

The King seated himself. A secretary read the accusation, and the president then said,

"Louis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the national convention to propose to you. Louis, you are accused of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty. On the 20th of June, 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the people by suspending the assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles, by the members of the constituent assembly.—What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I acted against no law then in existence."

President. "On the 23d of June, 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation; you surrounded the sitting of the constituent assembly with troops; presented them with two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate."

To this the King gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

President. "You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris; their blood was shed, you did not withdraw your troops till the Bastille was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The answers you returned to the deputations of the constituent assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, shew what your intentions then were; and the massacre at the Thuilleries also deposes against you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I had at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood."

President. "After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You long evaded sanctioning the decree of the 11th of August, for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and titles; you at first refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body-guards, and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national

subsequent day, counsel was assigned him; and it was not until the 26th that his trial commenced, twenty-three days having been allowed him to prepare his defence.

cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short, you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th September on the decree of the 10th of August, in the verbal process of the constituent assembly, on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the constituent assembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their counsel, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made the observations which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false. I was witness to no such scene."

President. "At the federation of the 14th of July, 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter which La Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with *Rivarol*, he informs you that the sums you had been advised to distribute had produced nothing."

Louis. "I don't exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previously to my accepting the constitution."

President. "Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, distributed money amongst the poor workmen, telling them that you could do no more for them?"

Louis. "I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief. In this I had no insidious design."

President. "Was it not in consequence of the same project that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud, or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?"

Louis. "This accusation is quite absurd."

President. "You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d of February, 1791, which you verified by your own hand-writing; and, on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Thuilleries in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud, on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you, that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured to dissipate this distrust by communicating to the assembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by means of a false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very constitution. You ordered the ministers not to sign any acts which came from the national assembly; and you prohibited the minister of justice from sealing them with the seal of the state; the public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treason; and you ordered *Bouille* to assist you with an armed force; that same officer who commanded at the massacres of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity, it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your own hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing; on your letter of the 4th of September, 1790, to *Bouille*; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of

993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops that were to escort you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February.—With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the constituent assembly."

President. "After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the *Champ de Mars*. A letter in your own hand addressed to La Fayette, 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expense of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the constitution of the 14th of September, you declared yourself willing to maintain it, yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "What passed on the 17th of July cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them."

President. "A convention took place at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the national assembly until it was known to all Europe. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made it known as soon as I knew it myself; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers."

President. "Arles raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it by sending commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt.—What do you answer?"

Louis. "The commissioners' instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were entrusted. I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me."

President. "Avignon and Venaissin had been reunited to France; but you did not execute the decree till a month after; during that interval, a civil war desolated the country, and the commissioners you sent completed the devastation. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree; but those who were entrusted with it are alone responsible."

President. "Nismes, Montauban, Mendes, and Jalès, experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I gave the orders upon that occasion, which were proposed to me by my minister."

President. "You sent two battalions against the Marseillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I must see the papers which regard this affair before I can answer to the charge."

President. "You gave the command of the South to Weigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer, and I should have surrounded your Majesty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "This letter by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recal. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter."

President. "You paid your disbanded body-guard at Coblentz, as the registers of Septucl testify; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouille', la Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beaupr'e, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac."

Louis. "I no sooner received intelligence that my body-guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest."

President. "Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them till you were well assured that you could not injure their plans.—Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-writing of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows:

"I have written to you, but it was by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ardour to serve you animates us both. We still keep silence; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near.—If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will listen, but never alter our course; if therefore, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation; be easy with regard to your safety; we only exist to serve you: we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu.

L. S. XAVIER, et
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.

"What have you to answer?"

Louis. "As soon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters."

President. "The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December; you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised; but he stopped the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made, yet nothing was prepared. Servan proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; the legislative assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris: you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march; meanwhile our armies were deficient in soldiers; Dumouriez, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the assembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine."

President. "You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulangeon's, commander in *Franche Comte'*. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "There is not a word of truth in this accusation."

President. "You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, par-

ticularly to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria ; that the latter by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador of Constantinople. What have you to answer ?”

Louis. “ M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth ; there is no foundation for such an idea.”

President. “ You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis ; you delayed till the legislative assembly required of the minister Legard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the assembly, proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers ; your minister was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia ; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the assembly, as directed by the constitution. What have you to answer ?”

Louis. “ I had no knowledge of the fact until the tenth ; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the ministers.”

President. “ You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department ; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them.”

Louis. “ I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne ; it was not I who dismantled these towns ; I never would have authorized it.”

President. “ Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun ?”

Louis. “ If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it.”

President. “ You have destroyed our navy ; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remains a sufficient number for the service ; nevertheless, Bertrand continued to grant passports, and when the legislative body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered that you were satisfied with his services.”

Louis. “ I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the service. The national assembly produced no charge that appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him.”

President. “ You countenanced absolute government in the colonies ; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France.”

Louis. “ If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for any thing of the nature you mention.”

President. “ The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics ; you shewed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer ?”

Louis. “ I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design.”

President. “ The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer ?”

Louis. “ The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees.”

President. “ Disturbances increased ; the minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree ; you suspended the execution of that also.”

Louis. The same reply.

President. “ The bad conduct of those guards which the constitution had given to you, was such, that the assembly was under the necessity

of decreeing, that they should be disbanded ; the day after, you wrote a letter to the assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and you continued to pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list."

Louis. "I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the decree required."

President. "You retained your Swiss guards about your person in contradiction to the constitution, and after the legislative assembly had ordered their departure. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I conformed to the decree on that subject."

President. "You authorised d'Augremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles who was ordered to organise a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head."

President. "You endeavoured by considerable sums to bribe several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. The fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, Saint Leon, and many others which will be produced."

Louis. "Such plans were frequently presented to me, but I rejected them."

President. "Who were the members of the constituent and legislative assemblies whom you corrupted?"

Louis. "I never sought to corrupt any. I know of none."

President. "Who were the persons that presented plans to you?"

Louis. "The plans were so absurd, that I don't recollect."

President. "To whom did you promise money?"

Louis. "To none."

President. "You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in these countries. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate that was the business of the ministers."

President. "On the 10th of August, you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the national assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency ; and I afterwards took refuge in the assembly, with my family."

President. "Why did you cause the Swiss guard to be doubled, in the beginning of August?"

Louis. "All the constituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself."

President. "Why did you send for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?"

Louis. "Because of the rumours which were spread."

President. "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed."

Louis. "No, Sir, it was not I."

President. "Did not you authorise Septueil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburgh, and in other towns? This is proved by Septueil's own letters."

Louis. "I know nothing about what you mention."

President. "Why did you put a *veto* on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?"

Louis. "The constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time, I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers at Soissons."

President. "Louis, have you any thing to add in your defence?"

Louis. "I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed counsel to conduct my cause."

Valaze, who sat near the bar, presented and read to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.

Louis. "I disown them."

Valaze next presented several other papers, on which the act of accusation was founded, and asked the King if he recognized them.—These papers were the following:

Valaze. "Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution."

Louis. "I reserve to myself to answer the contents." (*Valaze* read the letter)—"It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been sent."

Valaze. "Letter of Louis Capet of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, with March 3, 1791, implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the jacobins."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men, some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau."

Louis. "I disown it as well as the rest."

Valaze. "Plan of a constitution, or revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to Louis Capet, April 6, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing."

Louis. "These things have been blotted out by the constitution."

Valaze. "Do you know this writing?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Your marginal comments?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, April 19, 1791, mentioning a conversation with Rivarol."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the Abbe' Perigord, Andre', and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake."

Louis. "I disown it likewise."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte of the 23d of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, respecting the means of his gaining popularity."

Louis. "I know neither of these pieces."

Valaze. "Several pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Thuilleries, in the gap which was shut in the walls of the palace, relating to the expenses to gain that popularity."

President. "Previous to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question:—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that press?"

Louis. "I have no knowledge of it whatever."

Valaze. "Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque."

Louis. "This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made."

Valaze. "Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh, on the 9th of July, 1791."

Louis. "This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid."

President. "Louis, where had you deposited those pieces which you own?"

Louis. "With my treasurer."

Valaze. "Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the one hundred Swiss, and the King's guards for 1792?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of L'Ardeche."

Louis. "I have not the smallest knowledge of them,"

Valaze. "Letter of Bouille, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received of Louis Capet."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "An order for payment of 168,000 livres, signed Louis, endorsed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the same."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Poulignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiseul."

Louis. "I disown them as well as the others."

Valaze. "Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late King, mentioned in the declaratory act."

Louis. "I know nothing of it."

Valaze. "Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul Gouffier, at Constantinople."

Louis. "I have no knowledge of them."

Valaze. "Here is a letter of the late King to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the 16th of April, 1791."

Louis. "I disown it."

Pres. "Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?"

Louis. "I do not."

Pres. "The seal bears the arms of France."

Louis. "Several persons made use of that seal."

Valaze. "Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter of Dufresne St. Leon, which relates to it."

Louis. "I know none of these pieces."

The President then addressing the King, said:—

"I have no other question to propose, have you any thing more to add in your defence?"

Louis. "I wish to have a copy of the accusation, and of the papers on which it is founded. I also wish to have counsel of my own nomination."

Pres. "Your two first requests are already decreed, and the determination respecting the other will be made known in due time."

The convention, after some deliberation, decreed that counsel should be allowed to the King, and his choice fell upon

M. M. Tronchet, Lamoignon-Malesherbes, and Deseze.—On the 26th of December, the King appeared for the last time at the bar, and M. Deseze read a defence which the counsel had prepared, replete with sound argument, and exhibiting a master-piece of composition.

At the close of the defence, the King arose, and with a firm voice and dignified manner, said :—

“CITIZENS,

“You have heard my defence ; I now speak to you, perhaps for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth ; my conscience reproaches me with nothing ; I was never afraid of having my conduct investigated ; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of the contrary disposition, I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which, I now solemnly declare, is entirely groundless.”

On the 16th of January, the trial closed ; and after a sitting of nearly thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was awarded. When all the members had voted, the president rose to pronounce the result of their deliberations. A profound and awful silence ensued, while he declared, That out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death ; three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war ; two for perpetual imprisonment ; eight for a suspension of the execution of death till after the expulsion of the Bourbons ; twenty-three for not inflicting the punishment of death unless the French territory should be invaded by some foreign power ; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment. “In consequence of this decision,” said the president, “I declare that the punishment decreed against LOUIS CAPET is *Death !*”

At this period of the sitting, the King’s counsellors were admitted to the bar, when M. Deseze addressing the convention, said :—“Citizens, representatives, the law of the nation and your decess have entrusted to us the sacred functions of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter, signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy :

LETTER.

“I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime, of which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its

representatives; and I commit by these presents to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sitting.

(Signed)

LOUIS."

This appeal was rejected, and only one effort more remained to be made in favour of the unfortunate monarch, which was to press for the respite of the sentence of death. The appeal-nominal on this important question was terminated at midnight, on Saturday the 19th of January. The members were required to give their votes simply *yes* or *no*, without arguing the point; and on the scrutiny, 310 votes appeared in favour of the respite, and 380 for the execution of the sentence in twenty-four hours, the time prescribed by the law against criminals; and the executive council were accordingly instructed to prepare the devoted Louis for his fate.

At the request of the King, the Abbe Edgeworth, grand vicar of the diocese of Paris, and confessor of the Princess Elizabeth, an ecclesiastic of an Irish family, was permitted to attend him as his confessor, and it is on the authority of the Abbe, that the following particulars, which are little known, are communicated:—

It was not till the 20th of January, at four o'clock in the afternoon, that the Abbe was sent for to the Thuilleries, by the executive council, who were assembled at that place.—This summons he instantly obeyed, and on entering the apartment, Garat, the minister of justice, said, "Louis Capet desires to see you, will you go to the Temple?" "Unquestionably I will," replied the Abbe, "the king's request is an order in my eyes." "Follow me, then," said the minister, and ordering his carriage, they drove off to the Temple. After remaining some time in the hall, where his pockets were searched, and his snuff box examined to see that it did not contain poison; he was shewn to the apartment of the King, whose countenance exhibited the utmost serenity. The Abbe sunk on his knees, kissed his majesty's hand, and bathed it with tears. The King, equally affected, raised him saying; "None but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them; but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

Being in some measure recovered, he led the Abbe into his closet, and having made him sit down, he read his last will twice over to him, with a firm tone, and proper emphasis, his voice faltering only at those parts where mention is made of the Queen, his children, and the Princess Elizabeth. It is difficult to do justice to the devout, sublime, and heroic

sentiments expressed by the King in this interesting conference, particularly when he spoke of his own situation, and that of his family, but above all when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

After this he rose, saying, "I must now go and see my family for the last time. This will be the severest trial of all. When that is over I will fix my mind solely on what concerns my salvation."

Leaving the Abbe in his closet, the unhappy monarch went to the room where his family were already assembled, and which was separated only by a door from that in which were two commissaries constantly on duty: this door was of glass, so that these men could see all that passed. In such horrible circumstances, and in this dismal room, did the King of France meet his deploring family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here passed a scene of woe far beyond the power of description, to which the mind of sensibility alone can do justice. In such a moment the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of ambition must be unfelt amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart. That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the King, the Queen, and his sister. The Princess, his daughter, had attained that age when the heart is perhaps the most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility the most exquisite. Even the young Prince, who was only in his ninth year, partook deeply in the general sorrow, and while his eyes were bathed in tears, he cried sobbing to Santerre, "*Ah laissez moi courir les rues ! j'irai aux districts—j'irai a tous les sections, demander grace pour mon papa.*"—"Oh let me run through the streets ! I will go to the districts—I will go to the sections and beg for my papa." At the close of this agonizing interview, which lasted more than an hour, the King returned to his own room in a state of emotion that cannot be expressed. "Why," said he, addressing the Abbe, after he had recovered himself, "Why do I love with so much tenderness, and wheretore am I so tenderly beloved?—But the painful sacrifice is over, let me turn my thoughts to the care of my salvation alone."

Having thus expressed himself, he remained for some minutes in silent meditation, interrupted by sighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converse on the great truths of religion ; and astonished his confessor as much by the extensive knowledge he displayed on that subject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

About ten o'clock the King took a slight supper, which be-

ing over, the Abbe asked him whether he would not like to hear mass, and to receive the communion. The King replied, that he most ardently desired it; but he shewed, at the same time, that he had little hopes of that favour being granted him. "I must have permission," said he, "from this council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing but what it was impossible to withhold." M. Edgeworth went directly, and signified the King's request to the council sitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties. "There are examples in history," said a member of their court, "of priests who have mixed poison with the hostie." "I have been sufficiently searched," said the Abbe, "to satisfy you that I have no poison about me: but to render yourselves still more certain, you have only to furnish me with the hosties; and if they should prove poisoned, the blame will not be imputable to me."

To this the council made no immediate answer: but the members went into the room where they usually held meetings. The Kings demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbe being called in, the president said: "Citizen minister of worship, that which Louis Capet requests, not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: first, that you sign the request; and secondly, that the ceremony you intend to perform shall terminate before seven o'clock to-morrow morning; as, at eight o'clock, Louis Capet must go hence to the place of execution."

The Abbe Edgeworth submitted to these conditions, and went to inform the King, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the hope of once more having the consolation of hearing mass, and of receiving the communion. When his confession was ended, M. Edgeworth, seeing the King exhausted by the anguish and fatigue he had undergone, advised him to go to bed and endeavour to obtain a little repose. With this advice the King thought proper to comply.

Having slept with tranquillity, Louis called for Clery, his *valet*, early next morning, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass and received the communion with the most profound devotion. After having finished his prayers, he said to M. Edgeworth, "How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion. Yes! I shall be enabled to shew them that I do not fear death."

A noise being heard at the door, the Abbe was agitated. He thought the fatal moment had already arrived. The King, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. "Here they come, however;" said the King, calmly, on hearing some

persons ascending the stairs. It was the commissaries of the commune, with a priest at their head, called Jacques Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said the King, "I will join you directly : but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." They retired. His majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees,

"All is consummated. Give me your last benediction."

Fear of the danger to which M. Edgeworth might be exposed, in accompanying the King to the place of execution, had prevented his majesty from making such a proposition ; and he supposed that they were now about to separate : but when he found that it was the fixed determination of this venerable man, worthy of the sacred functions he exercised, to abide by him to the last, his majesty was at once moved by tenderness, and filled with satisfaction. Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons*," (let us go) said he with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre, who waited without.

Here the King offered to Roux, the priest, a packet, containing his testament, desiring that he would deliver it to the commune. He refused to take it, saying, that it was his duty to conduct him to the scaffold, but nothing else. One of his companions, however, took the packet, and remitted it carefully to the commune.

Before they came to the stair of the Temple, the King perceiving that the commissaries were covered, desired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head ; and being escorted by a very numerous detachment of national guards, he walked through the first court of the temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the second. Two men belonging to the *gendarmes* stood at the door. One of them got into the carriage followed by the King and M. Edgeworth. The other *gendarme* placed himself by his comrade.

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the temple to the *Place de Louis XV.* The whole streets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums. His majesty continued reading with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door, the King said to the two *gendarmes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." As they made no immediate answer, he added, with greater earnestness, "I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death."

"Well, well, give yourself no further trouble ; we shall take care of him," answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The King having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation ; but M. Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be useless, and would expose the King to outrages still more violent, persuaded him into compliance, by saying : “ Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty’s sufferings resemble those of that Saviour, who will soon be your recompence.”

As he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the Abbe Edgeworth, this servant of God addressed the King in this sublime expression, “ *Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to heaven !*”

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step, to the part which faced the palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders that had been received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Thuilleries,

“ I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God from the bottom of my heart to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed——”

He was continuing, when Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the same time, laid hold on their victim—his head was placed on the block—the fatal instrument of death descended—and the horrid deed was completed !

As soon as the King’s head was severed from his body, a young man, appointed to that service, seized it by the hair, and holding it up to the people, exclaimed repeatedly, *Vive la Nation !* To which some of the populace replied, *Vive la Republique !* but the majority appeared to be struck dumb with horror, while the affections of many led them to bathe their handkerchiefs in his blood, and his hair was sold in small parcels, probably to those whose piety and tenderness would esteem it an inestimable relic.

“ As if every incident of this tragedy,” says an elegant writer, “ had been intended to display the strange vicissitudes of human fortune ; as if every scene was meant to ‘ point a moral ;’ the body was conveyed in a cart to the parish church of St. Madelaine, and laid amongst the bodies of those that had been crushed to death on the *Place de Louis XV.* when Louis XVI. was married, and of those who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries, on the 10th of August. The grave

was filled with quick lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot, to which, shrouded by the doubtful glare of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit."

Thus fell Louis XVI. a monarch possessed of good talents, a benevolent temper, and a sincere desire to promote the good of his people ; but it must be added, that he was too tenacious of power, and deficient in that candour of character and directness of purpose, which a sovereign owes to the people over whom he is placed. It would have been happier for him, if, from the breaking out of the revolution, he had acted a more open and decided part: but this may be excused from considering the manners of the court in which he was educated, and the influence of the courtiers by whom he was surrounded. The assembling of the troops near Paris in 1789, and his flight to Varennes, appear to have made an indelible impression upon the minds of his people, and to have generated a degree of suspicion which the factions of Paris turned to his ruin. Of his guilt or innocence, with respect to the grand charge of corresponding with the emigrants, and exciting a foreign war against the existing government of his country, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution, the documents are too slight to lead to a decisive opinion. Thus far may however perhaps be conceded, that his intended flight to the frontiers, and the proclamation which he left behind him, too clearly shewed that he was dissatisfied with the limited share of authority which the constitution of 1791 allowed him ; and the insults which he afterwards experienced, were not calculated to reconcile him to that spirit of democracy which had taken possession of his people. The charge relating to the defence of the Thuilleries on the 10th of August, 1792, appears extremely ill-founded, and the opposition presented to an armed mob, who assailed the royal residence on that occasion, was perfectly justifiable, even on the ground of self-defence. On the whole, the condemnation and execution of this unfortunate sovereign is at variance with the due administration of judicial proceedings, and the sacred principles of justice ; on the first of which points it may be observed, that the convention, by a strange anomaly, held the incompatible offices of accusers and judges ; and on the second, that the constitution, which he was charged with violating, had declared the person of the King to be inviolable.

The character of the man, and of the monarch, will perhaps be best collected from his last will and testament, written in

the prospect of death ; and we deem ourselves particularly fortunate, in having it in our power to present to the public a correct copy of this document,* so pointedly referred to in the new French constitution, just promulgated by Louis XVIII.

The last Will and Testament of Louis XVI.

“ In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This day, the 21st of December, 1792, I, Louis the Sixteenth, King of France, having been for more than four months shut up with my family in the tower of the Temple, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, since the eleventh of this month ; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee the event, and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law ; having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

“ I recommend my soul to God my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its power by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted it. I finally believe all that is contained in the apostle’s creed, and in the commandments of God and the church ; in the sacraments and mysteries, as the catholic church teaches and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleases God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the holy church, have given, according to the discipline observed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them ; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of

* Ant. Fr. Bertrand de Moleville’s “ Private Memoirs of Louis XVI.”

a catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made to him ; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power of making a full confession of my sins to a catholic priest, and of receiving the sacrament of penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency, (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one) and also those to whom I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity, to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them ; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

“ I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly intreat of God to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me ; and, in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

“ I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderness ; and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good christians ; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I entreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union ; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

“ I recommend with the greatest earnestness, to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for the pains and care she takes of them ; and I conjure them,

for my sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

“ If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen; that he ought to divest himself of all resentment and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can insure the happiness of the people only according to the laws; although at the same time, a King cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority; without which he must be confined in his operations; and when he cannot inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

“ I recommend to my son, to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or parents of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shown ingratitude: but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct;) and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only upon their misfortunes.

“ I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all who have shown me a truly disinterested attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I never had bestowed any favour. I beg that all those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject: but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to him, Clery, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me; and as he has

remained with me to the last, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me, which have been deposited in the hands of the council of the commune.

“ I most willingly pardon those who have guarded me, for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the temple some persons of feeling and humanity : may they long enjoy that serenity of mind which such dispositions naturally produce.

“ I beseech Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive my most grateful thanks and cordial acknowledgments for the pains and labour they have taken for me.

“ I conclude by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.”

“ LOUIS.”

CHAPTER VII.

All the principal States of Europe likely to become involved in the War—The Government of France disinclined to a War with England—Chauvelin and Talleyrand arrive from France—Disputes relative to the opening of the Scheldt—Political Clubs—Maret's Missions—Sensations produced in England by the Execution of the French King—Declaration of War.

IT is time to return from this long, but not uninteresting digression, to the proper object of the history. The melancholy catastrophe of Louis XVI. appeared to produce a new combination of states, some free, and some enslaved, and not only rendered the contest more general, but also more ferocious. The contest with France until then was confined to the courts of Berlin and Vienna, who had been forced to withdraw their armies, and were now threatened with a severe retaliation ; while the King of Sardinia, who acted the part of a feeble ally, and an impotent enemy, beheld the three-coloured flag advancing towards the walls of his capital. But at this eventful epoch in the history of the war, fresh schemes of subjugation were formed, new alliances entered into, and ancient enmities forgotten.

Spain, actuated by a generous indignation against the regicides of France, and disappointed in her humane application to the national convention to save the life of the King, immediately began to arm ; Naples followed her example ; and

the Holy See, lamenting over the degraded state of religion in a country so lately under the peculiar care of the church, and desirous to avenge the death of an anointed Monarch, hastened to join the league; Portugal, scarcely possessing a will of her own, was ready to follow in the train of indignant sovereigns; but Sweden and Denmark, tenacious of the blessings of peace, could not be induced to depart from their well judged neutrality. The Empress of Russia could not remain an unmoved spectator of the scenes which agitated all the principal courts of Europe, but she confined her resentment to the dismissal of the *Sieur Genet*, the French ambassador, whom she ordered "to quit her capital in eight days, and the states of Russia as soon as possible;" and this procedure was soon after imitated by the British Cabinet. Holland, too, which had so long profitted by the follies and prejudices of other nations, was doomed to be involved in this contest.

In Britain, where the French Revolution, in its earliest stages, had been looked upon with an eye of complacency, if not of satisfaction; the war of opinion had already commenced, and a celebrated divine alike esteemed for his talents and for his integrity,* having preached and published a sermon, asserting the justice of the English revolution, towards the end of the 17th century, and anticipating much happiness from that which had so recently happened in France, was answered by an eloquent statesman, who had devoted the whole of his public life to the cause of liberty.† As the current of popular opinion did not then flow in the same direction as the favour of the court, a pamphlet entitled "*The Rights of Man*," in which sentiments of an opposite kind were maintained with peculiar asperity of animadversion, was read and circulated in such a manner as to alarm the administration. Editions were multiplied in every possible form and size; it was alike seen in the hands of the noble and of the plebeian, and became at length translated into the various languages of Europe.—The cabinet council soon after issued a proclamation against "wicked and seditious libels;" prosecutions were commenced with a zeal unknown under the government of the reigning family; and it was reserved for the singular fortune of an unlettered man,‡ after contributing by one publication§ to the establishment of a Trans-Atlantic Republic in North America, to introduce, with astonishing effect, the doctrines of democratic government into the first states of Europe.

The inhabitants of Great Britain, whose aversion from the

* Dr. Price.

† Thomas Paine.

‡ The Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

§ Common Sense.

remained with me to the last, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me, which have been deposited in the hands of the council of the commune.

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IT is time to return from this long, but not uninteresting digression, to the proper object of the history. The melancholy catastrophe of Louis XVI. appeared to produce a new combination of states, some free, and some enslaved, and not only rendered the contest more general, but also more ferocious. The contest with France until then was confined to the courts of Berlin and Vienna, who had been forced to withdraw their armies, and were now threatened with a severe retaliation ; while the King of Sardinia, who acted the part of a feeble ally, and an impotent enemy, beheld the three-coloured flag advancing towards the walls of his capital. But at this eventful epoch in the history of the war, fresh schemes of subjugation were formed, new alliances entered into, and ancient enmities forgotten.

Spain, actuated by a generous indignation against the regicides of France, and disappointed in her humane application to the national convention to save the life of the King, immediately began to arm ; Naples followed her example ; and

glory. The virtues and abilities of his father had already engendered a high degree of partiality in his favour, and the ingenuous modesty of his early youth rendered him at one time the peculiar favourite of every Englishman. The injustice, the venality, and the corruption of the American war, were the themes by means of which Mr. Pitt obtained the favour of the nation, and obtained the highest offices of the state. Eagerly seizing on every occasion to descant on the degeneracy of the constitution, he laboured to restore it to its original purity. This youthful statesman, since his elevation to the office of prime minister, probably alarmed by the excesses of the French Revolution, judged it proper to cast his weight of talent and of influence into the scale of prerogative, and to endeavour to check that spirit of democracy which, after having exhibited itself in so hideous a garb in a neighbouring country, seemed, as he imagined, to endanger the safety of his own. Mr. Windham, too, a statesman of an eccentric, but capacious mind, and of deep political penetration, pressed forward to exhibit those talents against republican France, which he had before displayed in behalf of republican America; while Mr. Burke, himself a host, prepared to exhaust the powers of his mind against a nation which he reproached with having at the same time contumeliously overturned the throne of its kings, and the altars of its God.

From the commencement of the French Revolution, many of the popular leaders had been eager for a war with the house of Austria; but it was manifestly contrary to the interests, as well as to the wishes of all descriptions of persons, the royalists only excepted, to enter into a contest with England. The ruling party in that country appears, on the contrary, to have been particularly eager to conciliate the esteem of a country, which at this period not only possessed the command of the ocean, but had attained an unexampled degree of freedom and prosperity, in consequence of an event similar in principle to that which had so recently occurred in their own.

It was with this view, that M. Chauvelin had been nominated minister-plenipotentiary to the court of London, and M. Talleyrand associated with him in that important embassy. But no sooner did official intelligence arrive of the assault on the Thuilleries, and the imprisonment of the King, than Earl Gower was immediately recalled from Paris: and that nobleman, before his departure, intimated, that any violence committed against the royal family would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout Europe. In the

mean time the executive council, delegated new powers to M. Chauvelin; but Lord Grenville, the English Secretary of State, intimated that as he was no otherwise accredited to the British government than in the name of his most Christian Majesty, he could be acknowledged at this court in no other public character than that of minister from Louis XVI. and that consequently, he could not be admitted to treat with the King's ministers in any other quality.

The disputes between the governments of the two countries were not however entirely confined to punctillios. The convention, exasperated to desperation by the conduct of most of the neighbouring courts, had recurred to a measure utterly unjustifiable in its own nature, and tending in its consequences to produce a general insurrection throughout Europe. This was the famous decree of fraternity, ordered to be published in all languages; by which assistance was offered in the name of the French people, to every nation desirous to recover its freedom, while the generals at the head of the armies were empowered to protect such foreign citizens as had suffered or might suffer in the cause of liberty.*

Another subject of complaint, but in which England was far less interested than her allies, originated in the measures lately adopted for the free navigation of the Scheldt,† the shutting up of which river, however obnoxious such a measure may seem, had been repeatedly guaranteed by all the great maritime states of Europe, and by England and France in particular.

M. Chauvelin, notwithstanding the recal of Earl Gower, still remained in England, and on the 27th of December, in the year 1792, he addressed a note to Lord Grenville, in which, calling himself "plenipotentiary of France," he professes the desire of the French government to continue at peace with England, and demands a categorical answer to the question, whether England is to be considered as a neutral or a hostile power. Reducing the motives that might be alleged for his

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Sitting of the 19th of November, 1792.

DECREE OF FRATERNITY.—"The National Convention declares in the name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty; and it charges the executive power to send the necessary orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend those citizens who have suffered or may suffer in the cause of liberty." On the motion of Serjeant, it was resolved "that this decree be translated into and printed in all languages."

† Decree of the executive council of France for the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse, November, 16, 1792.

Britannic Majesty breaking with the French Republic, to three, he says :—

First, “ If the British ministry are really alarmed at the decree of the 9th November, it can only be for want of comprehending its true meaning. The national convention never intended that the French Republic should favour insurrections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbances in any neutral or friendly country whatever. This decree then is applicable only to those people, who, after having conquered their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French Republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France, not only ought and wishes to respect the independence of England, but that also of all its allies, with whom it is not at war.”

On the *second* point he says, that he “ has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itself on its part, within the bounds of strict neutrality.”

And on the *third* and last, that “ the British government being thus assured respecting these two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheldt—a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice ; of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole cause of war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this last motive, to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take the advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression long ago meditated.”

To this note of the 27th, Lord Grenville returned an answer, on the 31st of December, in which, after stating that he, M. Chauvelin, “ cannot be acknowledged in any other character than that of minister from his most Christian Majesty,” he adverts to the explanations on the three points referred to in M. Chauvelin’s note, and says, that in the expressions of the decree of the national convention, of the 19th of November, all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those that are neutral. “ If” continues he, “ this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself. And the application of these prin-

ciples to the King's dominions, has been shewn unequivocally by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country ; and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since on several different occasions ; yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances, which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such a conduct, as would have satisfied the dignity and honour of England, with respect to what has already past, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

“ Neither this satisfaction, nor this security, is found in the terms of an explanation, which still declares to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are the cases on which they may count before-hand on the support and succour of France ; and which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs, whenever she shall judge it proper ; and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe.

“ On the other two points of your explanation,—‘ The declaration that France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality,’ is conceived nearly in the same terms with that made in the month of June last. Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of the French, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheldt, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to grant this passage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the convention has thought itself authorized to annul the rights of the republic, exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same treaties by which her independence is secured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me, in the same terms, the promise respecting the independence and rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

“ But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you say upon the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England,

by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them : and that not only those principles and those consequences will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force."

His Lordship in conclusion says : " If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights."

In answer to this, the provisional executive council of France addressed a note to Lord Grenville, of the date of the eighth of January, in which they confirmed the explications which M. Chauvelin had given, and repeated, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable but to the single case, where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation ; and conclude by saying : " The executive council declares, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French Republic does not mean to establish itself an universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to respect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own respected. It does not wish to give law to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and still renounces all conquest ; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty ; after which, provided they be independent and happy, France will be sufficiently rewarded.

" When that nation shall find itself in the full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence even in their errors.

" After so free a declaration, which manifests the purest

designs of peace, the ministers of his Britannic Majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war, conscious at least, of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear."

Lord Grenville, in a second letter, dated the 18th of January, signified to M. Chauvelin, that he found nothing satisfactory in the paper from the executive council—that to threaten Britain with a declaration of war, because she had adopted for her own safety such precautions as already existed in France, might be considered as new ground of offence—that he had already informed him what those dispositions were which alone could maintain peace—and that, under present circumstances, Britain would continue those measures which might be necessary for protecting the tranquillity and rights of the country, and those of her allies; and for setting a barrier to those views of aggrandisement which had become the more dangerous, as being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

This correspondence was closed on the 24th of January, three days after the execution of Louis XVI. by the following letter from Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, ordering him out of the country:—

"I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most Christian Majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

"The King can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order, which his Majesty, in his privy council, has given to this effect.

"I send you a passport for yourself and your suit; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister-plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty, which you have exercised at this court. (Signed)

GRENVILLE."

From the portentous aspect of public affairs, his Majesty had been advised to assemble parliament at an earlier period than usual, and four days after the date of the above letter, a message was sent by the King to both houses of parliament,

sufficiently indicative of the approaching storm. The message was couched in the following terms :—

GEORGE R.

“ His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons copies of several papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian King, by his Majesty’s secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto ; and likewise copy of an order made by his majesty in council and transmitted by his majesty’s command to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

“ In the present situation of affairs, his majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land ; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons, to enable his Majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions ; for supporting his allies ; and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe ; but are peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society. G. R.”

The national convention and executive council became seriously alarmed at the hostile disposition manifested by the English cabinet. A naval war was greatly to be dreaded, more especially at a period when the nobles, who seem to have been exclusively consecrated to the sea-service, had emigrated in immense numbers from their native country. The forlorn state of the colonies too, was a continual subject of grief, and even of despair, as the possessions of the republic on the continent of Asia were exposed to an easy conquest by land, while the sugar islands, in case of a war, must inevitably fall a prey to superior fleets. Nor was it forgotten, that the immense wealth of this nation would enable her to continue the contest with many obvious advantages, both in the East and West Indies ; while her subsidies might unite the discordant interests of rival powers, and enable the armies of the European sovereigns to persevere also in the conflict.

Actuated by these considerations, it was accordingly determined to make great sacrifices to ensure peace ; and a person who had been employed before on a confidential mission, was once more sent to London with proposals for an immediate accommodation.* These are said to have embraced every subject in dispute between the two nations, and to have even included the evacuation of Savoy and Belgium ; but, unhappily for the cause of humanity, Maret experienced the fate of Chauvelin, and was forced to leave England without disclosing the particulars of his mission.

* M. Maret, afterwards Secretary of State to the Emperor Napoleon.

On this it was deemed necessary to vindicate the dignity of the new republic by force of arms, and Brissot, the organ of the committees for naval and diplomatic affairs, and for the general defence, presented the plan of a decree to the National Convention, in which was detailed the motives for the commencement of hostilities: these consisted of the withdrawing of the English ambassador from Paris; the discontinuance of all official correspondence with the French minister at London; the refusal to acknowledge the provisional executive council instituted by the legislative assembly as well as the national convention and the republic; the embargo laid on corn, intended to be exported to France; the prohibition of *assignats*; the alien bill; the protection and pecuniary succours afforded to the emigrants; and lastly, the order for the ambassador of France to quit the dominions of Great Britain within the space of eight days.*

The complaints against Holland were solely confined to the Prince of Orange, who was said to have treated the agents of France with contempt; to have welcomed the emigrants; to have maltreated the patriots; to have liberated the forgers of *assignats*; to have ordered a Dutch squadron to join the English, by whom he was influenced; to have opened a loan to support the expenses of the war: and to have obstructed the exportation of provisions to France, while he favoured the supply of the Prussian and Austrian magazines. Considering these grievances as tantamount to acts of hostility, and equivalent to a formal declaration for that purpose, the national convention decreed, on the first of February, that the French republic was at war with the King of England, and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

On the 11th of the same month, a manifesto against France

* In the treaty of commerce and navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the most Christian King, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, "It is (in the 2d article) concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their Majesties, which God forbid! (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the *recalling* or *'sending home* of the respective ambassadors or ministers') the subjects of each of the two parties, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of *twelve months* shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals or to the state. At the same time it is to be understood, that this favour is not to be extended to those who act contrary to the established laws."

was drawn up on the part of Great Britain, and signed at the Queen's House, reciting, "that divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place there, in derogation of his majesty's crown, and the just rights of his people," and that "several unjust seizures had been made of the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects," followed afterwards "by an open declaration of war against his majesty and his ally the republic of the United Provinces." The King of Great Britain, therefore, being determined to adopt such measures as are necessary for "vindicating the honour of his crown, and procuring reparation and satisfaction to his injured subjects," was pleased to order that "general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of France."

Thus a new and disastrous conflict took place, from the guilt and odium of which, the ruling parties in both nations have anxiously endeavoured to vindicate themselves. On this subject it may be observed, that the shutting up of the Scheldt, one of the ostensible causes of the war, had been repeatedly guaranteed by all the great maritime states of Europe, and by England and France in particular. That the new republic had violated this guarantee, not only by an express decree of the executive council, but also by an armed squadron fitted out for this very purpose, is notorious; though the question still remains to be decided, whether this infraction afforded a just cause for war; but supposing this treaty to have been strictly binding, Holland, in whose favour the restriction had been originally obtained, appears to have waved her claim to its enforcement, and to have been greatly alarmed at the idea of a contest, which might in the event, and which actually did, involve both her commerce and her independence in one common ruin.

The next great object in dispute was the decree implicating neutrals as well as hostile powers, and which was but too well calculated to give alarm to every government in Europe, because it officiously held out a pretext for interference in domestic quarrels, and afforded hopes of encouragement and protection to the disaffected of all nations. Attempts were indeed made to qualify this declaration, by limiting the assistance promised to such general insurrections as had occurred in Holland at one period, and in England at another; but it is greatly to be lamented that the national convention did not either wholly rescind this obnoxious decree, or at least limit its operation to enemies alone. It was equally unfortunate, on the other hand, that the English ministry, by withdrawing an acknowledged diplomatic agent from Paris, and by first refusing to recognise, and then sending away, an ambassador duly au-

thorized by an executive council, should not only have exhibited a marked hostility to the new form of government, adopted by an independent nation, but also cut off all regular means of direct communication.

Posterity, either entirely devoid of, or at least less agitated by the passions of the present day, will be better able than ourselves to appreciate the conduct of those who at this period presided in the councils of the two rival nations. But even now it will appear, perhaps to candid and dispassionate men, that both were to blame; the convention, by its obstinate adherence to the offensive decree of fraternity, as well as by its ill-timed agitation of the question relative to the opening of the Scheldt; and the English ministry, by a precipitate declaration of war, in consequence of the contumelious expulsion of the diplomatic agent of France, an act of unusual rigour, which, while it embittered existing enmities, at the same time precluded the possibility of compromise or accommodation. (17.)

(17.) Posterity can be in no doubt on which side to throw the blame of a war in which the blood of thousands was shed in order that one man might retain the power of oppressing France. It must be evident to the most careless observer, from a perusal of the correspondence between the two governments, that while the French nation manifested the most ardent desire for the continuance of peace, the administration of England was actuated by the most hostile and vindictive intentions. The letters of M. Chauvelin are remarkable for their humble and conciliating spirit, those of Lord Grenville for a tone of arrogance and insult, unprecedented even in the diplomatic history of England. The representative of a people struggling for liberty, asked only of the government of another nation which boasted of its freedom, not to throw obstacles in the way of its emancipation, and received in return reproaches and threats! France did no more by her King than England had formerly done by one of her's with impunity. Will it be believed that in little more than a century after the revolution of 1688, the Minister of England, writing to the *republican* government of Holland, characterized the illustrious men who bore a part in the *first* acts of the French revolution as "*miscreants*, assuming the name of philosophers, who presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society."* It is gratifying to reflect that when, four years afterwards, the valour of the republic had foiled the hopes of the parties to the treaty of Pilnitz, the tone of the English ministry in soliciting peace was as respectful and conciliating as it had been arrogant and insulting when there was a prospect of obtaining part of the spoils.

* Letter of Lord Auckland to the States-General, January 25, 1793.

CHAPTER VIII.

Irruption into Holland—Siege of Williamstadt—Defeat of the French in Flanders—Dumouriez retreats from Holland—Battle of Nerwinden—Defection of Dumouriez from the cause of the Republic—Enters into a Treaty with Prince de Cobourg—Commissioners sent to Arrest Dumouriez—The French General sends them as Hostages to the Austrians—The French Army desert Dumouriez—His flight.

IT was now determined to carry the arms of France into Holland, and to extinguish the influence of Great Britain in that country; and the various preparations for this purpose were made with so much celerity by Dumouriez, that in the course of a few days he was ready to commence hostilities. Previously to the invasion, the French General addressed a declaration to the inhabitants, in which he endeavoured to separate the interests of the republic from those of the Stadtholder, and in which he says, "The Belgians already consider us as their deliverers, and I hope you will soon call us yours also."

On the 17th of February, the French army took the field. The troops collected for the conquest of Holland, were composed of no more than twenty-one battalions, two of which only were of the line, and of these one had never been in action. As the regiments were incomplete, the whole amounted to but thirteen thousand seven hundred men; many of the soldiers were boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age, while no more than eight battalions possessed field-pieces. The cavalry did not exceed a thousand. As a party was ready to declare in favour of the French on their entrance into the Dutch territories, and success in a great measure depended on the celerity of their movements, Dumouriez had not time either to discipline or to organize his troops; but they were full of ardour and replete with confidence.

Every thing being at length ready, General Berneron was ordered to advance with the van-guard, and despatch Lieutenant-colonel Daendels, a Dutch patriot in the service of France, to Mordyck, on purpose to detain all the boats in that neighbourhood, as well as throw a bridge over the Merk, with a view to keep up the communication. But as these instructions were not executed in time, the Dutch embraced this opportunity of carrying all the small vessels to the other side, under the protection of three armed shallows stationed near Dort. On receiving this intelligence, Berneron and Daendels were immediately enjoined to advance, while General D'Arcon with the right wing formed the blockade of

Breda, and colonel Le Clerc with the left invested Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg. On this the Governors of the two last places immediately abandoned all their out-posts; and the fort of Blaw-Sluys, near Steenberg, being taken, the garrison of the latter was summoned; while that of Bergen-op-Zoom hazarded a few sallies, which were only productive of deserters, who immediately entered into the battalions formed by their countrymen.

In conformity to his original plan, the commander in chief now moved forward between the two wings with the rear division of the army, to Sevenbergen, and gave orders to besiege Klundert and Williamstadt immediately; while Daendels, by advancing to Nordschantz, was to cut off all intercourse between them. During the period that a *flotilla* was preparing under his directions to carry his troops across the Mordyk, he ordered General D'Arcon to attack Breda. This place, which had always been considered as strong, besides being provided with two hundred pieces of cannon, possessed an excellent palisade, and was protected by means of an inundation. The garrison consisted of two thousand two hundred infantry, and a regiment of dragoons; but the Count de Ryland, the governor, was totally ignorant of military affairs, while the inhabitants were strongly attached to the French party. After the bombardment had continued three days, during which period the fire of the enemy was kept up with great briskness, it was found that sixty bombs only remained, and that the siege must inevitably be raised as soon as these were expended. In this dilemma, Colonel Philip Devaux, one of the *aides-de-camp*, entered the place with a flag of truce, on the 2d of March, and announced that General Dumouriez was expected to arrive immediately with the whole of his army, after which the garrison must not hope for quarter. The governor was so terrified with this threat, that scarcely taking time to consult his officers, he instantly capitulated, and was allowed all the honours of war. Thus, with a detachment of only three thousand eight hundred men, one of the strongest towns in Holland was taken in the course of a few days: two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, three hundred thousand weight of gun-powder, five thousand muskets, and five vessels fell into the hands of the victors; some of whom had carried their temerity so far, during the siege, as to dance the *carmagnol* on the *glacis* opening to that part of the fortification which was not inundated.

Nor did the success of the French arms stop here, for Klundert surrendered two days afterwards. The commandant, who was a German lieutenant-colonel, defended the place with

great bravery, notwithstanding the garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty soldiers ; but after keeping up a smart fire for several days, on perceiving that he could no longer shelter his men, he determined to nail up his cannon, and retire with such of the troops as remained alive, to Williamstadt. While attempting to execute this enterprise, he was intercepted by a detachment of Batavians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Hartmann, whom he killed with his own hand ; but he himself soon after experienced a similar fate. Fifty-three pieces of cannon, a few mortars, a large quantity of bombs, bullets, and powder, were found in the place ; and while the French became animated by such easy conquests, consternation and dismay spread throughout Holland.

Berneron now received orders to lay siege to Williamstadt, while D'Arcon advanced against Gertruydenberg. The latter was immediately attacked by means of a few cannon and some mortars, brought from Breda, and after a few shot had been fired, Colonel Devaux entered with a flag of truce, and prevailed on the governor, Major-general Bedeaux, upwards of eighty years of age, to capitulate and accept the honours of war in return for the surrender of the place. By this new acquisition the French acquired one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, two thousand five hundred new musquets, and, what was still more essential, they at the same time obtained a good harbour, and more than thirty vessels of different sizes for the transport of their troops.

The siege of Williamstadt however was not so prosperous as had been expected. This place, rendered strong both by nature and art, could only be attacked in one part, which exhibits but a small front to the assailant, while supplies of both men and provisions might be thrown in at any time. In addition to these advantages, the garrison was encouraged by the presence of its gallant governor, the Baron de Boetzelaer ; and aided by some British gun-boats, and by the landing of a body of guards under the command of the Duke of York, the second son of the King of England. Dumouriez, who imagined that the works had been erected at too great a distance, sent thither Dubois de Crance and Marescot, who traced out a battery within two hundred yards of the walls ; but the Dutch made a successful sally, and these two engineers were both killed on the spot.

Notwithstanding the courage displayed by the besieged, and the arrival of assistance from an ally, the French were still able to attempt a passage from Mordyck, where Dumouriez had prepared a flotilla, and contend for the possession of Hol-

land. They already occupied the fortresses of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, in which strong garrisons might be placed for the purpose of securing their rear, while a body of troops under General de Flers could continue the blockade of Steenberg and Bergen-op-Zoom at pleasure. The commander-in-chief, accordingly proposed to embark his vanguard at Roowaert, and send his right division from Gertruydenberg, where he had found a great number of vessels admirably adapted for his purpose; and as the distance to Dort was not great, he hoped to effect it by fortifying an intermediate isle with cannon of large dimensions, on purpose to keep off the armed vessels belonging to the enemy.

The necessary preparations being made, it was determined to attempt the passage during the night; but an event occurred in the mean time that saved Holland from the miseries of invasion, gave a short respite to the Orange party, entirely changed the nature of the war, and at length forced the French to retire within their own territories.

The army which had so lately chased the Austrians from the Low-countries, and appeared destined to prevent their return, was not only dispirited by the absence of its leader, but rendered incapable of active operations in consequence of the disputes that prevailed among the generals. Miranda, in pursuance of orders had laid siege to Maestricht, and commenced a terrible bombardment, which set fire to that city in several parts. The defence, however, was far more vigorous than had been expected; for a body of French emigrants, who expected little mercy in case their countrymen should triumph, had thrown themselves into the place, under the command of M. d'Autichamp, and displayed equal skill and bravery in the course of the siege. General Champmorin had also failed in his attempt to obtain possession of Venloo; for although he had taken the forts of Stevenswert, and St. Michel on the Meuse, he had been anticipated in his design by the Prussians, who immediately occupied the place.

While the Generals Valence, Stengel, and Dampierre, remained in their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Prince de Cobourg, an officer who had distinguished himself during the war against the Turks, arrived at Cologne, and assumed the command of the Austrian forces. Having learned that disunion prevailed among the leaders of the enemy's army, and discontent among the troops, he immediately collected his army, and determined to commence his military career by some brilliant exploit.

General Clairfayt accordingly passed the Roer during the night of the 28th of April, and not only repulsed the French

army both on the side of Duren and Juliers, but compelled it to retreat beyond Aldenhoven, with the loss of two thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. In the mean time the Austrian commander-in-chief penetrated through Aldenhoven, without experiencing any obstructions whatever, and five days after obtained a decisive victory over the enemy, whom he chased before him.

The French who remained in cantonments, and had not as yet any central position assigned where they might assemble, immediately fell back on Liege, without fighting. General Leveneur, who presided over the attack at Maestricht, on the side of Wyck, deemed himself fortunate in being able to carry away his cannon and cross the Meuse, while General Miranda was under the necessity of entirely relinquishing the siege. Lieutenant-general Lanoue was also obliged to retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle, after being beaten at Aldenhoven: and General Valence with some difficulty saved a column of twenty-seven battalions, by a vigorous charge of cavalry, in the plain of Tongres. The Imperialists having thus relieved Maestricht, crossed the Meuse and entered Liege, where they seized all the magazines belonging to the French, and got possession of the clothing for the troops; the Prussians at the same time obliged General Champmorin to evacuate Stevenswert and Fort St. Michel, and fall back on Diest; in consequence of which, the course of the Lower Meuse was subject to their control, and had they persevered and penetrated either by Antwerp or Bois-le-Duc, the retreat of the army in Holland would have been entirely cut off, or at least rendered equivocal. In short, the defeat of the republican troops in the Low-countries was so complete, that, excepting the battering artillery, nothing was saved; desertion immediately succeeded, and more than ten thousand men retired amidst the general confusion.

Dumouriez, whose enterprising spirit had led him to expect the speedy conquest of Holland, was awakened from his dream of glory, by the unwelcome tidings of a fugitive army, and a victorious foe. After a short struggle, he however obeyed the orders of the council at Paris, and set out on the 9th of April for Flanders, leaving the troops under the command of General de Flers, with directions to attempt the passage from Gertruydenberg, and in case of success to wait at Dort, where he was to receive further instructions. But the arrival of the English forces in Holland, the check received by the grand army, and the sudden departure of Dumouriez, rendered the invaders dispirited. De Flers, instead of effecting a descent,

found it necessary, in consequence of the approach of the Prussians, to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions of infantry, and two hundred horse, while Colonel Tilly garrisoned Gertruydenberg, with three battalions and five hundred cavalry. The rest of the army was conducted to Antwerp, under the command of the Colonels Devaux and Thouvenot, who evacuated the batteries of Mordyck without loss, destroyed the fortifications of Klundert, and prevented the troops, now greatly dispirited, from flying in disorder.

Thus terminated the expedition against Holland, the idea of which was conceived, and the plan carried into execution, within the space of a few days. The success of this irruption was at first far greater than it deserved ; for the French were actually destitute of cannon and ammunition, and had it not been for the unexpected surrender of Gertruydenberg and Breda, Dumouriez must have retired before in disgrace.

During this period, the progress of the French arms in Germany in a great measure ceased to be either brilliant or prosperous. Custine had been unable to prevent the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblenz, whither the King of Prussia also directed his march, and who not only occupied the two banks of the Lahn, but forced the general to abandon Francfort, and shut himself up within the walls of Mentz.

While the blockade of Mentz was conducted in a languid manner during the winter by the Prussians, the French appear to have remained on the defensive ; but they resumed offensive operations early in the spring, and endeavoured to make up by celerity their deficiency in respect to numbers. Custine accordingly made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Deux Ponts, and suddenly took possession of his residence of Calsberg ; their serene highnesses escaping with great difficulty. But the tide of war now set in in a contrary direction, and the three-coloured flag which had so lately flaunted in triumph along the Rhine and Maine, was doomed in its turn to experience humiliation.—Konigstein, with its garrison of four hundred and forty men, surrendered to the Prussians ; Worms was evacuated ; and part of the magazines at Bingen, Kreutznach, and Nierstein seized.

Nor was this all, for the states of the empire had at length declared war against France ; and the diet of Ratisbon, in consequence of the menaces of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, had ordained “ a junction of arms,” and voted the necessary contingents.

These adverse and unexpected disasters greatly disconcerted Dumouriez : aware however of his critical situation, and

conscious that he had no time to lose in unavailing regret, he repaired after having issued orders to arrest the deserters and collect the fugitives, to the head-quarters at Louvain, where he introduced a new system of subordination into the army, which was still formidable in point of numbers, and amounted to forty thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry. General Valence was appointed to the command of the right, the Duke of Chartres of the centre, and General Miranda of the left. Under these served the Generals Dampierre, Champmorin, and Neuilly; the reserve was commanded by General Chancel, and the advanced guard by General La Marche.

Having retaken Tirlemont from the Austrians, who recrossed the Gette, and occupied the heights of Neerlanden, Nerwinden, Middlewinden, and Oberwinden, the French commander-in-chief advanced once more against them, and seized on Gotzenhoven, which he maintained during an engagement of eight hours between the two advanced guards, supported by the main body of each of the hostile armies.

Dumouriez, encouraged with this success, determined to give battle to the enemy, and he was induced to adopt this decisive measure as well by the hope of impeding their further progress, as of preventing them from receiving the reinforcements now marching to their assistance. The French General spent the whole day preceding the attack in reconnoitering the position of the Imperialists, posting his troops in order of battle, and preparing his plan of operations. The army, divided into eight columns, was at length put in motion between seven and eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th March, and crossed the river without any obstacle. General La Marche with the first column immediately entered the plain of Landen, and, not finding the enemy there, joined the second, which attacked the village of Oberwinden, and the town of Middlewinden, about ten o'clock, with such vigour that they were both carried; but the Austrians afterwards retook the latter, the importance of which became now apparent; the possession was accordingly disputed during the whole of the day. The third column, under General Neuilly, about the same time drove the Imperialists from a village where they had taken post, but in consequence of a mistake it was abandoned immediately. The Austrians on this resumed their former position, whence they were chased a second time by the fourth and fifth columns under the command of the Duke of Chartres; General Desforets, however, having been wounded in the head with a musket shot, the village encumbered with infantry, and the troops thrown into confusion, it

was once more relinquished on the approach of the enemy, who threatened to carry it by assault.

In the mean time, while the republican troops were in disorder, the Austrians, relying on the superiority of their cavalry, descended into the plain between Nerwinden and Middlewinden, and made a furious charge on the French horse.—General Valence, who fought with great valour at their head, was wounded and obliged to retire to Tirlemont; notwithstanding this, the Imperialists were at length forced to withdraw. Nearly at the same period another body of cavalry attacked the infantry of the fourth column on the left of Nerwinden with great gallantry; but General Thouvenot, who was posted there, received them with coolness, and rendered their charge destructive to themselves alone; for, on perceiving their approach, he opened his ranks to allow them to pass, and made such a critical discharge of grape and case shot from his artillery, in addition to a close fire of musketry from the regiment of Deux-Ponts, that nearly the whole of this detachment was destroyed.

The fate of the action, both in the centre and on the right, now appeared to be decisively in favour of the French, and these two divisions passed the night in the field of battle, on purpose to resume the engagement and complete the victory at the break of day.

But, while success smiled on this portion of the army, a far different fate was reserved for the left wing. The sixth and seventh columns, which had attacked the enemy with great success, were already in possession of Orsmael, when a panic terror appears to have seized on some of the battalions, in consequence of which great confusion immediately ensued. General Clairfayt took advantage of and augmented the disorder, by a brisk charge of cavalry, which completed the route of the two columns, occasioned the slaughter of a great number of men, and rendered the officers incapable of restoring order: Guiscard, a *Marechal-de-camp*, attached to the artillery, was killed upon this occasion; and Generals Rualt and Iller, with several *Aides-de-camp*, and other persons belonging to the staff, were among the wounded.

On this, General Miranda gave order to retreat, and withdrew to a position behind Tirlemont, without being harrassed by the Austrians, who were as yet unacquainted with the extent of their good fortune; General Champmorin also retired from Leaw, crossed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and resumed his position at Oplinter.

Dumouriez, who had superintended the movements of his right and centre in person, being greatly alarmed at not hear-

ing from his left flank, entered Tirlemont, where he found General Miranda, and gave him orders to assemble his division during the night, on purpose to occupy the heights of Wommersem, as well as the great road, and the bridges of Orsmael and Neerhelpen, with a view of insuring the passage of the Gette, as well as the retreat of the right and centre, which would otherwise engage with the enemy's army subject to the disadvantage of a river in their rear.

In this action the French, according to the confession of their own General, sacrificed about three thousand men either killed or taken, and more than a thousand wounded, besides many cannon ; while the loss of the Imperialists, which fell principally on their cavalry, did not exceed fourteen hundred. Both armies displayed great courage and perseverance upon this occasion ; and had not Dumouriez lost the confidence of all the volunteers, and most of the superior officers, who dreaded lest they should be betrayed, victory, perhaps, would have once more declared in his favour.

The French army was enabled to withdraw to the heights behind Tirlemont in good order, in consequence of the able and intrepid conduct of all the generals, particularly Dampierre, who acquired great celebrity on this occasion ; but the disaffection of the national guards soon rendered a further retreat necessary. Nor were they mistaken in respect to their suspicions, for their commander, alike unmindful of his engagements and his oaths, and anxious alone to escape the punishment that awaited his disobedience, had entered into a conspiracy for the evacuation of Belgium, and the subversion of the French government. Under pretence of treating about the wounded and prisoners, he dispatched an officer belonging to his staff,* with the necessary instructions, to the head-quarters of the Prince de Cobourg, where he had a conference with Colonel Mack, with whom a suspension of arms was agreed upon. On the evening of the succeeding day, the latter repaired to Louvain, and the following articles, without being reduced to writing, were acceded to verbally :—

1. " That the Imperialists should make no more general attacks, and that the French Commander-in-chief should not on his side endeavour to give battle.

2. " That, in conformity to this tacit convention, the French should retire to Brussels, by easy marches, and in good order, without being harassed.

3. " That the same parties should meet again after the evacuation of that city, on purpose to agree as to future contingencies."

* Colonel Montjoye.

Dumouriez, in conformity to this treaty, now gave orders for abandoning the Netherlands; and after his army had marched through Brussels, an interview took place between him and the adjutant-general of the Austrian army, in the course of which he announced his intentions of marching to Paris and dissolving the convention. On this it was agreed, that the Imperialists should either remain passive, or act the part of auxiliaries, as occasion might require; but it was expressly stipulated on the other hand, that Conde should be delivered up to them until the conclusion of peace, and the regulation of indemnities: the Duke de Chartres, Generals Valence, Thouvenot, and Colonel Montjoye, were present upon this occasion, and assisted at the deliberations.

An unexpected movement of a division under General Neuilly, which rendered the surrender of these fortresses much more difficult, tended not a little to defeat these projects of Dumouriez.

The French general in the month of March, received a visit from three deputies, from the jacobin society of Paris, who soon penetrated his intentions and immediately denounced him to the convention as a traitor to the liberties of his country. This alarming intelligence had no sooner reached Paris, than the minister of war, Beurnonville, and four commissioners were sent to the army with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and send them to the bar of the convention. The commissioners halted at Lisle, and dispatched a summons to the general to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. Dumouriez did not obey this mandate, but his answer did not openly avow the design he was meditating; he replied "that being in the sight of the enemy, and his presence constantly necessary for the preservation of an army, which he was now busied in reforming, it became impossible for him to be present at the enquiry, but that if the deputies would repair to his camp, he would answer any questions with his accustomed frankness"—He added "that so soon as he had secured his retreat within the French territories, he would have more time to attend to matters that concerned himself personally; but that he was fully determined never to enter Lisle, unless it should be at the head of his troops, and on purpose to punish the cowards, who, after having abandoned their colours, dared to calumniate the gallant defenders of their country."

Almost immediately after these transactions, Dumouriez received intelligence, that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops he had stationed there, who had retreated into

France. On the following day he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time, he sent orders through Colonel Mack, to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg, to capitulate on condition of being allowed to return to France.

Dumouriez finding that it was no longer practicable to temporize, came to the resolution of arresting the commissioners assembled at Lisle, and he accordingly directed General Miaczinski to repair to Lisle with a large body of troops, and seize the deputies from the convention, together with all the principal members of the jacobin club; but that general imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him, and he found himself the prisoner of the men he was sent to arrest. This unfortunate foreigner was immediately sent to Paris, and soon after lost his life upon the scaffold. The machinations of Dumouriez to deliver up Conde and Valenciennes were frustrated by the patriotism of Generals Ferrand and Chancel.

The commissioners of the convention unintimidated by the previous attempt that had been made to arrest them, proceeded to St. Amand, where Dumouriez then had his head quarters, and were admitted into his presence on the 2d April, and explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general finding it impossible to seduce them from their allegiance to the convention, gave the signal to a body of chosen troops, who were in waiting to take them into custody, and the minister of war, and the four commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, were immediately conveyed, under a strong escort, to General Clairfayt's head-quarters at Tournay, to be detained as hostages for the safety of the Royal Family.

Dumouriez, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. They might be disposed to resent the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the Prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general lost no time in dispatching Colonel Montjoye to acquaint Colonel Mack with the arrest of the Commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he composed a manifesto addressed to his army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the 3d he went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the corps of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At St. Amand, General Dumouriez thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among some of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the morning of the 4th, he left General Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himself for Conde; but he had not approached that fortress within half a league, before he was met by an officer dispatched by General Neuilly to inform him that the garrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to General Neuilly, to send the 18th regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Conde, who, however, did not then attempt to molest him. It was while they were yet in sight that General Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and an universal exclamation of "Stop, stop." The general now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the Duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his associates. Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and passed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the imperial territory. From this place he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met Colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the 5th with his own. It was also agreed in this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Conde, he should deliver it to the Austrians, to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by General Dumouriez. The proclamation of General Dumouriez contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practised by the Jacobins towards the Generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France.

It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon he had effected that purpose, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow citizens.

The manifesto of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of General Dumouriez. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but to co-operate with General Dumouriez in giving to France her constitutional King, and *the constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honour he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified. The Prince declared further, that any strong places which should be put into his hands should be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as General Dumouriez should demand them.

On the 5th of April, at day-break, General Dumouriez proceeded with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groups assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an *aid-de-camp*, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general, and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumouriez had placed some dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himself at Rumegies, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his personal safety.—He mounted his horse, attended by a few friends. He was followed in the course of the day by about 700 horse, and 800

infantry ; these were the whole that could be prevailed on by the utmost solicitations of their officers to desert to the enemy, and of these several afterwards returned.* The military chest which Dumouriez had removed was recovered by a party of French chasseurs, and brought to Valenciennes.

Unfortunately for the cause of the royalists, the Austrian commanders neglected this critical opportunity of marching against the camps of Maulde and Bruelle, while confusion and dismay prevailed there. Instead of meditating how to strike a decisive blow, they were occupied with making preparations for the blockade of Conde, which was to have been summoned in the name of Dumouriez.

During this period the English arms were triumphant both in the East and West Indies. Major-general Cuyler, with the assistance of Vice-admiral Sir John Lafory, was enabled to proceed with a small body of men against the island of Tobago. Having effected a landing in 'Great Courland bay, and marched against the fort, Montiel the commandant was summoned to surrender, but refused. On this the English general finding that his numbers were unequal to the operations of a siege, carried the place by assault in the course of that very night.

Soon after this, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, surrendered at discretion to Brigadier-general Ogilvie ; but an attack made by Major-general Bruce, on the island of Martinico, proved less fortunate. The colonists being divided among themselves, the royalists had sent a deputation, in the name of a committee, inviting the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in the West Indies to proceed to their assistance, stating, at the same time, that they were already in possession of some important posts. A detachment of British troops, to the amount of eleven thousand men, was accordingly landed, and being ~~joined~~ joined by a body of the malcontents, the whole prepared to advance in two columns against a couple of batteries

* The officers who accompanied Dumouriez in his flight, were the Duke de Chartres, General and Colonel Thouvenot, Colonel Montjoye, Lieutenant-colonel Barrois, &c. General Valence, who as well as himself entertained an idea of placing a new dynasty on the throne, had been sent by him to attend the congress of the ministers of foreign powers assembled at Antwerp ; but Generals Vouille' and Marrasse', Major-general Neuilly, de Baunes, Second, Dumas, Rualt, Berneron, with Colonel Arnaudin, and a small body of infantry and cavalry, joined him soon after in the Austrian territories. But as the Prince de Cobourg thought proper to annul the proclamation, in which he had disavowed the intention of making conquests, all these officers deemed themselves bound in honour to quit the dominions of the house of Austria ; and most of the soldiers returned to France.

that defended the town of St. Pierre ; but an alarm having taken place among the allies, and their commanding officer being wounded, the expedition was relinquished, and the troops re-embarked.

Although the British troops did not then succeed in their attempt on the rich settlement of Martinico, possession was soon after obtained of a portion of the still more important colony of St. Domingo.

This colony is not only the first settlement in the West Indian archipelago, but in point of importance, may be perhaps considered as superior to the whole of the European colonies in the portion of America*. An intercourse between the white freeman and the black female, had produced a numerous race, varying in point of colour, from the dingy samboe to the pale mestize, whose complexion, without the bloom, possessed nearly all the fairness of the male ancestor. But while nature approximated these two distinct races, prejudice and oppressive laws kept them apart. The men of colour, many of whom had been educated in the universities of France, and possessed considerable plantations, were removed in point of consequence but a single degree from slaves ; and those who in Europe had been treated with respect, found on their return to their native shores, that they could not exercise any public office, practise any respectable profession, or enjoy either civil or political rights.

The French revolution, productive of so many important changes, seemed destined to meliorate their fate ; and by a decree of the national assembly†, it was accordingly declared, “ that all the people of colour born of free parents became citizens, and were eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies.” This measure, which was dictated by the feelings of men unacquainted with the rooted prejudices of the creoles, who seem to estimate merit by the tint of complexion, produced a civil war ; in the course of which, the negroes and mulattoes appear to have at first entered into an alliance for their mutual security. To heal these divisions, three persons were sent out to St. Domingo

* Mr. Bryan Edwards, in his “ Historical Survey,” p. 1, states the number of enslaved negroes, in 1789, at 480,000 ; free people of colour at 24,000. These, together with the white inhabitants, constituted a total of 534,831. Colonel Charmilly, who possessed better means of information on this subject, estimates the population previously to the civil war at 600,000 of all colours, exclusive of the Spanish portion of the island, which contains about 60,000, reckoning the whites at 2000, the negroes at 30,000, and the remainder, including twelve or fourteen different mixtures, from “ the mungrel to the marebou,” at 28,000.

† May 15, 1791.

with the title of civil commissioners*, but they lost the confidence of the white inhabitants, by having proclaimed a general amnesty on their arrival, in favour of the men of colour and the revolted slaves. Three others, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were appointed to succeed them. These immediately dissolved the colonial assembly, sent home Blanchilande the governor, nominated by the King, and called in the negroes to their assistance against the planters. In the course of this contest, the most terrible enormities were perpetrated on all sides. Oge and Chavane, two men of colour, were put to death amidst the most cruel torments; Mauduit, the commandant at Port-au-Prince, was murdered by his own soldiers; the town of Cape François was destroyed, and a multitude of the inhabitants massacred.

In this unhappy situation of affairs, a number of different parties were formed among the white colonists, all of which appear to have been determined rather to renounce their mother country than the prejudices so long and so carefully fostered by them. Some contemplating the internal resources of the island, and dazzled with the recent success of the British colonies in America, were desirous of establishing an independent state; others wished for the protection of England; and not a few were eager to profess a temporary allegiance to Spain, and surrender St. Domingo to the court of Madrid, as a deposit for the French princes.

But those who were attached to Great Britain finally prevailed, for the governor of Jamaica having received instructions to attempt an invasion, measures were at length taken for that purpose, and a French nobleman, well acquainted with the colony, accompanied the expedition. All the necessary preparations having been made, Commodore Ford sailed from Port Royal with the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a small detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. These having landed at Jeremie, the two forts immediately hoisted English colours, and saluted with twenty-one guns.

After leaving some troops, and remaining only a few hours there, the squadron sailed for the Mole, and some persons were sent on shore to treat about the surrender. Major O'Ferral, who commanded the garrison, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three men of the regiment of Dillon, and M. Deneux the commandant of the place, immediately agreed to the terms proposed. Twenty-two deputies were accordingly sent on board the Europa; the forts at Presque-isle and Or-

* Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger.

leons fired a royal salute, and the troops exclaimed *Vive le Roi!* Thus an important position of the island of St. Domingo was delivered up to five hundred and sixty British troops; and the English cross, assuming the place of the three-coloured flag, not only waved along a coast of fifty leagues in extent, but was displayed from the Bastions of the Gibraltar of the Antilles.

In the East Indies, the arms of England were uniformly successful. A company of merchant-adventurers, incited by the thirst of wealth, coasted along the southern extremity of Africa, and with some difficulty obtained leave to establish a little factory on the shores of Asia. Combining policy with trade, and war with a spirit of gain, by taking part in the disputes between contending princes, and engrafting European skill on Indian cunning, it at length became formidable. One of its servants, imbued with the spirit of the institution, in which he had acted a subordinate part, from a clerk became a general, and by a memorable victory over Surajah Dowla, converted tributaries into sovereigns. Since the memorable battle of Plassey, the factors of the company have presided over settlements equally populous and extensive as the greatest kingdoms in our quarter of the globe, with all the pomp and parade of eastern magnificence; all the neighbouring rajahs and nabobs now acknowledge their dominion, and from the dark recesses of a counting-house in Leadenhall-street, orders are issued to regulate the destiny of nations, and raise or depose sultans. Never was this company more powerful than at the period of which we now treat; its army was in excellent condition, and none of the military establishments of the other European powers were able to cope with it, either in point of numbers, or of discipline.

In consequence of the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Baldwin, the British consul in Egypt, advice of the war with France arrived in India with a degree of celerity hitherto unexampled. On receiving this important intelligence, Chandernagore, Carical, Yanam, and all the small factories appertaining to that power, were instantly laid hold of, and many of their ships seized. Preparations were also made to obtain possession of the important fortress of Pondicherry; and Admiral Cornwallis blockaded the place by sea, while Colonel Floyd appeared before it on the land side with a detachment of troops. Colonel Braithwaite, who formerly acted as governor, and had become acquainted with all the approaches, was entrusted with the direction of the siege. After transmitting a summary to Colonel Prosper de Chermont, a plan of attack upon the north face of the fort was determined upon.

A battery of eight twelve-pounders, and two eight-inch mortars was accordingly erected within eight hundred yards of the place, and another of fourteen twenty-four pounders was completed in a short time ; on the opening of which, the fire of the enemy became irregular and confused ; gun after gun was withdrawn, and their embrasures filled with sand bags, while an incessant fire of shot and shells was kept up by the English. In the afternoon of that day, flags of truce were exhibited on all the salient angles of the fort, and in the course of the next, Pondicherry surrendered. This place might have held out some time longer, had not the ships stationed in the road prevented the entrance of a frigate with supplies from the Isle of France, and had not disputes of a serious nature existed between the governor and the garrison.

CHAPTER IX.

Congress at Antwerp—Renewal of hostilities—Dampierre appointed General—Action at Famars—Death of Dampierre—Surrender of Valenciennes, Conde', and Mentz—Custine arrested—The French driven from Cæsar's Camp.

A CONGRESS* of the representatives of the combined powers assembled at Antwerp early in April, to take into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted, in consequence of the unexpected failure of the plan laid down by the Prince of Cobourg and Dumouriez : and subsequent events clearly evinced that the result of these deliberations was a determination to carry on the war against France with renewed vigour. The cessation of hostilities was declared at an end, and on the following day, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army published a revocation of the pacific manifesto he had issued at the suggestion of Dumouriez. The situation of France at this moment, was singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumouriez, the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in a state of complete disorganization ; while the armies of the allies lay upon the frontiers, numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. At this period,

* This congress was composed of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, and his two sons ; his Royal Highness the Duke of York ; their Excellencies Lord Auckland, as Ambassador from England, Vander Spiegel from Holland, the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys ; the Prince of Saxe Cobourg ; the Counts Metternich, Stahrenberg, Mercy, d'Argenteau ; and the Generals Knobeldorff, and Kelter.

the allied Sovereigns appeared to be on the eve of realising all their projects. Frederick-William II. looked to Poland for the reward of his services, in engaging in a war in which he had no immediate interest ; while to the youthful Emperor, French Flanders appeared to be an easy conquest on the one side, Alsace presented the most alluring bait on the other, and but little doubt was entertained of its speedy re-annexation to the head of the German empire.

The convention, on receiving information of the defection of Dumouriez, declared itself permanent, but its alarm was considerably diminished on receiving from the commissioners the agreeable intelligence that the army still remained faithful to the republic, and that the fugitives consisted only of a few officers and a troop of horse.

Effective measures were immediately taken to collect the battalions that had retreated, to bring the artillery again into the field, and to inspire the soldiery with confidence. A new chief was found in the person of General Dampierre, whose courage was unbounded, and who had distinguished himself by his military talents on many important occasions. In addition to this, he possessed the confidence of all the patriots both in the legislature and the army ; nor were the expectations which had been formed of him disappointed, for in less than a week, this general had restored order and discipline to the disorganised troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory. The convention at this time passed two decrees, by one of which the severest punishment was enacted against those commanders who entered into any secret negotiations with the enemy ; while by the other, which would have come with a better grace at an earlier period, the obnoxious law of fraternity was rescinded.

The Prince de Cobourg finding his army greatly strengthened by the accession of a body of Prussians, as well as by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of English and Hanoverian troops, under the Duke of York, immediately declared that the armistice was at an end. He accordingly advanced against Maulde, now rendered defenceless in consequence of the retreat, desertion, and dismay, that had so recently intervened. Having secured this strong camp, he formed the blockade of Conde', and prepared to invest another of the principal fortresses in that neighbourhood.

Dampierre, well acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, who are always dispirited after misfortunes, determined not to hazard a battle ; he therefore remained on the defensive at Famars, where his out-posts were assailed by the

Austrians on the 13th April in six different points, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. These attacks were renewed on the 14th and 15th, but with no decisive result.—On the 23d the Austrians attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours, were repulsed. On the 1st of May, General Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages of which they were in possession, but in this attack the French experienced a repulse. An action of a more serious nature took place on the 8th May: General Dampierre advanced with a view to dislodge the allies, who were posted in the wood of Rheme, and Vicoigne; this movement was chiefly directed against the posts occupied by General Clairfayt, and the Prussians, and continued until 8 o'clock in the evening; even then, although the French were defeated in that quarter, they assumed a position in the neighbouring wood, kept the Prince de Cobourg in check, and cannonaded the Prussian camp at St. Amand. On this the Duke of York, who had arrived early in the morning at the camp of Maulde, with the brigade of English guards, and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, marched to their assistance. The Coldstream arrived at a critical moment, when the French were advancing towards the great road, and who commanded it in some degree by the fire of their cannon; but the battalion guns having succeeded in checking the battery opposed to this corps, it moved forward into the wood and made a charge with fixed bayonets; another battery being opened on the part of the French, it became necessary for the British troops to retreat to their former position. Notwithstanding this, the British troops commanded by Major-general Lake, contributed not a little to the ultimate success of the day.—In the course of this action Dampierre* was

* DAMPIERRE.—This general was originally bred in the French guards; he then became second major of a regiment of infantry, and at length a general in the army of the Republic. He served under Dumouriez during the incursion into the Austrian Netherlands, and distinguished himself greatly on two memorable occasions; the first was at the battle of Gemappe, where he displayed uncommon courage; and the second during the retreat after the action of Nerwinden, on which occasion he exhibited a fine specimen of the military art. He was less fortunate however at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the month of February, 1793, when he was forced by the Austrians to evacuate that place; but this circumstance, perhaps, is solely to be attributed to the total deficiency of arrangement on the part of the commander-in-chief.

Here follows the translation of a letter from the commissioners to the national convention, notifying his death:—

“The whole army regret in him a brave soldier, an able general, and a sincere friend to the republic. The confidence which he inspired into

mortally wounded, his thigh being carried away by a cannon shot. While bleeding to death, and conscious of his approaching dissolution, he conducted himself with heroic fortitude, and well sustained in death the reputation he had acquired during his life. He was respected by the enemy as a brave man, and was bedewed by the tears of his country. The convention conferred upon his remains the empty honours of the Pantheon.

The moment the general in chief was wounded, the command devolved on Lamarche in right of seniority; and this officer appears to have followed the plan of his predecessor; for although the French had been so recently beaten, yet they still continued to menace and harrass the allies. On the morning after the action they were still in sight, and even began to erect batteries along the front of the Austrian and Prussian lines, commanded by the Generals Clairfayt and Knobledorff. On this it was determined to carry their works by assault; and the Duke of York, who was about to return to Tournay with his troops, once more occupied the positions at Maulde and St. Amand, to enable as many of the combined forces as possible to take the field. Next morning at break of day the two generals accordingly advanced at the head of their respective columns, and carried the batteries, which were not defended with any degree of obstinacy, as the enemy had withdrawn their cannon during the night.

From this period to the 23d, little of importance occurred. On that day, it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break, the British and Hanoverians assembled under the Duke of York, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under that of the Prince de Cobourg and General Clairfayt. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops, and they soon experienced a tremendous fire from the intrenchments of the French. The contest, Sir James Murray states, was of the severest kind, and in the field the French were defeated. (18.) The Duke of York

the troops by his noble proclamation at the time when the treachery of Dumouriez was discovered; his military career, always glorious and unsullied; and above all, his death, ought to be recalled to the remembrance of those who may endeavour to tarnish the splendour of his justly-acquired reputation.

“To-morrow we shall accompany all the good citizens to moisten with our tears the laurels and cypress destined to cover his grave.”

(18.) The American reader will bear in mind, that these details are founded altogether on the British official accounts; to which the English editor appears to have given full credit. The recent war between

then advanced within a short distance of the works; but observing from the disposition of the French, that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired by Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official returns were made of the loss of the allies; but on both sides it must have been considerable.— This success on the part of the allied Sovereigns enabled them to lay siege to the important fortress of Valenciennes. That of Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and after enduring all the rigours of famine, it surrendered by capitulation on the 10th of July, the garrison remaining prisoners of war.

While these transactions were taking place in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. General Custine commanded a French army on the Rhine, and frequent skirmishes took place between these troops and the Prussians under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, which upon the whole terminated in favour of the latter. After the death of Dampierre, General Custine was appointed to the command of the army of the North, but he does not appear to have been a man of much ability, nor was he able to afford any effectual assistance, either to Valenciennes or Mentz; but there exists no proof that he betrayed his trust. This unfortunate general afterwards perished among innumerable other victims, during the sanguinary reign of Robespierre.

The Duke of York, to whom the conduct of the siege of Valenciennes was entrusted, summoned the commandant in the name of the “Emperor,” a circumstance which, considering the recent profession of the allies, excited no small surprise, and which contributed to excite in the French people a more determined resistance to the arms of the allied Sovereigns, whose views now appeared to them to be directed to the dismemberment of their country. Some difference is said to have occurred relative to the mode of conducting the siege,

America and England, has taught us in this country, that little reliance is to be placed on those narratives; insomuch that the expression “Official letters,” became but another term for a mis-statement. Wherever, therefore, we can obtain access to French accounts, we shall endeavour to correct those of the English by them. Where these cannot be obtained, we can only, as in this instance, caution the reader against placing implicit confidence in the text, when British exploits are narrated.

and an English engineer* of acknowledged abilities is reported to have proposed that the body of the place should be attacked at once. But the opinion of Feld-Zeugmeister Fararis, who had distinguished himself at the capture of the camp of Famars, and possessed the confidence of the Austrian general, prevailed; and the fortifications, erected under the direction of the great Vauban, were approached according to the established forms. This decision, although it at length ensured the capture of the place, tended not a little to procrastinate the siege; and no less than forty-one days had elapsed after opening the trenches before the attack became serious. At length, (on the 25th July) notwithstanding some vigorous sallies on the part of the enemy, the covered way, the horn-work, and the advanced *fleche*, were carried and taken possession of during the night. Three separate attacks, by nine hundred men each, commanded by Major-general Abercromby, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Erbach, took place upon this occasion; and after a lodgment had been effected, the necessary measures were adopted for battering the counter-guard between the horn-work and the body of the place.

The most singular fact in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and counter-mines innumerable having been formed both by the besiegers and the besieged. The principal of these on the side of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the horn-work of the fortress; these mines were completed and discharged on the 25th of July, and in the night, between nine and ten o'clock, were sprung, with the most complete success. The English and Austrians immediately embraced the opportunity, to throw themselves into the covered way, of which they had made themselves masters.

Next day his royal highness summoned both the commander and the municipality, declaring at the same time that their answer would irrevocably decide the fate of the city, and that no capitulation would be afterwards granted. General Ferrand the governor, and Landu, president of the sections, having demanded a truce of twenty-four hours, a negotiation took place, and Valenciennes surrendered to the Emperor, the garrison being allowed the honours of war.

In the despatch transmitted to England upon this occasion, and immediately inserted in the London Gazette Extraordinary, of August, 1793, his Royal Highness the Duke of York was pleased to express himself highly satisfied with "the gal-

* Colonel Moncrieff.

lantry and good conduct of Major-general Abercromby, Colonel Lehigh, and Lieutenant-colonel Doyle." In a second despatch, announcing the surrender of the place, it is also stated that "batteries were allotted at different times to be worked by the royal artillery; and every commendation is due to Major Congreve, and to the officers and men of that corps, who have upon this occasion fully supported the reputation they have so long enjoyed."

In the course of a few days more, the French army, after a sharp engagement, was obliged to abandon the strong position behind the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp, on which Cambray* was immediately summoned; and, to complete the misfortunes of France, Mentz was obliged to capitulate about the same time. The trenches against this city were opened on the 19th June, and on the 22d July it was surrendered to the King of Prussia. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and also to carry away their arms and baggage; it was stipulated "that they should not serve against the allied powers until the expiration of a year." These troops were, however, employed in the reduction of the insurgent departments.

The loss of Mentz was immediately announced to the convention by Barrere; who, in his report on that occasion, attributed the misfortune solely to the treachery and intrigues of Custine, and obtained a decree that proved fatal to that general. Merlin, who had acted as one of the commissioners during the siege, after praising the gallantry of the soldiers, stated the scarcity of provisions to have been such "that a pound of horse-flesh had been sold at two, and a dead cat at six livres." He added, "that one thousand nine hundred men were sick in the two hospitals, that five thousand had fallen in the defence of the place, which could not possibly hold out three days longer; and that although the capitulation was infamous, it was the tenth that had been proposed, and the first accepted."

With these achievements, the successes of the allies may be said to have terminated; the protracted siege of the fortresses had given time to the French people to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown, by the defection of Dumouriez, and that energy which afterwards produced such great changes was on the eve of being developed.

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*August 16.* It was announced that Cambray had been invested and summoned to surrender on the 8th by the Imperial General de Boros, but that the commandant had returned the following reply: "I have received your letter, general, and have no other answer to return, than that I know not how to surrender, but I do know how to fight."

CHAPTER X.

Insurrection in Vendee—Convention over-awed by the Mountain Party—Gironde Members Proscribed—New Constitution of France—Departments arm against the Jacobins—Revolt of Marseilles and Lyons—Assassination of Marat.

WHILE France appeared in such imminent danger from foreign enemies, she was also exposed to all the horrors of intestine war. To effect the complete subversion of the republican government in France it was proposed to excite, by a bold and simultaneous effort the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poictou, now distinguished by the names of the department of La Vendee, and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly repaired thither in the winter of 1792, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea, afforded every facility for receiving supplies of men and military stores, as well as admitted of the co-operation of the naval powers. The first disturbances in these departments were considered, by the convention, as a mere momentary effervescence, from the dislike of the populace to the new mode which had been adopted for filling the ranks of the army; but before the latter end of March the insurgents had assumed a more formidable appearance, as to numbers, and their proceedings appeared to be the result of previous arrangement. They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the brother of the late King, and who had assumed the title of Regent: on the 23d of March, the convention was informed, that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and had defeated General Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantz was besieged by them, and the number of royalists encamped before that city, were estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April General Berruyere was appointed to command against the insurgents, but notwithstanding all the exertions which the French revolutionary Government could make, the insurgents, before the end of April, possessed themselves of more than fifty leagues of the country, had defeated the republicans in two engagements, and taken a great number of prisoners, and what was more important to them, an immense quantity of artillery and military stores.

It is now time to revert to the state of the government of France, and to review the principal events which occurred at

Paris, from the death of the King to the establishment of the Mountain party. Ever since the deposition of the King, two powerful parties, the Gironde, and the Mountain divided the convention. Brissot, Petion, Vergniaux and their associates, almost all distinguished by their talents, formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but they had taken no active part in the conspiracy, by which it was overturned. The revolutionists of the 10th August, Danton, Robespierre, Chabot, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Eglantine, Couthon, and Collot d'Herbois, assumed the name of the Mountain. These aspired to reap the fruits of their treason, and to govern the republic they had founded on the ruins of the throne. The Gironde party were unwilling to concede to them this preponderance; they were at first supported by the public favour, and by the majority of the convention: but the party of the Mountain, made up by audacity and intrigue for its deficiency in numbers, and by degrees secured the suffrages and support of the Parisian populace. Thus from the first sittings the convention was divided into two parties, whose violent struggles announced new convulsions. In the month of March, that infamous blood-stained court, afterwards so well known by the name of the *revolutionary tribunal*, was established. The office of this tribunal was to take cognizance of all offences against the safety of the state: it was to be fixed at Paris. The Judges were to be chosen by the convention, and the Jury from the commune of Paris; from its decision there was no appeal, and on the 7th of April, a committee of Public Safety was instituted by the convention, invested almost with unlimited power, a power which was soon abused to the worst of purposes, and laid the foundation of a tyranny the most sanguinary and atrocious the world had ever witnessed. The trial of the King was the first contest between the two parties, and his death the first triumph of the Mountain party; the Girondists approved the abolition of monarchy, but in general wished to save the life of the monarch.

The defection of Dumouriez contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the Gironde party, and the destruction of the members of the Bourbon family, remaining in the power of the republicans; on the 7th of April, it was decreed by the convention, that all the members of the Bourbon family should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that all the members of that family not already in the temple should be removed to Marseilles; the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans, though a member of the convention, was included in this decree. A considerable part of the

month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. On the 10th of May the convention took possession of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the first article of the new constitution; viz. the French republic is one and indivisible. In the mean time, the divisions which had so long subsisted between these two parties, approached rapidly to open and avowed hostility. The Mountain party had secured the attachment of the populace of Paris, and the jacobin club had become devoted to this faction. Even the virtues of the Girondists tended to accelerate their ruin: their humane attempt to save the life of the devoted Louis, was urged against them as an unpardonable crime, and as manifesting a culpable indifference to the cause of freedom. To these causes may be added the manifest incapacity they evinced in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardiness in presenting the nation with a constitution. On the 15th of April, a petition was presented by the communes of the 48 sections of Paris, at the bar of the convention, demanding, that twenty-two of the deputies of the Gironde party should be impeached. This party however, continued to have a preponderance in the convention, and Marat, a furious and fanatic leader of the mountain party, was accused by the convention, and committed to the abbey prison, but in a few days he was acquitted by a jury, and returned to the hall of the convention in triumph.

An explosion at length took place. The mountain party, alarmed at a proposal which had been made to remove the convention to Bourges, and surround it with a guard from the departments, roused the populace of Paris to a state of open insurrection. At four o'clock in the morning of the 31st May, the tocsin was sounded and the alarm gun was fired; the barriers were shut, and the commotion every where visible throughout the capital, denoted an approaching crisis. Henriot, the commander of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it. Surrounded without by an outrageous multitude, and assailed within by the party of the mountain, many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. At length, after the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of *sans-culottes*; a decree of accusation against twenty-two legislators; and a

diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be despatched to the south, on purpose to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there ; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs. Their enmity, however, was chiefly directed against the principal members of the Gironde, whom they termed the accomplices of Dumouriez and the coalesced powers ; they attributed to them the intention of dividing the nation into federate republics ; and, with an incongruity of malice that would have appeared contemptible at any other period, they at the same time denounced them as having entered into a plot to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne. But notwithstanding the entreaties and even the threats of factious committees, supported by the municipality, the administrators of the department, the populace of the suburbs, the seditious vociferations of the spectators, and the tumultuous cries of the Mountain, the convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators. This, however, was the last effort ; for two days afterwards, the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies*, but proscribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight.

The vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on the immutable basis of virtue. The triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained indeed all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible and the most odious despotism ; and although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, yet they contrived to suspend all its benefits until the return of peace.

The following is a brief account of this constitution : It consisted of 124 articles, arranged under appropriate heads.

* Brissot,	La Source,	Cambon,
Vergniaud,	Beauvais,	Barbaroux,
Gensonne',	Duchastel,	Buzot,
Ducos,	Mainville,	Biratteau,
Lacaze',	Gaudet,	Rabaut St. Etienne,
Duperret,	Le Hardy,	Lanjuinais,
Carra,	Boileau,	Grangueneve,
Gardien,	Antiboul,	Le Sage,
Valaze',	Vige'e,	Louvet,
Duprat,	Gorsas,	Ducos,
Sillery,	Petion,	Lanthenas, and
Fauchet,	Salles,	Dussaulx.

Ducos, Dussaulx, and Lanthenas, were afterwards excepted from this decree, which involved all the members of the committee of twelve, but Fonfrede and St. Martin.

“The rights of a citizen are acquired, as to natives; by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged person, or adopting a child. The sovereignty of the people is asserted next. The primary assemblies are composed of two hundred citizens at the least, and six hundred at the most, of those who have been inhabitants for six months in each canton. The elections are made by ballot, or open vote, at the option of each voter. The suffrages upon laws are given by *yes* or *no*. Of the national representation, the population is the sole basis. There is one deputy for every forty thousand individuals. Each re-union of primary assemblies resulting from a population of from thirty-nine thousand to forty-one thousand souls, nominates directly one deputy. The French nation assemble every year, on the first of May, for the election. The primary assemblies are formed upon extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth, from the citizens who have a right to vote in them; but the extraordinary assemblies only deliberate when more than the half of the citizens are present. Electoral assemblies are formed by the citizens united in primary assemblies, who name one elector for every two hundred citizens, and in proportion. The legislative body holds its session for a year, and its first meeting is the first of July. Its members cannot be called in question for the opinions they have delivered in the national assembly. The functions of the legislative body are to propose laws and pass decrees, superintend public instruction, the national domain, and make the declarations of war; to provide for the defence of the territory, and ratify treaties. The formation of the law is as follows: The plan of a law is preceded by a report; and the discussion of it cannot take place till fifteen days after the report is made. The plan is printed, and sent to all the communes of the republic, under this title, “Law proposed.” Forty days after, the law proposed is sent to the departments; if in more than half of the departments the tenth of the primary assemblies of each have not objected to it, the plan is accepted, and becomes a law. The executive council is composed of twenty-four members, for which the electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body choose the members of the council from the general list. One half of it is renewed by each legislature, in the last month of the session. It nominates, not from its own body, the agents in chief of the general administration of the republic. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents. Civil justice is administered by justices of the peace, elected by the

citizens, in circuits determined by the law ; to conciliate and judge without expense. Their number, and their competence, are determinable by the legislature. The justices of the peace are elected every year. In criminal cases, no individual can be tried, but on an examination received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body. The fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment. The punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal. The criminal judges are elected yearly, by the electoral assemblies. The general force of the republic is composed of the whole people. All the French are soldiers ; they are all exercised in the use of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council. National conventions may be appointed on extraordinary occasions. If, in a majority of the departments, the tenth of the primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, demands the revision of the constitutional act, the legislative body is bound to convoke all the primary assemblies of the republic, to know if there be ground for a national convention. The national convention is formed in the same manner as the legislatures, and unites in itself their power. Under the title of the correspondence of the French republic with foreign nations, we find the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people. It does not interfere in the government of other nations. It does not suffer other nations to interfere in the government of its own. It gives an asylum to foreigners banished from their country for the cause of liberty. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory."

In the mean time several of the departments took the alarm, and determined to avenge the outrages committed against their deputies. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned members were restored to their functions. This body at the same time received notice, that no sooner had an account of their late proceedings reached Bordeaux, than cries of indignation resounded from every quarter ; and the president of the administration of Isle and Vilaine transmitted a letter, in the name of the constituted authorities, to announce their resolution "to send an armed force to Paris, on purpose to rescue the legislature from the state of oppression in which it languished, under the dominion of a handful of anarchists." The departments of Calvados, the Rhone, and the Loire, also publicly avowed their determination to disown the convention ; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view

of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons; Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the Mountain for a moment appeared desperate.

Several of the proscribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them. Considered as the martyrs of liberty, they were every where received with the most lively transports of joy; and a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon.—Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partisans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of no fewer than seventy-two departments.

But this plan, alike destitute of uniformity and foresight, exposed the cause of liberty to new dangers; and while it added to, and even seemed to countenance, the ferocity of the jacobins, distracted and nearly proved fatal to the republic. After the passions of the people were permitted to subside, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause, and a civil war soon began to appear odious to all, and peculiarly impolitic at such a critical period.

But notwithstanding many of the departments declined to declare openly, yet commissioners from the Gironde, Isle, Vilaine, and Finisterre, assembled, and resolved to march to Paris with their fellow-citizens, to restore the proscribed members, ensure the liberty of the convention, and obtain the punishment of the guilty.

No sooner did the indignant provinces begin to think of avenging the common cause, than a number of the accused deputies assembled together, for the purpose of directing their movements. Buzot and Gorsas, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux and Petion, who escaped from arrest, were already at Caen, and headed the insurrection of the west.—Louvét, who had distinguished himself by the energy of his writings and his speeches, flying from Paris, rejoined his friends, and found that eight coalesced departments had already nominated their commissioners; that Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as the lead-

er, while De Puisaye was appointed by him to act as Adjutant-general. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the Girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Bretons and Normans alone. But the general insisted on organising his army, and pointed out the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase the number of their partisans, by the junction of the troops expected from the south, and thus render success inevitable.—He accordingly contented himself with dispersing proclamations; and on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that “he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of sixty thousand men.”

At length the proscribed deputies began to suspect that Wimpffen and De Puisaye were not only royalists, but secretly attached to the interests of a neighbouring nation, by means of which they wished to place one of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. The former of these at last disclosed his mind freely, and proposed a junction with the army of La Vendee. He represented to the committee, that in the present situation of affairs this union could not be imputed to treason, but to the force of circumstances: he added, that republics, both ancient and modern, had flourished with Kings at their head; and that France might safely follow their example. It was true the convention had abolished royalty; but this law was not yet formally sanctioned by the people, and could only be contemplated as an event produced by the pressure of the occasion. He insisted on the benefits to be derived from a coalition with the insurgents; and concluded by promising the assistance of England, with which he kept up a secret communication and correspondence. But the Girondists, who were sincerely attached to a republican form of government, refused to accede to any plan in opposition to their avowed principles; and, notwithstanding his former exploits against the emigrants, they from this moment clearly perceived that the commander whom they had selected to support the cause of the commonwealth, was devoted to the cause of the monarchy.

On being pressed to advance directly to Paris without waiting for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops. The jacobins, who had assembled some forces in that town, immediately sallied forth and received

them with a discharge of artillery. On this, either actuated by treason, or struck with a sudden panic, the whole of the insurgents betook themselves to flight, except a single battalion of four hundred men from Finisterre : which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length rallied.

After this they were all re-conducted to Caen, which the general now proposed to fortify, that they might there wait for the quotas of troops promised by the neighbouring departments. But the exiled deputies, disgusted with his conduct, and seeing no prospect of success, refused their assent. The armed citizens, actuated by the same motives, marched towards their respective districts : Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed themselves ; the forlorn representatives betook themselves to flight ; some perished by the guillotine ; others by fatigue and famine ; while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

In the beginning of July an insurrection broke out at Lyons. A congress of the department was convoked at that city, in which it was resolved to march a considerable force for the reduction of Paris : the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed ; and the provisions destined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for dissolving the convention, which has since been distinguished by the name of Federalism. On the 12th July, the Marseillois issued a manifesto to the French nation, in which they declared, that the situation of Paris was equivalent to a declaration of war against the whole republic, and they urged the people to join their standard, and assist in reducing the faction, which had usurped the powers of the republic. It belongs to a later period of this history to detail the transactions conclusive of these generous efforts to subvert the power of the ferocious faction, which now ruled France with a rod of iron. On the eighth of July, the committee of public safety produced its report concerning the imprisoned deputies of the convention. It charged Brissot, Petion, and some others, with being the constant favourers of royalty. It alleged that they had conspired to place a new monarch on the throne, some of them in the person of Louis Capet, and others in that of the Duke of York. Petion was accused of having signed the order on the 10th August, to fire on the people from the Thuilleries. And Roland was accused in general terms of persecuting the republicans. *On these charges, the convention declared those who had fled*

from the decree of arrest, traitors to their country, and they were put out of the protection of the law.

These outrageous proceedings on the part of the mountain party, necessarily produced a considerable re-action, and which, in one memorable instance, was fatal to one of the most violent of these incendiaries. A female, of the name of Charlotte Corday, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, in the beginning of July, proceeded from Caen, in Normandy, to devote her life to what she considered as the cause of liberty and her country. The following account of this singular event, is from the lively pen of Helen Maria Williams, who was at Paris at the time this transaction took place.

“Charlotte Anne Marie Corday was a native of St. Saturnin in the department of the Orne. She appears to have lived in a state of literary retirement with her father, and by the study of ancient and modern historians to have imbibed a strong attachment to liberty. She had been accustomed to assimilate certain periods of ancient history with the events that were passing before her, and was probably excited by the examples of antiquity to the commission of a deed, which she believed with fond enthusiasm, would deliver and save her country.

Being at Caen when the citizens of the department were enrolling themselves to march to the relief of the convention, the animation with which she saw them devoting their lives to their country, led her to execute without delay, the project she had formed. Under pretence of going home, she came to Paris, and the third day after her arrival obtained admission to Marat. She had invented a story to deceive him; and when he promised her that all the promoters of the insurrection in the departments should be sent to the guillotine, she drew out a knife which she had purchased for the occasion, and plunged it into his breast. She was immediately apprehended, and conducted to the abbey prison, from which she was transferred to the conciergerie, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

This intrepid female acknowledged the deed, and justified it by asserting that it was a duty she owed her country to rid the world of a monster whose sanguinary doctrines were framed to involve the country in anarchy and civil war, and asserted her right to put Marat to death as a convict already condemned by the public opinion.—She trusted that her example would inspire the people with that energy which had been at all times the distinguished characteristic of republi-

cans ; and which she defined to be that devotedness to our country which renders life of little comparative estimation.

Her deportment during the trial was modest and dignified. There was so engaging a softness in her countenance, that it was difficult to conceive how she could have armed herself with sufficient intrepidity to execute the deed. Her answers to the interrogatories of the court were full of point and energy. She sometimes surprised the audience by her wit, and excited their admiration by her eloquence. Her face sometimes beamed with sublimity, and was sometimes covered with smiles. At the close of her trial she took three letters from her bosom, presented them to the judges, and requested they might be forwarded to the persons to whom they were addressed. Two were written to Barbaroux, in which with great ease and spirit she relates her adventures from her leaving Caen to the morning of her trial. The other was an affectionate and solemn adieu to her father. She retired while the jury deliberated on their verdict ; and when she again entered the tribunal, there was a majestic solemnity in her demeanor which perfectly became her situation. She heard her sentence with attention and composure ; and after conversing for a few minutes with her counsel and a friend of mine who had set near her during the trial, and whom she requested to discharge some trifling debts she had incurred in the prison, she left the court with the same serenity, and prepared herself for the last scene.

She had concluded her letter to her father with this verse of Corneille,

“ C’est le crime qui fait la honte, et non pas l’échafaud.”

It is difficult to conceive the kind of heroism which she displayed in the way to execution.—The women who were called furies of the guillotine, and who had assembled to insult her on leaving the prison, were awed into silence by her demeanor, while some of the spectators uncovered their heads before her, and others gave loud tokens of applause. There was such an air of chastened exultation thrown over her countenance, that she inspired sentiments of love rather than sensations of pity. She ascended the scaffold with undaunted firmness, and, knowing that she had only to die, was resolved to die with dignity. She had learned from her jailor the mode of punishment, but was not instructed in the detail ; and when the executioner attempted to tie her feet to the plank, she resisted, from an apprehension that he had been ordered to insult her ; but on his explaining himself she submitted with a smile. When he took off her handkerchief, the moment she bent under the fatal

stroke, she blushed deeply ; and her head which was held up to the multitude the moment after, exhibited this last impression of offended modesty.”

The leaders of the faction, who thought every measure good that could be made subservient to their purpose, found this event too replete with favourable circumstances to be neglected.—Marat, whom they had thrown aside to die at leisure, unless perchance he should have lived to share the fate to which they afterwards condemned their other agents, was now restored to more than his ancient honours, was proclaimed a martyr, and his death ordered to be lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic. The conspirators declared that no farther doubt of the federalism of the departments remained. The death of Marat was the point of conviction.—Every member of the Mountain was to be assassinated in his turn, and the traitors of the departments had their accomplices in Paris who had whetted their poniards to involve the city in destruction. Though the Parisians were not sufficiently credulous to believe these calumnies, the faction made them the pretence to proceed to the commission of further crimes ; and while they endeavoured to amuse the people with what they called the inauguration of Marat and of Chalier, they were meditating the murder of the deputies whom they had driven from the legislature.

CHAPTER XI.

The Allied Courts agree to divide their Forces—The Duke of York makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Dunkirk—Is obliged to Retreat—Action at Maubeuge—Capture of Quesnoy—Campaign on the Rhine—Victories of Pichegru and Hoch—War in La Vendee, and on the Frontiers of Spain and Italy—Siege and Evacuation of Toulon—Cruel Treatment of the Inhabitants of Toulon.

WHILE the French republic was thus a prey to intestine disorders, and the theatre of unprecedented crimes, the capture of Valenciennes and the forced retreat of the wreck of the French army from under the protection of Cambray, seemed to present a fair opportunity to the combined forces of marching to the capital and deciding the fate of Europe. But the allied courts were dazzled with their success, and cherished sentiments of individual aggrandisement, inconsistent with their professed object.

Two of the chief fortresses in the French Netherlands were already in possession of the Emperor ; and it was now determined by the English cabinet to re-annex part of mari-

time Flanders to the crown of Great Britain. Accordingly, while the Austrians undertook the siege of Quesnoy, with a view to increase their acquisitions in that quarter, the Duke of York, at the head of the English troops, and a body of Dutch and Hanoverians, advanced and occupied a camp in the neighbourhood of Menin. No sooner did the French become acquainted with this intended separation of the allied armies, than they resolved once more to resume offensive operations. Advantage was taken of the inactivity of the Prussians, after the conquest of Mentz, and drafts were accordingly made from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, while the new levies could be clothed, embodied, and disciplined. Houchard, already celebrated by his exploits in Germany, was placed at the head of the army of the North.

The French having attacked Lincelles, a post lately taken and occupied by command of the hereditary Prince of Orange, Major-general Lake, with three battalions, consisting of the first, Coldstream, and third regiment of guards, was sent on the 18th August to the assistance of the Dutch troops, who had unfortunately retreated by a different road. But notwithstanding this discouraging circumstance, and the manifest superiority of the enemy, an immediate attack was determined upon. The English were accordingly formed, and advanced under a heavy fire against a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, erected upon a height in front of the village. After firing three or four rounds they charged with bayonets, stormed the works, drove out the enemy, dispersed them after they had rallied, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and about fifty prisoners.*

In the mean time Field-marshal Freytag, at the head of the Hanoverians, defeated the French at Oost Capelle, Rexpede,

* The London Gazette Extraordinary states, "from the concurring testimony of the prisoners, that the enemy had twelve battalions at the post, and must have been upwards of five thousand men." Lieutenant-colonel Boswell of the Coldstream, and Lieutenant de Peyster of the royal artillery, were killed upon this occasion; and the conduct of Colonels Girnfield, Hulse, and Pennington, according to the despatch, "reflected honour upon themselves, and merited his Royal Highness's warmest approbation. Equal praise," it is added, "is due to Major Wright, and the officers and men of the royal artillery attached to the battalions."

The Duke of York also expressed himself "particularly sensible of the exertions of Major-general Abercromby, Major-general Varneck, and Lieutenant-general Wurmb," in the action of the 24th of August, on which occasion Lieutenant-general Dalton and Lieutenant Colonel Eld, of the first regiment of foot guards, were unfortunately killed.

Upon the evening of the 6th of September, Major Ross distinguished himself at the head of the 14th regiment of infantry, and Colonel Moncrieff received a dangerous wound.

and Hoenchoote, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and two hundred prisoners, while the Duke of York advanced with the besieging army in three columns from Furnes, on purpose to attack the camp of Ghivelde. On this the enemy abandoned their position during the night, and a redoubt in the course of the next day. Field-marshal Freytag at the same time seized on the posts of Warmarthe and Eckelsbeck, and the bridge of Lefferink's Hoeke ; the English also, after repulsing a sally, and experiencing some loss in consequence of approaching the place during the ardour of pursuit, obtained possession of the ground near Dunkirk, which it became necessary to occupy previously to the siege, and summoned the place in the name of the King of Great Britain.

But after the operations of this day, the success of the English ceased ; and it soon became evident, either that the plan of the campaign was faulty, or that the vigour and resources of the enemy had not been sufficiently appreciated. No sooner did the committee of public safety receive intimation of the separation of the grand army, and the march of the Duke of York against Dunkirk, than the most effectual measures were taken for the defence of that place. Trusting no longer to noble birth, it was determined to employ plebeians alone. General Souham, who had risen from the ranks, was accordingly ordered to march with a chosen body of troops to the assistance of the garrison ; these soon after entered the town under the command of Hoche, now an adjutant-general, and formerly a private in the French guards. The presence of the two representatives, Hentz and Duquesnoy, also animated the soldiery, and inspired the townsmen with confidence ; while O'Moran, who commanded at Cassel, being suspected of treachery, was seized, conducted to Paris, and perished soon after in consequence of a sentence of the revolutionary tribunal. Houchard having now arrived with an immense body of troops, it was determined to relieve the place by general and frequent attacks. The French accordingly marched out from the camp of Cassel, as well as from the towns of Bergues and Dunkirk, for the purpose of assaulting the whole of Field-marshal Freytag's posts ; and although his troops displayed great bravery, yet the enemy not only obtained possession of Bambecke, Rousbrughe, and Poperinghe, but obliged part of the army to retreat to Hond-schoote. Next day the field-marshal was attacked again ; on the succeeding morning, the centre of the line was forced, and General Waldmoden driven behind a canal, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and about three hundred men.

This action, in the course of which Field-marshal Freytag

and Prince Adolphus were both wounded, and for some time prisoners, proved decisive of the fate of Dunkirk, and of the campaign ; for his royal highness the commander in chief was obliged to abandon his position, resign the idea of a siege, and leave thirty-two heavy cannon, much baggage, and many of the military stores, behind him. The retreat, however, was conducted with equal ability and success by General Sir William Erskine. (19.)

Thus ended the fatal attempt upon Dunkirk, in the course of which the English army assuredly did not receive that assistance and co-operation by sea, which it was in the power of a great maritime nation to have afforded ; while the enemy by their numbers, their audacity, and their zeal, demonstrated that the ruling party knew how to inspire enthusiasm, and ensure victory. Houchard, notwithstanding his success, was immediately arrested, and soon after put to death, because he had not completed his triumph by the capture of the army destined to besiege Dunkirk.* Whether this commander was guilty or not of the charges brought against him, cannot be well ascertained, for before the revolutionary tribunal, suspicion was equivalent to proof, and impeachment implied condemnation. Care was however taken to reward such officers as had particularly distinguished themselves ; and Jourdan, who had attacked the right and centre of the camp at Hond-schoote, as well as Hoche, who had charged the left wing, were both promoted ; a decree passed at the same time, declaring, “ that the army of the North had deserved well of the country ;” and the representatives on mission were enjoined to transmit a detailed account of the heroic exploits of the defenders of the republic.

But although victory had deserted the British standard, she seemed faithful for a time to that of Austria ; Quesnoy was

(19.) The strength of the two armies at the siege of Dunkirk has been variously represented. The French accounts state the number of the combined forces at fifty thousand men, while their own is said not to have exceeded one half of that amount.

* Houchard suffered by the guillotine at Paris, November 15, 1793. The following are the charges drawn up by Barrere, and preferred to the convention :

“ 1. That after defeating the English, he did not drive them into the sea ;

“ 2. That when he had surrounded the Dutch, he did not cut them in pieces ;

“ 3. That he sent no succours to the troops butchered near Cambray ; and

“ 4. That he abandoned Menin, and in his retreat exposed his army to considerable danger.”

now taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the French were also defeated at Villers en Couchee; and the Prince de Cobourg having passed the Sambre, drove all the detached bodies of the enemy into the intrenched camp of Maubeuge, and actually invested both it and the fortress; while Cambray and Bouchain were successively threatened by Field-marshal Clairfayt.

But these successes proved short-lived, in consequence of the increased ardour of the enemy. A formidable train of heavy artillery was now brought into the field, numerous bodies of troops were assembled, the representatives of the people not only harangued the army, but placed themselves at the head of the columns, while another plebeian leader was found in the person of Jourdan. No sooner was that general invested with the chief command, than he determined to have recourse to the same system that had proved successful at Hondschoote. An attack was accordingly made on the troops posted near the village of Wattignies, and although this at first was unsuccessful, yet being renewed with increased vigour on the succeeding morning, it proved at length decisive. Accordingly, the communication with the army of observation before Maubeuge being now cut off, and the Prince de Cobourg beaten in an action that lasted two days, he deemed it prudent to repass the Sambre;* but his retreat was conducted with such firmness, that two detached bodies of troops, under Lieutenant-general Benzowsky and Count Haddick, took fourteen pieces of cannon, and some hundred prisoners.

The French being now the assailants, the war assumed a new appearance; and the armies which had so lately been summoning French towns and provinces in the names of the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Germany, found it difficult to defend Austrian Flanders. The enemy had by this time seized on Werwick and Furnes; they also obtained possession of Menin, and were only prevented from occupying Nieuport by the gallant defence of Colonel de Wurmb; in consequence of which, time was given for the arrival of Generals Grey and Dundas, who secured the possession of that place by means of the same troops with which they afterwards achieved so many conquests in the West Indies. The re-

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—*October 19.*—"A letter from the commissioners with the army of the North, announced that Maubeuge was relieved, and that the battle had lasted two days successively, from morning until night. They at the same time stated, that Jourdan had distinguished himself not only by his courage, but by the excellence of his plans, he being the only French general who had defeated Cobourg in a pitched battle since the commencement of the campaign."

mainder of the campaign in this quarter was spent in actions of little note, with the exception of an attack upon Marchiennes, by Major-general Kray, under the direction of the Duke of York; in consequence of which the enemy lost twelve pieces of cannon, and about two thousand troops, including killed and wounded.

The fortune of the campaign of 1793, on the banks of the Rhine, was various. The same causes that had contributed to the successive defeats of the northern army and the loss of Belgium, operated there also with nearly an equal degree of force; and it was not until the jacobin party had displayed an unexampled degree of energy, that a change propitious to the cause of France took place.

After the capture of Mentz, which contributed in some measure to restore the lustre of the Prussian arms, Frederick William II. remained inactive until re-animated by the prospect of a subsidy from England. At length, however, when the army of the Moselle had been forced to withdraw behind the Sarre, the Duke of Brunswick once more took the field, and defeated the French, who had marched to attack him.—On this occasion he exhibited an instance of generalship that did honour to the old school; for by turning the flanks of the assailants he obliged three thousand of them to surrender prisoners of war, and obtained possession of twenty-seven pieces of cannon and two howitzers. After this he made some movements in support of the Austrians, who had hitherto contended on unequal terms with the army of the Rhine, surprised a corps of French encamped near Bitche, and destroyed all the camp equipage belonging to it, while Kalkreuth defeated another body that had marched against him, and cut to pieces the regiment of *sans culottes*.

General Wurmser took advantage of this career of success to invest Landau; after this he advanced against the lines of Lauter and Wissembourg, which he attacked with his troops divided into six columns, carried the different redoubts constructed in front of the French camps by assault, seized on all the tents, nine standards, and twenty-six pieces of artillery, and would have destroyed the greater part of the enemy, had not their retreat been favoured by a fog.*

The disasters of the French did not end here, for Haguenau surrendered to General Mezaros, the enemy were beaten

* The French assert that they were betrayed upon this occasion; and Isambert, a general of brigade, was condemned to death at Strasburgh, for having abandoned one of the principal redoubts at the attack of the lines of Wissembourg.

next day at Brumpt, the important position at Wauzenau, with all the camp equipage, was seized upon nearly at the same time by the Austrians, while Fort Louis, with a garrison of four thousand men, surrendered after a siege of only four days. But here the tide of victory ceased to flow in its former direction, for the committee of public safety being now determined to obtain a decided superiority, reinforced the army of the Rhine with that of the Moselle, and augmented both by means of new levies. The successes that ensued are to be chiefly attributed however to the two generals employed upon this occasion. Pichegru, but lately a serjeant of artillery, conceived an admirable plan for reconquering Alsace, and he was ably seconded on this occasion by Hoche, who, like himself, had wielded a halbert before he was permitted to grasp a truncheon. From this moment a new spirit was infused into the troops, and it was determined both on the part of the leaders and the soldiery, either to conquer or perish.—The Prussians were now attacked and defeated at Sarbruck. In the course of the next morning their camp at Bliescastel was stormed, and in three days more Deux-Ponts was captured; but the enemy were repulsed with great loss by the Duke of Brunswick in two attacks near Lautern.

The partial defeats, however, seemed only to redouble their exertions, for the redoubts of Haguenau being carried by the bayonet, the allies were driven from the town with great slaughter, and the heights of Reifhaffen, Jaudershaffen, and Wrotte, deemed more impregnable than those of Gemappe, were stormed in succession. At length, after a series of battles hitherto unexampled in modern warfare, the republican army regained possession of Wissembourg, the siege of Landau was raised, Fort Louis was evacuated, and Kaiserslautern, Germersheim, and Spire, submitted to the French.

Such was the spirit of enthusiasm with which the republicans on this frontier were actuated, that General Wurmser, who had so lately attempted to obtain Strasburgh by a secret negotiation, and Landau by force, was now obliged to retreat across the Rhine, while the Duke of Brunswick, astonished at the zeal and activity of the enemy, and uncertain of the ultimate intentions of the two young generals who now sustained the glory of their country, made a hasty retreat to cover Mentz, and soon withdrew from the command in disgust.

But although fortune, in almost every portion of the seat of war, seemed disposed to second the energetic efforts of the French government, she still appeared unpropitious in La Vendee, a country hitherto unsubdued either by the gallantry

of the republican battalions or the savage ferocity of the triumphant faction. In the course of the summer the towns of Saumur and Machicoul were seized upon by the royalists, and although they were afterwards defeated before Nantz, and repeatedly routed by the garrison of Mentz, yet it was found impossible to quell them entirely. At length Barrete obtained a decree for putting an end to the war in the course of "a single month;"* and such was his presumption, that he soon after announced "the total extinction of the rebellion," in consequence of the successes obtained at Mortagne, Cholot, Chatillon, and Beaupreaux, while Merlin of Thionville, on his arrival from the western army, announced with a savage joy, "that the insurgent territories were reduced to a heap of ashes, and soaking in blood."

Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants of the disaffected departments appeared frequently in arms, fought several actions, and actually besieged some of the neighbouring towns. The chiefs too, who had relied before entirely on their own strength, now thought proper to enter into correspondence with foreign powers, and to obtain succour from England, they made an attack on Granville, with a view of keeping open a communication, and facilitating the reception of supplies; but having failed in their attempt, and La Roche Jacquelin, one of the bravest of their leaders, being killed upon this occasion, a body of troops which had sailed to their assistance at the close of the year, under the command of Lord Moira, returned to England, and the expedition was abandoned.

But such was the nature of this contest, that out of the ashes of La Vendee new armies seemed to arise, and although fresh victories were announced daily in the convention, yet it became manifest that this domestic conflict was far more terrible than all the united disasters of the many foreign wars in which France was now involved.

Hostilities on the frontiers of Spain and Italy participated of the general fortune of the campaign, being carried on in a languid manner at the commencement, and increasing in vigour and animation towards the conclusion. Early in the spring, Don Ventura Caro drove the French from the fort of Andaya, and destroyed the encampments of Biritau; while

* The following is a copy of the proclamation issued upon this occasion to the army of the West:

"SOLDIERS of liberty! the rebels of La Vendee ought to be exterminated before the end of the month of October; the safety of the country requires, the impatience of the French commands, your courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits all those who fight to secure liberty and equality!"

Don Ricardos, at the head of the army of Catalonia, about the same time defeated the republicans at Givet, and Bellegarde was taken after a bombardment of thirty-three days. General Dagobert attacked and carried a camp belonging to the enemy at the bottom of Mount Libre; but on the other hand, Don Ricardos defeated the French near Perpignan. Soon after this, however, an intrenched camp belonging to the Spaniards at Pirescham was forced, and twenty pieces of cannon, together with the tents and baggage, were taken. At length, in the month of November, the republican forces entered Catalonia, and it soon became evident that Spain was unable to contend with this warlike people.

The French having determined to humble the court of Turin, fitted out a formidable fleet at the beginning of the year, under Truguet, with a view of obtaining possession of the island of Sardinia. After seizing on the isles St. Peter and Antioch, the expedition consisting of nineteen sail, many of which were line of battle ships, appeared in the gulph of Cagliari, whither the commandant of the former had retired with his garrison consisting of eight hundred men. The French admiral immediately sent a deputation of twenty-one men on shore with a flag, and an officer, who demanded the surrender of the capital; but the Sardinians having killed seventeen of these, the remainder retreated to their boat. The fleet having at length entered the harbour, commenced an attack upon Cagliari, and the bombardment continued during three days, in the course of which period the assailants were much annoyed by the red hot balls fired from the shore. Several of the ships were also damaged in their masts and rigging, and one was set on fire; while, on the other hand, the shells thrown from the bomb-vessels produced but little effect. In short, this expedition appears to have been conducted in such a manner as to reflect but little glory on the naval power of France; and nearly all the troops landed at different times and in different places were cut off by the inhabitants, who precipitated themselves from the mountains, and fought with the greatest bravery and resolution.

The civil war that took place in the southern departments for a time appeared to give a decided preponderance to the feeble efforts of the King of Sardinia. The greater part of the republican troops being recalled for the purpose of reducing Thoulon and Marseilles, the remainder were completely defeated in the county of Nice, and the whole of Savoy appeared on the point of returning under the dominion of its ancient masters.—But towards the latter end of October, the Sardinians were completely beaten at Saorgio.—Genoa, not-

withstanding the threats of the allied powers, could not be intimidated into a declaration of war against France. The court of Florence however yielded to threats, in consequence of which the French minister was dismissed, and such measures adopted as afterwards bereaved the sovereign of Tuscany of his ducal crown; notwithstanding the intervention of a short and precarious peace.

In the last chapter we referred to the formidable union which had taken place under the name of the federative republicanism, between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon. This confederation still subsisted, and threatened the speedy overthrow of the ruling tyranny. This expectation unfortunately proved fallacious. A considerable force was despatched against those insurgents under General Carteaux, in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August, the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th of August, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success, the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon, and the French Vice-admiral Trugoff, entered into a negociation with the English Admiral Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean for the delivery of the port and fleet into the hands of the English in trust for Louis the XVII. a negociation which after some difficulties was completed and carried into effect, and on the 28th of August fifteen hundred men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of fort Malguo, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this the French ships were warped into the inner road according to agreement, and the Spanish Admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; after which one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison; Rear-admiral Goodall was declared governor, and Rear-admiral Gravina commandant of the troops.

The condition on which this valuable arsenal was put into the hands of a British admiral, was that it was only to be considered as a deposit to be preserved for the use of the French King Louis XVII. The inhabitants of Toulon declaring their intention of rejecting the constitution recently completed by the convention, and of adhering to that decreed by the constituent assembly of 1789. It was further stipulated that when peace should be re-established in France, "The ships and forts which should be put into the hands of the English, should be restored to the French

nation in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered." The English immediately adopted the most efficient means for placing Toulon in a state of complete defence.

Finding that the forts Faron, Balaguier, La Malue, and L'Equillete, were overlooked and commanded by the adjacent hills, these heights were crowned with redoubts, the cross-fire from which seemed to interdict all approach. A new fort was also constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equillete, and at Balaguier; the last of which was termed the grand camp by the English, and little Gibraltar by the French. The redoubts were all defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships; a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Roussillon entered the place at this period, while two thousand of his Sicilian majesty's best troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Pignatelli, arrived on board a small squadron, and more were expected daily; a considerable detachment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was also sent to the succour of the garrison at the same time.

The surrender of this important sea-port induced the national commissioners to press the siege of Lyons with redoubled vigour, and unfortunately with too much success, for after a most obstinate and gallant resistance, this city was obliged to surrender after a siege of fifty-four days, having suffered almost as much from famine as the sword.

The new deputies, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, Maignet, and Chateaneuf-Randon, having refused to grant any terms until the leaders of the insurrection had been delivered up, the chiefs, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those who considered themselves as proscribed by the jacobins, to the amount of about two thousand, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few waggons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed this little army of fugitives, in the midst of which was to be seen a great number of females, determined not to abandon their husbands, and who, with their children in their arms, resolved to share their fate. Scarcely, however, had they entered the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, when they found themselves surrounded by nearly fifty thousand men; and although they exhibited prodigies of valour upon this occasion, yet all resistance became vain on account of the disparity of numbers. The greater part perished with arms in their hands; about five hundred men and women, chiefly covered with wounds, ex-

perienced a worse fate by falling alive into the hands of their enemies ; for they were transferred from dungeon to dungeon, and ended their days by different kinds of punishment ; about sixty only escaped, and found an asylum among the neighbouring peasants.

Nor was the fate of a great number of the inhabitants, who trusted to the mercy of the conquerors, more tolerable. One fourth of the buildings had been already destroyed by the besiegers. The still more ferocious commissioners, not content with this, ordered the demolition of all the principal edifices ; measures were actually taken to transport a large portion of the population to another place, and a decree enjoined that the miserable remnant of this ancient city, hitherto so famous throughout all Europe on account of its rich manufactures, was no longer to be recognised by its former name.* In addition to this, orders were given to erect a column with an appropriate inscription, on purpose to perpetuate the resistance and disgrace of Lyons, as well as the vengeance of its enemies.†

But the rage of the victors was not confined to the destruction of houses and temples. The sufferings of the miserable inhabitants have never been surpassed ; and if we are to search for a parallel in history, we must recur to the times of Attila, and the merciless invaders who laid Europe waste during the barbarous ages. The deputy Freron, on entering this devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced “ that terror was the order of the day.” But he was surpassed in cruelty and ferocity by Collot d’Herbois. His pro-consulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed. A chosen band of Parisian jacobins, and a column of the revolutionary army, marched into Lyons as the precursors of his fury. The process of the axe was deemed too slow for his insatiable vengeance ; sometimes the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were employed as more conformable to the celerity of his vengeance ; but at length grape shot and artillery were resorted to, and the principal square, the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, was strewed with the dying and the dead, and became deluged with the blood of his victims.

The siege of Toulon was carried on after the reduction of Lyons, with increased vigour. On the 14th October, an ac-

* Commune-Affranchie was the new appellation given to Lyons.

† “ LYON FIT LA GUERRE A' LA REPUBLIQUE :
“ LYON N'EST PLUS.”

“ LYONS MADE WAR UPON THE REPUBLIC :
“ LYONS IS NO MORE.”

tion took place between the garrison who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of General Cartaux, in which the English and their allies lost about forty men, and the French about thirty. No return was made of the Toulonese who fell in the action.

In the beginning of November, General Cartaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Dugommier was appointed commander in chief, and as the speedy capture of this great naval arsenal greatly depended on the judicious management of the immense artillery employed against it, great pains were taken by the commander to find an engineer of ability, and unfortunately for Europe and the world, he fixed on Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery, and who by his able conduct in the siege, laid the foundation of that military fame, which afterwards enabled him to trample on the liberties of his country, and to give the law to continental Europe. About this period, General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander in chief.

Bonaparte, aware that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, immediately opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the heights of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. As it became necessary to take immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, Governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery.

Having accordingly obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend some redoubts whence he proposed to withdraw the soldiers, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, he sent a detachment consisting of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spaniards, and four hundred French, under the command of Major-General David Dundas. (20.) Notwithstanding these different bodies were all obliged to cross a river on a single bridge, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine terrasses, they were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt. Not content with this success, by which they had fully effected all the objects of

(20.) The French accounts state the force of the English and their allies, on this occasion, at six thousand men, and their defeat to have been much more decisive than is here represented.

the expedition, the troops, flushed with victory, and trusting to their good fortune, rushed forward, and descended the hill after a flying enemy.

This unlucky incident was not overlooked by the French generals, who immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the assailants, now in disorder by the rapidity of their pursuit and the unevenness of the country, and obliged them in their return to retire with precipitation. The gallant Lieutenant-General O'Hara, on this occasion, received a wound in the arm, and being rendered faint by the loss of blood, was obliged to sit down under a wall, where he was taken prisoner ;* several other officers also fell into the hands of the French.

The events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer, who had acted both in the capacity of governor and military commander, contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers ; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault.

Nor were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation ; and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly forty thousand men, commanded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one

* Lord Hood in his despatch to government, dated on the day when this unfortunate event took place, was pleased to observe that, "the governor promised not to go out himself, but unfortunately did not keep his word." This remark, which seems to implicate something like reproach, was undoubtedly produced by the bitterness of his Lordship's grief at the event of this unfortunate expedition. The letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the other hand, contains a complete justification of his excellency : "It is much to be lamented that General O'Hara was on every occasion, so prodigal of his person ; but the misfortune which has befallen him, and the severe loss which the service sustains by his capture, cannot be ascribed even to this honourable fault ; for he did not himself ascend the battery till it was possessed by our troops, and there was reason to suppose the object of the day had been obtained. The reverse was so sudden, and his presence must have appeared so material towards restoring order, and retrieving the error which had been committed by the troops, that it is not to be wondered at, if, with his spirit, he became exposed to personal hazard. His wound, though not dangerous or serious, had bled much ; and, added to the exertion he had before made, weakened him so much, that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves." *Extract of a letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, dated Toulon, December 1, 1793.*

of the best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file.* (21.) With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men.

The French being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, by fresh ones, and at two o'clock in the morning opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, and from these and three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed however on the east side, by about seven hundred men, commanded by Colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In the course of this day's fight, all the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The deputy Arena headed one of their columns, Cervoni and Bonaparte particularly distinguished themselves.†

A council of flag and general officers now assembled; and as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had

* See Major-General Dundas's letter, dated "Hieres Bay, December 21, 1793."

(21.) That is, according to the British official statements. A very respectable French writer estimates them at fifteen thousand men.
Lacretelle's History of the French Revolution.

† It is not a little remarkable, that all these were foreigners. Cervoni was a subject of the King of Sardinia; while Arena and Bonaparte were both Corsicans, born anterior to the period when their country was subjugated by the French.

been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in the possession of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and in the course of that evening the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick, wounded, and British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Misissey without orders, embarked at noon, and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about seven thousand men, during the night.

As the enemy now commanded the town as well as some of the ships by their shot and shells, it became necessary that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men of war and the arsenal, but was prevented, by the sudden and unexpected evacuation that took place, from carrying his intentions fully into execution. Having entrusted that service to Sir Sydney Smith, the latter on entering the dock-yard found that the artificers had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one, while about six hundred galley slaves, who had broken their fetters, were jealous of his operations, and would have exhibited a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, on purpose to keep them in awe. After this, he set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as to the mast-house, the great store-house, and other buildings, but the calmness of the evening prevented much of the effect expected from the conflagration.

In the mean time the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder ships, and they as well as the English were foiled in the attempt to cut the boom, and destroy the men of war in the bason, in consequence of repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag-ship, and the wall of the royal battery. The *Hero* and *Themistocles* were however set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service, effected their retreat; by day-light next morning all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Rear-admiral Trogoff, on board the *Commerce de Marseilles*, with the *Puissant* and *Pompee*, two other ships of the line, and the *Pearl*, *Arethusa*, and *Topaze* frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which Lord Hood proceeded to Hieres bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, with which his decks were encumbered.

Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four Lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports Brest and Rochfort, with 5000 republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Great Britain therefore obtained only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that the British Admiral was able to carry away.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which had provided four thousand ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained, and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musket. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors not only sullied their victory, but disgraced themselves by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage; workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Port de la Montagne, was substituted for that of Toulon, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army. The following extract of a note written by the deputies on mission, will convey to the reader some idea of the unbridled vengeance of the victors:—

“The national vengeance is roused. Already all the “*Officers of the marine*” are put to the sword. The republic shall be revenged in a manner worthy of herself: the *manes* of the patriots shall be appeased.”

It is now time to return to the proceedings of the revolutionary government at Paris, but this must form the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

Horrible despotism of the Mountain Party—Decree against Public Worship—French Ecclesiastics abjure the Christian Religion—Execution of Custine—Trial and Execution of the Queen—Of the Gironde Members—Madame Roland—New Calendar—Energetic Measures adopted by the Committees for carrying on the War.

THE period of which we have now to take a brief review, is one unequalled in the history of the world, for the atrocious

crimes which it witnessed. The assassination of Marat, so far from inspiring the ruling faction with any moderation arising from the fear of sharing the same fate, instigated them to the commission of new crimes, and prompted them to still greater excesses. The Mountain party, the sanguinary revolutionists of the 10th August, were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the "committee of public safety," the other the "committee of general safety," the members ought to have been renewed every month; but the convention intimidated by an armed mob, had intrusted these committees with the fatal power of imprisoning and judging its members: any deputy therefore who should have been hardy enough to have proposed a change in these committees, would have been denounced as a traitor, sent to the revolutionary tribunal, which was the anti-chamber of death, and the very threshold of the grave. That assembly which still styled itself the national convention of France, and which but a few months preceding sat in judgment upon a monarch, was now the tool and the abject trembling slave of a junto, equally wicked and contemptible.

The Mountain faction, where tyranny disdained all bounds, proceeded to atrocities of which no former despotism afforded an example. It was cruel without a motive, and sacrificed on the same scaffold the royalist and the republican. Its object appeared to be the extermination of all that was great and valuable in society. It attempted to reduce the community to one level, to degrade, that it might the more securely tyrannise over its victims. Even moderation itself became a crime to be expiated only by death, and virtue received the reward due to atrocious crimes. If the father afforded any support to his exiled son, if the daughter wrote to her mother from her dungeon, the revolutionary tribunal doomed them to the scaffold. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by public decree, and an attempt was made to substitute for christianity, a sort of metaphysical paganism. The reason they had so grossly abused, and the liberty they had so dreadfully outraged, were exalted as ideal deities for the maddened populace to worship.

Those ecclesiastics who had seats in the convention, publicly abjured their creed, and were not ashamed to declare, that they had hitherto deceived the world. The archbishop and clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws, no God but liberty, no gospel but the constitution. Had these infatuated legislators of France been really friendly to the

liberty and happiness of mankind, they would have venerated the religion of Jesus Christ, which, while it is friendly to order, is adverse to despotism, and which, in every page, asserts the real rights of the human race, and the original equality of mankind. They would have recollected that christianity had abolished slavery in Europe, and was contending against it in America; and that it had given to the poor a degree of consequence, they never possessed amidst the boasted freedom of Greece and Rome. But it was not liberty these men sought, but the establishment of a degrading and ferocious despotism.

The revolutionary tribunal condemned without distinction, and without inquiry, all the victims whom the tyrants marked out for destruction. Proscriptions daily increased, and France was filled with accusers, prisons, and executioners. Bastiles, under a new name, contained the citizens liable to suspicion; and a multitude of spies and informers, carried fear into every house, and into every bosom. No one was too obscure for suspicion, or above the reach of punishment; an obnoxious deputy suffered as a federalist; the noble was accused of emigration; the lawyer perished as a traitor; the banker as a counter-revolutionist; and the merchant as a forestaller: safety from proscription was to be found no where but in the armies, and immense multitudes repaired thither for protection.

The number of persons who perished during this, (which has been most emphatically styled) "reign of terror," cannot be ascertained by any authentic documents, but the prisons were filled and emptied with a horrible rapidity, and the scaffolds flowed daily with blood; a detailed history of these horrid events, would exceed the limits of this work, it would also shock and disgust the reader. We can only out of this immense mass of guilt and suffering select a few instances.—The victim first in rank, if not in time, was the ill-fated consort of Louis the XVI. Queen Marie Antoinette; her trial had been immediately preceded by that of General Custine, who was charged with maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemy, and with leaving the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries, that he had disobeyed the orders of the convention, and had not exerted himself to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the allies. On these charges he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, which was carried into effect within twenty-four hours.

The trial and condemnation of the Queen immediately followed that of this ill-fated General. This unfortunate victim of the revolution was removed on the night of the 1st of

August from the temple, to a small and miserable apartment in the conciergerie, where she remained until she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. In this gloomy dungeon, a *gen-d'arme* watched her night and day, and where she was only sheltered by a screen from the eye of the gaoler, when she undressed herself to pass the night on a decayed flock bed. On the 3d of October, Billaud Varennes, sent orders to the revolutionary tribunal, to take charge of the trial of the Queen; about ten days after, Fouquier Thinville, desired her to prepare for her trial, and on the 15th she appeared before the tribunal, to take her trial, or to speak more correctly, to hear her doom denounced. The act of the accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—that she had contributed to the derangement of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the Emperor Joseph.—That since the revolution, she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers.—That in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military, at Versailles, on the 1st October, 1789.—That in concert with Louis Capet, she had distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings.—That in the beginning of October, 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists she had created an artificial famine.—That she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family, in June, 1791.—That she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres as they were termed in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned. That in consequence of these councils, she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and the refractory priests.—That she influenced him to form a body guard, composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to the refractory priests.

One of the most singular charges was, that in conjunction with the Gironde faction, she induced the King and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare. The act proceeds to state, That she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign, and other intelligence.—That the affair of the 10th of August, was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation formed by her intrigues.—That she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France had been distressed. The last charge was the most infamous and the most incredible, viz. That like Agrippina she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son.

The unfortunate Maria Antoinette heard the accusation with calmness, and the facts alleged against her by the several witnesses, particularly Lecoutre de Versailles and Hebert, who accused her of having lavished incestuous caresses on her son. As she continued silent, the president called upon her for a reply; with great dignity she answered, "I held my peace because nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge: but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether it be probable."

Had the conduct of this princess been as unexceptionable as it was unfortunately indiscreet, there is no probability, that she could have escaped condemnation from this sanguinary tribunal. After consulting for about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the charges. With an unchanged countenance, she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without uttering a single word, without addressing herself either to her judges or the audience.

On the 16th of October, at about 11 o'clock, the Queen was taken to execution in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful tribunal, on a cart with her hands bound, accompanied by a constitutional priest in a lay habit, and escorted by numerous detachments of military. She had on an undress of white quilting. When the procession reached the Place de la Revolution, the spot where the unfortunate Louis had so recently suffered, her eyes were directed towards the Thuilleries, and for a moment she appeared strongly agitated, but she soon regained her composure, and ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step, and her behaviour at the awful moment of dissolution was decent and composed. The executioner seizing the head by the hair exhibited it to the multitude, exclaiming, "Long live the republic," and the cry was echoed by the furies who surrounded the scaffold.— Thus perished by the hands of the executioner, Marie Antoinette, the sister of an Emperor, and the wife of a King.— Her death made a strong impression on the different courts of Europe, particularly on that of Vienna.

The Mountain party having brought the Queen to the scaffold, pursued their bloody work, and on the 24th October, the accused deputies of the Gironde party, were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a trial in which both the principles and the forms of law, were equally violated, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and condemned to the guillotine. One of the deputies, *Valaze*, after hearing his sentence, stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal. On the 30th of October, twenty-one of these deputies, viz. Brissot, Vergniaud,

Gensonne, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperel, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigee and Lacaze, were conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and executed. The reader will recognize among these names, several of those who were most active in dethroning the King, and establishing a republic. *Valaze*, who stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal, was the member who prepared the charges against the unfortunate Louis. Manuel who had been so active in the dethroning of the King, on the 10th of August, and afterwards evinced so much solicitude to preserve his life, was soon after brought to trial, and executed. The trial of General Houchard immediately succeeded to that of Manuel, he was accused of not cutting off the retreat of the British forces from West Flanders. With the revolutionary tribunal, accusation was synonymous with condemnation, and he also suffered by the guillotine. The veteran General Luckner, Bailly, the first mayor of Paris after the revolution, the accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut St. Etienne, also perished in the same manner.

The condemnation of the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the fantastical name of Philip *Egalite*, appears to have produced no sensations either of horror or of commiseration, in any party; so completely does a profligate life extinguish the respect, and excite the indignation of mankind. This wretched and unworthy member of the Bourbon family, was executed on the evening of the 6th of November, and bore with a magnanimity which would have done honour to a better character, the insults and reproaches of the populace.—The celebrated Madame Roland, was brought to the scaffold two days after the execution of the Duke of Orleans. Her great talents have been confessed by all, and the integrity of her character has only been disputed by the virulence of faction. Her attachment to the party of the Gironde, was the only crime alleged against her. This celebrated female suffered death with an heroism which extorted the admiration even of her ferocious and unmanly enemies. On her way to the scaffold she was not only composed, but occasionally assumed an air of gaiety, in order to encourage a person who was condemned to die at the same time, but who was not armed with the same fortitude. To be the first victim on these melancholy occasions was considered as a privilege, and had been allowed to Madame Roland as a female, but when she observed the dismay of her companion, she said to him “go first, let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood shed.” She then turned to the executioner, and begged that this sad

indulgence might be granted to her fellow sufferer. The executioner told her that he had received orders, that she should perish first ; " But you cannot I am sure," said she with a smile, " refuse the last request of a lady." The officer of death complied with her demand. When she mounted the scaffold and was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statue of Liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed, " Oh Liberty ! what crimes are committed in thy name !" Her husband the late minister of the interior, was shortly after found lifeless in a wood, near the high-road between Paris and Rouen ; unable to bear the sad reflections which crowded upon him, he had put a period to his existence ; the papers which were in his pocket-book were sent to the committee of public safety, and have never seen the light.

Amidst the extraordinary changes which were passing in France, the convention now changed time itself, and decreed a new calendar, which was afterwards abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte. The year, according to this calendar, is divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to national festivities. Each month was divided into decades, and the day of rest was appointed for every tenth day instead of every seventh. These decades, were however, never observed by the people, who lost the inestimable advantage of the Christian Sabbath, without receiving even the benefit of this miserable substitute for it.

But even amidst the follies and the sanguinary excesses of the triumphant party it is impossible not to admire the energetic measures adopted against the foreign enemy. In consequence of a report from the committee of public safety, all Frenchmen were declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country until its enemies should be chased from the territories of the republic. " The young men shall march to the combat ; the married ones shall forge arms and transport the provisions ; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals ; the children shall make lint to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots ; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republic, and inspire hatred against kings."

To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended in immense quantities, but their value was maintained for some time at a rate nearly equivalent to that of gold ; and when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. The doctrine of requisition was at length

recurred to, and all the necessities of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances, were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops, while the great cities were crowded with manufactures of salt-petre, the towns converted into founderies, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals to supply the elements of destruction.

At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the committee of public safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain round the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent requisition, and a draught of three hundred thousand made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and new model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes, reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenees, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenees, from the department of the Upper Pyrenees to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coasts of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and, lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1794—The King of Prussia subsidized—Surrender of Landrecies—Decree of the Convention, that no quarter should be given—Battle of Fleurus—Actions at Mons and Soignes—French enter Brussels.

THE campaign of 1793, notwithstanding its prosperous commencement, closed in a manner most inauspicious for the allies. To retrieve the reverses of this campaign, and redeem the reputation of their arms, the courts of London and Vienna adopted the most efficacious measures to bring a powerful body of men into the field, and Colonel Mack was sent by the Emperor to concert a plan of operations with the British ministry. It was evident, however, that the King of Prussia did not feel any extraordinary zeal in the common cause; on the

contrary, he notified to the diet of Ratisbon, that unless his troops received subsistence, at the public expense, he would withdraw his army from the Rhine, and contribute no more than his own contingent. His Prussian Majesty also opposed the general armament of the inhabitants of the Empire, which had been proposed by its head, and intimated to the Prince de Saxe Cobourg, that the whole of his forces, with the exception of twenty thousand men, were about to leave the neighbourhood of Mentz, and retire to Cologne. At length his Majesty, by a public declaration, in which he described the present contest, as a war "with a delirious, and never diminishing swarm of foes," openly proclaimed his secession from the continental confederacy. All this, however, turned out to be a piece of political management, intended to procure subsidies from the maritime States, and particularly England. Nor was the court of Berlin mistaken in the effect intended to be produced by the finesse; for England and Holland immediately entered into a subsidiary treaty, for the maintenance of sixty-two thousand four hundred men. In this treaty the pecuniary interests of the house of Brandenburg were regulated with all the nicety of a mercantile contract.

The Emperor, who manifested more zeal in the contest, endeavoured to rouse the tardy zeal of the Germanic body, and to induce them to vote a triple contingent; at the same time he increased his troops in the Low Countries to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men; and to obviate jealousies similar to those that had occurred in the course of the preceding autumn, it was determined that Francis II. should command the allied armies in person. In pursuance of this arrangement, after the solemnity of his inauguration as Duke of Brabant, his Imperial Majesty took the field at the head of the combined armies, which were stated to amount at this period to two hundred thousand men. It was also expected that by procuring an unity of council and action, in addition to such an immense military force, that the object of the confederacy would be speedily obtained.

On the other hand, the preparations on the part of the French were such as no age or country had ever before witnessed. The decree for the levy-in-mass had already placed all the youth of the most populous nation in Europe, at the disposal of a government which boasted of having one million two hundred thousand men in arms. The war with the maritime powers having interdicted the importation of gun-powder and military stores, these were now supplied by the talents of the chemists and the industry of the artisans of France. Paris alone, from its three hundred forges and fifteen founderies,

furnished eleven thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, and one thousand one hundred pieces of brass cannon, every month. The insurgent cities were ordered to transmit a certain portion of saltpetre by way of fine ; the feudal castles of the nobility, still supposed to frown on the liberties of the republic, as well as the forests that sheltered the rebels of *La Vendee*, also provided their quota of an ingredient so necessary in the modern art of war. In addition to the almost inexhaustible fund arising from assignats, the credit of which was supported by the law of the *maximum*, the indiscreet piety of their ancestors presented them with other resources, which were at this period called into action ; for the estates of the clergy, and the precious metals hoarded up in the cathedrals and churches, were freely recurred to, while the super-numerary bells furnished cannon for armies amounting to considerably more than half a million of fighting men. That nothing might be wanting to give efficacy to these immense preparations, the archives of the war department were searched for the schemes and memorials drawn up during the reign of Louis XIV. ; and a chosen body, consisting of the ablest military men in France, formed plans for the campaign, and laid down instructions for the generals, under the inspection of Carnot, a member of the committee of public safety, and one of the best engineers and statesmen of the age. While thus recurring, with indefatigable industry, to all the resources and all the instruments of modern warfare, the benefits to be derived from new discoveries were not forgotten. The balloon, (hitherto considered as a philosophical toy, incapable of affording any solid advantage to mankind,) was converted into an elevated observatory, by means of which the position, evolutions, and numbers of the enemy, could be readily ascertained ; at the same time that the telegraph, with a few simple motions, served to communicate the result of a siege or of a battle, with the accuracy, if not the minuteness, of a despatch, and a celerity that in some measure rivalled the progress of sound.

At length the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, and amounting to 187,000 men, assembled on the heights above Cateau, and were reviewed by the Emperor on the 16th of April.—In pursuance of the plan previously agreed upon, they advanced during the succeeding day, in eight columns, three of which were intended as corps of observation. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of Prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, seized on the village of Castillon, where they obtained four pieces of cannon, and having

crossed the Sambre, immediately occupied a position between that river and the little Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies on that side. The second, led by Lieutenant-general Alvintzey, took post in the forest of Nouvion. The third, headed by the Emperor and the Prince de Cobourg, after forcing the enemy's entrenchments, advanced to the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were formed from the army under the Duke of York, that of which his royal highness took the direction, being intended to attack the village of Vaux. Major-general Abercromby commenced the assault with the van, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of guards, under the command of Colonel Stanhope, and stormed and took the star redoubt, while three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Major Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the French had constructed for its defence.

Sir William Erskine was equally successful with the other column; for finding the enemy posted at Premont, a brigade of British infantry with four squadrons of light-dragoons, was detached under Lieutenant-general Harcourt to turn their position, while he himself attacked in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of British and Austrian artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and not only obtained possession of the redoubts, but of two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours.

Nine cannon were taken in the course of this day by the column under the immediate command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York; who, in the despatch transmitted on this occasion, regrets the loss of the honourable Captain Carleton, of the royals; and expresses his obligations to Lieutenant-generals Sir William Erskine and Otto, Major-general Abercromby, and Lieutenant Fage of the British artillery.

The success of this extensive and complicated attack, in consequence of which the French lost thirty pieces of artillery, being now complete, it was immediately determined to lay siege to Landrecies. The direction of this important affair was intrusted to the hereditary Prince of Orange; while his Imperial Majesty, with the grand army, estimated at 60,000, covered the operations on the side of Guise; and the troops under the Duke of York, amounting to near 30,000, were employed in a similar service towards Cambray. A body of Hessians and Austrians, to the number of 12,000, under General Worms, were at the same time stationed near Douay and Bouchain; Count Kaunitz, with

15,000, defended the passage of the Sambre; and General Clairfayt, with 40,000 more, protected Flanders from Tournay to the sea. Such was the strength and position of the allies, even without the assistance of the Prussians, who made no movement in their favour, that all the generals of the old school imagined success to be inevitable, and appearances, for a time, seemed to confirm these conjectures: for the hereditary Prince of Orange made a general attack upon and carried all the posts still occupied by the enemy in front of Landrecies: he also took their intrenched camp by storm, and obtained possession of a strong redoubt within six hundred yards of the body of the place. In addition to this, the French were driven from Cæsar's camp, near Cambray, and repulsed a few days after with great slaughter, in an attack on the heights of Cateau, where the Duke of York was posted; on which occasion Lieutenant-general Chapuy, with three hundred and thirty officers and privates, were taken prisoners, while thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English.*

But although the enemy were not only worsted in this quarter, but also in an attack commanded by the Emperor in person, yet they proved successful in another point of this general assault, which took place along the whole extent of the frontiers; for Pichegru having advanced on the same day from Lisle, defeated General Clairfayt at Moucron, from whom he took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and in a short time after obtained possession of Werwick, Courtray, and Menin, the last of which held out during four days, when finding no probability of succour, the garrison consisting chiefly of emigrants, forced their way through the enemy. These successes, however, were supposed to be fully counter-balanced by the fall of Landrecies, and the defeat of a body of 30,000 troops, who had attacked the army of the Duke of York, at Tournay; on which occasion they lost thirteen pieces of cannon, and above four hundred men taken prisoners:† but General Clairfayt was less fortunate, for Pichegru once more attacked him, and that too with such irresistible impetuosity, that he was obliged to retreat in confusion; his flying troops were at length, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to halt; and this gallant but

* The British commander in chief, in his official letter, praises the conduct of the troops on this day, and returns thanks to Colonel Vyse, who commanded the two brigades of British cavalry after Major-general Mansell's death. Captain Pigot and Captain Fellows, of the third dragoon guards, fell upon this occasion.

† Lieutenant-general Harcourt, Major-general Dundas, and Sir Robert Laurie, distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

unfortunate commander immediately occupied a position so as to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

The army of the allies, in consequence of the offensive operations of the enemy, who, whether vanquished or victorious, proved incessant in their attacks, being thus broken into many separate masses, and destitute of unity in its operations, was evidently liable to be overcome. Accordingly, while Pichegru was pursuing his victorious career in the west, Jourdan, already celebrated for his victories at Maubeuge and Hoondschote, entered West Flanders, and after crossing the Sambre, forced General Kaunitz to retreat; but in the course of a few days the Austrians rallied, and obliged the French in their turn to give way with the loss of near 5,000 men, and three pieces of cannon.

His Imperial Majesty was now induced to make a general attack with his scattered forces, on purpose to compel the enemy to evacuate the Low-countries. The attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, for two of the five columns employed upon this occasion, were unable, from fatigue, to execute the plan; and a third found the enemy in such force at Mouscron, that it retreated to Turcoing. In the mean time, seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of light dragoons, and four of hussars, led by the Duke of York, forced the French to evacuate Lannoy and Roubaix, and advanced, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, against Mouveaux. General Abercromby then attacked with four battalions of guards, seconded by the seventh and fifteenth light dragoons under Lieutenant-colonel Churchill, and compelled the enemy to retire with the loss of three pieces of cannon.

The French having attacked Turcoing early next morning, the English commander in chief despatched two battalions of Austrians towards that place; but an opening being left on the right, the enemy took advantage of this unfortunate incident, and his Royal Highness was so briskly assailed both in front and rear, that his troops gave way, and he himself found it impossible either to join the brigade of guards, or that commanded by Major-General Fox; but he was at length enabled to escape to a body of Austrians, commanded by General Otto, accompanied only by a few dragoons of the sixteenth regiment, while Major-General Abercromby, with some difficulty, effected his retreat to Templeuve; and Major-General Fox fortunately succeeded in gaining the village of Leers.*

* According to the French account, they took no less than sixty pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners, in the course of this general attack.

Notwithstanding some occasional advantages obtained by the allies, it was by this time evident to all enlightened men, that the immense numbers and systematical exertions of the republican armies would in the end preponderate. His Imperial Majesty, who had been taught to believe that his appearance in the Low-countries was alone sufficient for the resumption of the ancient dominions of the house of Austria, and the complete overthrow of its enemies, now learned from sad experience, that the Belgians were averse from his government, and the French too mighty for his vengeance. This young prince, disgusted at the past, uncertain of the future, equally alarmed at the progress of an inveterate foe, and the suspicious conduct of a king, at once his rival and his ally, thought proper to abandon the field in the middle of the campaign; and after having exposed the person of the first monarch in Europe to the ignominy of being taken prisoner by the troops of the new republic, he suddenly retired to his own capital, and left the allies to meditate on the approaching catastrophe.

Pichegru now prepared in his turn a general assault on the lines of the allies, which he accordingly commenced with a heavy fire of artillery; and a succession of attacks, or rather battles, ensued, which lasted from the break of day till late in the evening, when the French retired without being able to make any effectual impression, notwithstanding their immense numbers, which have been estimated at two hundred thousand. On this occasion the combined forces conducted themselves with signal bravery; and the second brigade of British, under Major-General Fox, distinguished itself in a particular manner by the spirit and gallantry with which it stormed and carried the village of Pontechin, by means of the bayonet.

But the French, instead of being dispirited by their ill success upon this occasion, actually crossed the Sambre two days after, and occupied a position between Rouveroy and *Fontaine-L'Eveque*; they however suffered themselves to be again surprised by General Count Kaunitz, and lost fifty pieces of cannon, and near five thousand men, about three thousand of whom were made prisoners. As if undismayed by events, they actually broke ground before Charleroi soon after; but being attacked by the combined army under the hereditary Prince of Orange, they were compelled once more to retreat. Such, however, was their amazing superiority in point of numbers, that another army of forty thousand men, about this time, entered the duchy of Luxembourg, a movement which obliged General Beaulieu to retire from the duchy of Bouillon, the chief town of which had been pillaged by the Austrians,

under pretence that some of the inhabitants had fired upon them.

Notwithstanding their reiterated miscarriages in that quarter, the enemy soon after re-crossed the Sambre again, and assumed a position near Josselies, on purpose to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches ; but the same general who had defeated them a few days before, arrived again and obliged them to retreat with the loss of near six thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. But General Jourdan having received considerable reinforcements from the army of the Moselle, crossed the Sambre a third time, stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and prepared again to besiege a city which had so long eluded his attacks.

About this period some of the most ferocious members of the ruling party in France, exhibited a degree of savage revenge respecting England, well calculated to render them the objects of general detestation. Not content with solemnly proclaiming the premier "the enemy of the human race" in the convention, a decree was also obtained, declaring, "that henceforth no English or Hanoverians should be made prisoners ;" and an address was soon after transmitted to the armies of the republic, in which, after accusing the British government of all the crimes perpetrated against France, they assert, that "no one of the slaves of George ought to return to the traitorous territory of England." The conduct of the Duke of York upon this occasion was at once dignified and humane. Instead of issuing orders for immediate retaliation, and thus producing all the horrors of mutual assassination, his Royal Highness in an address to his army, requested the troops to suspend their indignation, and reminded them, "that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character." To the honour of the enemy too, neither the officers nor soldiers would enforce these barbarous mandates ; and several of the generals actually refused obedience to them, at the risk of their lives.

In the mean time the French proved victorious in maritime Flanders ; for Pichegru, after defeating Clairfayt, who had marched to the relief of Ypres, which contained a garrison of seven thousand men, commenced the siege of that place, which surrendered on the 17th of June, to Moreau, a young man of great promise, who in early life served as a private soldier, and had but lately exchanged the lawyer's robe for the truncheon of a general.

Nor was Jourdan less fortunate in another quarter, for he

pressed the siege of Charleroi so closely, that the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, surrendered at discretion, on the 26th of June. The Prince de Cobourg, assisted by the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, not being acquainted with this event, marched in the course of that very evening with the combined army, divided into five columns, and early on the succeeding morning made preparations to relieve the place. Having attacked the enemy's intrenchments in the direction of Lambrisart, Espinies, and Gosselies, he obliged a few detached bodies to retreat, notwithstanding the protection of several strong redoubts; but such was the opposition experienced on this occasion by the allies, that it was evening before the left wing had arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field works lined with an immense number of heavy artillery. Although a variety of unforeseen obstacles had interposed, an attempt was now made to force this strong position with the bayonet; while Jourdan on the other hand, having obtained the assistance of the besieging army, in consequence of the fall of Charleroi, determined to decide the fate of Flanders in a pitched battle. He accordingly advanced with a numerous army, and made such an excellent disposition as to enable the greater part of his forces to contend with the left wing of the allies only. Nevertheless, such was the impetuous valour of the assailants, that they repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and formed several times under the fire of their cannon; but towards seven o'clock in the evening, the advantage obtained by Jourdan became conspicuous; for having drawn his troops out of their intrenchments, and made three distinct charges upon the enemy, after an action which commenced at dawn of day, and did not entirely conclude until near sun-set, victory, which had been hovering by turns over each of the rival armies, declared finally in favour of the republicans. The combined troops, taking advantage of the night, immediately fell back, first on Marbois and next on Nivelles, with an intent if possible to cover Namur.

Thus ended the battle of Fleurus, fought on the same ground as that on which the French had discomfited the allies a century before; in consequence of which General Jourdan was now considered for a time as the rival of Marshal Luxembourg.

Some circumstances worthy of record deserve to be enumerated here. The loss of this action, on which so much depended, appears to have arisen partly from the ignorance of the imperial general relative to the fate of Charleroi, and partly from the determination of the French soldiers, who,

dreading the ignominy of being again driven across the Sambre, exclaimed from one end of the line to another, "No retreat to-day!" The reserve in particular, which turned the fortune of the battle, displayed an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, and repeatedly charged the enemy amidst unceasing shouts of "Long live the republic!" Nor ought mention of a novel incident, connected with the fate of this engagement, and consequently of Austrian Flanders, to be omitted. The committee of public safety, ambitious of boasting that it had enlisted science under the banners of liberty, had sent a company of ærostats to the head-quarters of the army, in consequence of which a balloon was constructed, and frequently elevated during the action, with a confidential officer attached to it, who conveyed the most important intelligence relative to the designs, the numbers, and the evolutions of the enemy.

The loss of the combined forces in this engagement has never been precisely ascertained; it was undoubtedly diminished greatly on one hand by the Prince de Cobourg, who stated it at fifteen hundred, and grossly exaggerated on the other by the French, who estimated it at ten thousand men. The effects however were prodigious, for the combined forces now retreated in all quarters, and Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and even Namur, were left without protection.

The body of English and allies under the Duke of York participated of course in the disasters of the campaign; for his Royal Highness, after attempting in vain to form a junction with General Clairfayt, was obliged to retreat from Tournay to Renaix; and General Walmoden having been forced at the same time to abandon Bruges, all communication with Ostend was thus cut off. The ministry, greatly alarmed at this event, immediately requested the Earl of Moira, who had been nominated to the command of a separate body of troops, now encamped in the vicinity of Southampton, and destined, in conjunction with several regiments of emigrants, for a secret expedition against France, to repair to the Low-countries. Notwithstanding this nobleman had before intimated that any orders for serving in that quarter must occasion his immediate resignation, he yet waved his former resolutions at so critical a period; and after landing a body of troops in maritime Flanders, proposed a junction to the Generals Clairfayt and Walmoden, so as to enable them to act from Bruges to Thielt, upon the left wing of the French, with a view of covering Ostend on one hand, and producing a diversion in favour of the Duke of York on the other. While on his march to effect this, the situation of the Prince de Saxe

Cobourg rendered the plan impracticable ; his lordship, however, determined to comply with a pressing invitation on the part of the English commander in chief, then in a difficult position ; and accordingly, by means of a rapid movement, completed the object of the expedition ; after which he was consigned to obscurity, but not until he had repulsed the French at Alost,* and also at Malines, whence he forced the enemy to retire, notwithstanding they had made a successful attack on all the duke's out-posts, in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp.

However, the French returned to the charge, and again assaulted the line of defence occupied by his Royal Highness, who deemed it prudent to retreat across the Meuse, and withdraw into Holland.

Nor was the enemy less successful in other quarters. Notwithstanding the battle of Fleurus appeared decisive of the fate of the Netherlands, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg contended against fortune with the most indefatigable perseverance, being determined not to relinquish the ancient dominions of the house of Austria without a long and violent struggle.— Having assembled the remains of his army at Halle, he advanced and assumed a formidable position, but was immediately attacked by a victorious army, and forced to evacuate Mons ; on which occasion his rear-guard left that town by one gate, at the very moment the van of the French entered it at another. Having retreated to Soignies, and thus placed himself between the republicans and the capital of Brabant, he threw up intrenchments and fortified this post, which was not inferior to that of Jemappe in point of natural strength, so as to render it nearly impregnable ; but nothing could now withstand the fury of the assailants, who, braving the fire of a numerous artillery, and undaunted at the slaughter that ensued, rushed in with screwed bayonets, and by having recourse to that weapon, completed the victory.

The flying Austrians retreated through Brussels, the inhabitants of which could not disguise their satisfaction upon this occasion ; on the contrary, no sooner did the French legions advance, than they opened their gates and received them with the most lively demonstrations of joy. It was now evident that the house of Austria had lost the hearts of the people of the Netherlands.

* Lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandelour distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

CHAPTER XIV.

Re-capture of Landrecies, Valenciennes and Conde'—Defeat of Clairfayt—Coblentz taken—Austrians driven beyond the Rhine—Campaign in Holland—Campaign on the Rhine—In Spain and Italy—Progress of the war in La Vendee.

As Jourdan had routed the enemy on the banks of the Sambre, while Pichegru overcame them on the borders of the Scheldt, it was now determined to regain those fortresses, which had fallen into the hands of the allies. The troops left in garrison were but few in number, and not in possession of a sufficient quantity of provisions to withstand a long siege; they were besides intimidated, not only by the retreat of the combined armies, but also by a barbarous law that menaced their lives. Robespierre and his associates, not content with staining the scaffold daily with the blood of the best and most illustrious of their fellow-citizens, had wrested a decree from the timid convention, threatening extermination against all those who twenty-four hours after being summoned, should defend the frontier towns lately appertaining to France.

General Scherer having appeared before Landrecies, immediately summoned that place. But although the governor at first declined to capitulate, yet he did not permit any of the fortifications to be injured; for no sooner had the French broken ground and erected batteries, than he proposed terms; these were refused; and the garrison, consisting of near two thousand men, surrendered at discretion on the 15th of July, a few days after being summoned.

The same general and the same army next appeared before Quesnoy, which opened its gates, an event notified to the convention by the telegraph, first used upon this occasion. In a few days more Valenciennes, which had been taken with such difficulty, followed the example of the two former places, and submitted to its ancient masters; nor did *Conde'*, the name of which was now exchanged for that of *Nord Libre*, exhibit the least inclination to resist, but yielded also, without being able to obtain a capitulation. Under the walls of one of these places, were obtained one hundred and ninety waggons loaded with stores and ammunition; and in another was found a rich booty of three millions of florins in specie. But although all the garrisons had infringed the terms of the sanguinary decree already alluded to, neither officers nor soldiers were treated with cruelty; the unhappy emigrants, however, were delivered up to the military tribunals, and most of them punished with death.

In the mean time the armies, but little influenced by the convulsions that had taken place in the capital, were put in motion, and resumed the operations of the campaign, after a suspension of nearly two months, during which interval the four frontier garrisons had been subdued. Accordingly, while Pichegru prepared with one body of troops to attack Holland, another assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels under Jourdan, and proceeded in pursuit of Clairfayt, who had succeeded the Prince de Cobourg as commander-in-chief, and was the only general who now kept the field ; for the Duke of York, after a long and ineffectual struggle, had by this time withdrawn into Dutch Brabant, and the hereditary Prince of Orange was obliged to cross the Dyle to prevent his army from being surrounded.

The field-marshal, now at the head of the Austrian troops, after being obliged by General Kleber to evacuate Louvain, and abandoned Namur and Antwerp, in each of which an immense booty was found, assumed a new position ; but he was attacked on the 13th of September and two following days in succession, and notwithstanding a momentary success on the part of General Kray, the number and enthusiasm of the enemy finally triumphed, so that the Austrians were obliged to take advantage of a fog to ensure a safe retreat.

Jourdan now pressed forward with his usual ardour, while the Austrian general retreated, still worsted but never wholly overcome, first to *Herve'*, and then to Aix-la-Chapelle. The French having waited for the arrival of the main body of the army, assaulted on the 1st of October, all the enemy's posts from Ruremode to Juliers. Clairfayt, who had by this time occupied a strong position upon the Roer, still hoped to be able to resist, and the victory for a long time proved doubtful ; but the continual attacks and undiminishing ardour of the French, at length obliged him to retire into Germany, after having lost near ten thousand men in the course of three days. The republicans were now in possession of *Herve'*, *Malmedy*, and *Spa* ; preparations were made to invest Maestricht and Venloo ; the city of Cologne was in their possession ; and a detachment of their army under General Moreau, on the 23d of October, seized upon Coblentz where the emigrants had originally appeared in arms ; so that Mentz was now the only place which the allies possessed on the bank of the Rhine.

While the armies of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan, were chasing the Austrians across the Rhine, Pichegru, at the head of the army of the North, was making preparations for the invasion of Holland.

After this general had remained seventeen days in the

neighbourhood of Antwerp, for the purpose of establishing magazines and ensuring a supply of provisions, his troops commenced their march, and assumed a position at Turnhout, near Hoogstraten. On this the Duke of York, knowing the superior force of the enemy, immediately retired towards Bois-le-duc, and relinquished the defence of Breda to its garrison.

In the mean time Moreau had undertaken the siege of Sluys, and to complete the investment of that place, it became necessary to post a body of troops in the isle of Cad-sand. This operation appeared at first to be attended by nearly insurmountable obstacles, for the passage was defended by a battery of fourteen cannon, and the troops were entirely destitute either of pontoons or vessels proper for their transport; but the courage of the soldiers supplied all deficiencies, for while some of them swam over, others crossed the arm of the sea in small boats, and the young and adventurous general entered the place as a victor, and thus added to the acquisitions of the republic, at the very moment when his aged father had fallen a sacrifice to the suspicions of the triumphant faction.

Pichegru deeming it prudent to abandon the idea of the siege of Breda for the present, in order to oblige the English to cross the Maese, commenced his march for that purpose, and came up with the Duke of York's advanced guard, strongly posted upon the banks of the Dommel, all the bridges over which, as well as those across a neighbouring stream, had been broken down. This obstacle retarded the action, which commenced at three o'clock, and continued until six in the evening; when the French having effected a passage, partly by swimming and partly by rafts, the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who occupied an advanced position, suffered considerably, and a considerable number of them laid down their arms. As the loss of Boxtel would oblige his Royal Highness to abandon the whole of his line of defence, it was determined to send Lieutenant-general Abercromby at the head of the reserve, during the ensuing night, with orders if possible to retake it; but the enemy being found too strong, the troops returned; and the commander-in-chief having learned by this time that numerous columns to the amount of eighty thousand men were advancing against him, it was deemed prudent to withdraw, more especially as an attack appeared to be meditated against his left, which was the most vulnerable point. This portion of the allied troops accordingly retreated across the Maese in good order, after having lost, according to the French accounts, two thousand men who were made prisoners, seven

cannon, and a number of horses ; while Bois-le-duc and Bergen-op-zoom, as well as Breda, being no longer protected by a covering army, were obliged to depend on their own internal strength and resources.

As it now became necessary to obtain possession of some strong place, whence the invading army might draw its subsistence, the siege of the first of these towns was resolved upon, and it was accordingly invested, notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking in consequence of the inundations. At length, the fort of Orten having been abandoned by the enemy, and that of *Grevecœur* bombarded and taken, the governor of Bois-le-duc, notwithstanding the floods were increased by the incessant rains, agreed to a capitulation, and, to the great surprise even of the victors, resigned the place. On this, General Pichegru immediately crossed the Maese in pursuit of the enemy, regulating all his movements in exact conformity to the operations of Jourdan ; while, in direct opposition to received opinions, he left the strong towns of Sas-de-Ghent, Hult, and Axel in Dutch Flanders, as well as Bergen-op-zoom and Breda in Dutch Brabant, in his rear.

The Duke of York waited for the invaders in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, having his two wings supported by two rivers. The French, notwithstanding this, moved forward in four columns, and attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right, particularly those of Drutin and Appelthern, the former of which was defended by the 37th regiment, and the latter by the Prince of Rohan's light battalion. These troops conducted themselves with great gallantry ; but a post on the left having been forced, Major Hope, after distinguishing himself greatly, was obliged to retreat along the dyke of the Waal, where his regiment being charged furiously by the enemy's horse, suffered considerably ; Major-General Fox is said to have been nearly at the same time taken prisoner, and detained for a few minutes by a French huzzar, while encouraging the troops to a strenuous opposition.(22.) After this engagement, the Duke of York immedi-

(22.) This action, which in the British narratives of the war is passed over with a slight notice, was one of the most splendid of a campaign fruitful of glory to the French arms. The American reader may not be displeased with an opportunity of comparing the French account with the one in the text. "After the surrender of Bois-le-duc, the army of the North directed its march towards the lower Meuse, with the intention, after passing that river, of forcing the enemy to retire behind the Waal. The divisions of General Bonneau and Sonham, accordingly crossed the Meuse, on the 18th of October, near to Taffier, and a few leagues below Grave. The passage was effected without much opposition from the English, who awaited their approach at Pufflich, be-

ately retired behind the Waal, while the invading army, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, and the obstacles arising out of the nature of the country, prepared to besiege the neighbouring garrisons. Venloo was accordingly invested by General Laurent, who is said upon this occasion to have had no more than four thousand men under his command, and to have been destitute of heavy artillery. He however commenced his operations within one hundred fathoms of the covered-way, and a capitulation having been assented to, the troops were permitted to march out with the honours of war and ten pieces of cannon.

In the mean time, Pichegru, who had sat down before Nimeguen with the main body of the forces, was obliged to abandon the command to Moreau, in consequence of having contracted an inveterate cutaneous disease, which forced him to repair to Brussels.

During his absence, General Kleber greatly facilitated the operations of the two grand armies, by the celerity with which

tween the Meuse and the Waal. Here they were intrenched, on the banks of the two rivers; their right being posted at Drutin, on the Waal, and their left at Apelter, on the Meuse. The country comprised between the two rivers, is an immense plain, intersected by wide and deep ditches, filled with water. The front of the enemy in this place was protected by the canal of Onde-Vetering, bordered by a dyke which commands the whole plain. From this point to Drutin extended another dyke equally elevated. Intrenchments and batteries, supported by several English regiments, and a body of emigrants, were thrown up on the dyke, and in the rear, was a considerable force of cavalry. As the country was covered with ditches, bridges marked by poles were constructed over them, by the English, in order to facilitate a retreat in case of necessity, and they had besides taken care to increase the number of obstacles by rendering the roads impassable by means of abattis. Although this position might have been considered impregnable, General Pichegru ordered an attack in four columns. The two strongest were to be directed against the centre in the plain; the other columns, each three thousand in number, were ordered to attack the dykes of the Waal and the Meuse. The battle commenced at day break of the 19th of October, and continued with spirit and obstinacy until 4 in the evening. The two columns which had marched over the plain, were obliged to pass the canal. The enemy attempted to dispute the passage with obstinacy; after some discharges of artillery, the French began to be impatient; nothing could restrain their ardour; they passed the ditches, although the water was up to their shoulders; the cavalry following to protect them, while the English, intimidated by this display of valour, thought only of retreating, and saving their artillery. The few troops which had crossed were insufficient to oppose the removal of the cannon. The columns which had gained the dykes had still more brilliant success. A division of the gendarmerie, a battalion of infantry, and the 9th regiment of huzzars, surrounded and entirely captured the English 37th regiment of infantry. At the dyke of the Meuse, the 3d regiment of huzzars fell upon a legion composed almost entirely of emigrants, and cut them to pieces; with the exception of about sixty, who were made prisoners."

Relation des sieges et batailles, &c.

he reduced Maestricht, which surrendered on the 5th of November. That city was besieged and taken by Louis XIV. in thirteen, and by Louis XV. in twenty-one days ; on both of which occasions medals were struck, while the best poets and painters of the time celebrated the conquest by the exertion of their respective talents ; but amidst this wonderful campaign, the capture of so important a fortress, although the trenches had been opened during no more than eleven days, excited but little attention.

The French, however, appeared for a while to be less fortunate in their attack upon Nimeguen, which was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but covered by the Duke of York, who from his camp at Arnheim was enabled at any time to throw in supplies. The enemy, after forcing the British out-posts in front of the place, immediately attacked *Fort St. André*, and Lieutenant-general Abercromby and Lieutenant-colonel Clarke were slightly wounded in the skirmish that ensued, as was also Captain Picton in a sally from the place. At length the French broke ground under the direction of General Souham, and began to construct their batteries ; on which Count Walmoden marched out suddenly with a body of British infantry and cavalry,* two battalions of Dutch, the legion of Damas, and some Hanoverian horse under major-general de Burgh, who was wounded while leading on his men with great gallantry. On this occasion the infantry advanced under a severe fire, and jumping into the trenches without returning a shot, charged with the bayonet, and by this check greatly retarded the enemy's works.

As it now appeared evident that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English army was cut off, two strong batteries were immediately erected, on the right and left of the lines of defence, and these were so effectually served, that they at length destroyed one of the boats which supported the bridge of communication. The damage sustained upon this occasion was immediately repaired by an officer† of the navy ; but the Duke of York, being aware of the superiority of the enemy's fire, determined to withdraw every thing from the town beyond what was barely necessary for its defence. All the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessain battalions, accordingly retired ; but picquets, to the amount of twenty-five hundred men, were left under the command of major-general de Burgh. The Dutch,

* This detachment consisted of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of infantry and the 7th and 15th of light-horse.

† Lieutenant, now Commodore, Popham.

on seeing themselves abandoned, became dispirited, and determined also to evacuate the place ; but an unfortunate shot having carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, it swung round, and about four hundred of the garrison were immediately taken prisoners, on which those that remained in the fortifications opened the gates to the besiegers.

In the mean time the Duke of York, desirous of avoiding an engagement which might have been attended with the most fatal effects in respect to Holland, retired immediately, while Moreau and the other generals represented the state of the French army to be such as required repose. But the government was inexorable on the subject, and notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the season, determined to prosecute military operations during the whole winter. The passage of the Waal was accordingly resolved upon, and General Daendels, a Dutch emigrant, who had of late exhibited those talents in the field which he had before displayed in the forum, was entrusted with the enterprise ; but though he effected his immediate object, he failed in his attack upon the posts occupied by the allies, in consequence of which failure the project was relinquished. Preparations, however, were made to facilitate the operations of the approaching campaign, and the Generals Bonneau and Lemaire received orders to invest Breda, by means of winter cantonments ; Grave also was surrounded in a similar manner, and all the necessary dispositions were taken to insure the conquest of Holland in the course of the ensuing spring.

But this was no easy enterprise. The water on every side opposed obstacles nearly insurmountable to an invading army ; and lakes, marshes, and rivers, seemed to have conspired to insure the independence of the Batavians. Nothing less than an intense and rigorous frost, which, by converting the water into solid ice, might facilitate the transport of armies, cannon, and ammunition, could achieve the overthrow of the house of Nassau.

The operations of the French had been now suspended upwards of a month, and an awful pause had taken place in the career of victory ; it was even uncertain whether on the return of fine weather it would be safe to venture further into a country which might be so easily laid under water, and the genial winters that had occurred in Europe for some years past, prohibited the hope of that degree of congelation necessary for military enterprises.

The season, however, soon assumed a menacing appearance for the Dutch, as the frost set in, towards the latter end of the year, with an unexpected degree of rigour. On this, Gene-

ral Pichegru, for whom repose had no longer any charms, although his health was not as yet entirely re-established, immediately left Brussels and proceeded to head-quarters. On his arrival there, finding that both the Maese and the Waal were already able to bear troops, he determined to take advantage of this opportunity to complete his projects. Two brigades, under the Generals Daendels and Osten, accordingly received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel; a detachment was at the same time detached against *Fort St. Andre'*; and the reduction of those places, which at any other time would have been attended with great slaughter, was now achieved almost without bloodshed, at a time when the mercury in the thermometer had fallen lower than at any former period during the last thirty years. Sixteen hundred prisoners, and an immense number of cannon, rewarded the toils of the invading army, while the allies, unable to withstand their numbers, retired to the entrenchments between Gorcum and Cuylenberg. A successful attack was made at the same time on the lines of Breda, Oudebosch, and Sevenbergen: but what was infinitely more important, the town of Grave, considered as a masterpiece of fortification, and which had already suffered a blockade of two months, being destitute of provision and ammunition, was now forced to surrender, in consequence of which its garrison were made prisoners of war.

A few days after this, the weather continuing favourable to his enterprise, Pichegru determined to cross the Waal in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, with his whole army; this was accordingly effected, and whole battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, detachments of artillery, with an immense number of waggons, passed over this branch of the Rhine, without the assistance of either bridges or boats. The whole of the troops had not, however, reached the place of destination, when a sudden thaw, by cutting off the communication, seemed to hazard the success of the whole expedition; but the frost, by resuming its empire, enabled the French to form a junction, and Gorcum, the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange, was now threatened with an assault.

The Duke of York having, in the mean time, returned to England, the command devolved upon General Walmoden, who achieved every thing that was possible to be performed by an army destined to contend against an enemy superior in point of numbers, inured to hardships, and accustomed to victory. But, although major-general David Dundas had succeeded in an expedition, in the course of which he carried Tayl, and drove a body of the enemy across the ice, with the loss of a number of men and four pieces of cannon, yet it was

deemed necessary, in the course of a few days, to remove the head quarters from Arnheim to Amerongen. An obstinate frost having converted the whole of the low country into one continued sheet of ice, the allies were obliged to fall back during the night, first upon Buern, and soon after took refuge behind the Leck. They however at times attacked the enemy, and proved successful in an affair of posts at Gelder Malsel, on which occasion major-general Lord Cathcart, with three English regiments* and the British Hulans, distinguished himself greatly, and this too during a period when the troops, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, were frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air. At length, however, the enemy having crossed over the frozen Waal in five different columns, attacked the line of the allies, forced the Austrians to abandon Heusden, and the Hanoverians to retreat across the Lingen; but they were repulsed for a time at Rhenen by the spirited conduct of the British guards and Salm's infantry; the English, however, withdrew in the course of that very night to Voorthuisen, deeming themselves lucky to be able to remove all the wounded officers, and the whole of the sick, except about three hundred, who were recommended by Lieutenant-general Harcourt to the humanity of the French, and treated with great kindness. All the vessels on the Leck, containing forage and stores, were now burnt, and the greater part of the ammunition contained in fifteen ordnance vessels at Rotterdam, was at the same time destroyed.

The British troops having been thus obliged to abandon the province of Utrecht, its capital was entered by General Salm, on the very day that General Vandamme took possession of Arnheim; while the fortress of Gertruydenburg, nearly at the same period, capitulated to General Bonneau.

The situation of the Prince of Orange was now truly deplorable. His serene highness had published many animated addresses to the people, entreating them to rise in arms, and defend their country; but he was unable, like his ancestors, to inspire the Dutch with a spirit of resistance; and many respectable citizens of Amsterdam not only opposed his plan to produce a grand inundation around that city by opening all

* The 14th, 27th, and 28th. At the attack of the fort of Meteren, the 14th, 33d, 42d, and 78th, also conducted themselves with great bravery. The gallantry of Lieutenant Elrington, of the 14th, is recorded in Lord Cathcart's dispatch; and mention is made at the same time, of the services of Colonels Gillman and Paget, and Captain Kirkman, as well as of Lieutenant-colonel Buller, and Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, who were severely wounded upon this occasion.

the surrounding sluices, and breaking down the different sea dykes, but actually deprecated the idea of admitting a foreign garrison for its defence.* The imprisonment of several of the petitioners added greatly to the unpopularity of his government; and no sooner did the invasion begin to assume a formidable attitude, than secret committees were formed within the principal cities of the republic, while the Batavian emigrants without, not only directed the efforts of the enemy towards the most vulnerable points, but aided them at the same time by means of their influence and even by their personal services.

Pichegru having advanced along the ice and menaced the capital with a visit, the Stadtholder repaired to the assembly of the states-general, and requested that his two sons might be permitted to resign the commissions which they held in the army of the republic. On the succeeding day he asked for, and obtained permission to withdraw during a short period from the territories of the union; for General Daendels, from his head-quarters at Deerdam, had by this time invited the province of Holland to rise in arms, and effect a change, while the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam, which now avowed itself for the first time, dismissed the magistrates of the capital, nominated Visscher, formerly imprisoned and condemned to banishment, mayor, and elected a new body of representatives.

The day before this, the Prince of Orange, with his family, had set off for Scheveling, where the hereditary high-admiral of the united provinces deemed himself happy in being able to find an asylum on board of a wretched little vessel, entirely destitute of accommodation, where he waited the event of a negotiation; but this proving ineffectual, his serene highness immediately sailed for England.

While the Stadtholder was thus forced to fly from a country where his ancestors, by their intrepidity and patriotism, had rendered themselves adored, a French officer, with dispatches from General Pichegru, entered Amsterdam on the 18th of January, and repaired to the house of the burgomaster. In the evening of the same day a multitude of the citizens placed the three-coloured cockade in their hats, and made the streets resound with patriotic airs. Next morning a detachment of hussars posted themselves before the town-house, where the tree of liberty was planted with great solemnity, and the command of the place conferred on a citizen attached to the Lo-

* Petition of the citizens of Amsterdam, of the anti-stadtholderian party, dated October 14, 1794.

vestein party, while De Winter, then a general of brigade in the French service, took possession of the fleet, which he was afterwards destined to command.

The states-general, yielding to imperious necessity, now negotiated with the invaders, and issued orders to all the governors to deliver up the fortifications on the first summons to the French, who instead of disarming the garrisons, only required them to take an oath not to carry arms against the republic.

On the 26th of the same month an assembly of deputies from many of the towns was held at the Hague, and citizen Peter Paulus being declared president of "the assembly of the provisional representatives of the free people of Holland," the sovereignty of the Dutch nation, and the declaration of the rights of man, were solemnly proclaimed; the abolition of the stadtholdership was decreed, and the right of shooting, hunting, and fishing, on his own property, restoring to every one.

After the lapse of a short period, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the republic of France and that of the seven United Provinces, and Holland, equally unfortunate in respect to her allies and her enemies, after being over-run in consequence of impolitic counsels, was doomed to be deprived of a large portion of her commerce, and bereaved of most of her foreign possessions, in the progress of events which she could neither anticipate nor prevent.

In the mean time the English army, now diminished to one third of its original number, after experiencing nearly equal distress from the severity of the season and the pursuit of the enemy, retired into Westphalia, leaving the wealth and resources of this opulent country in the power of a bold, needy, and enterprising enemy. By a wonderful change, a nation, whose liberties and independence had been so recently threatened, was now destined to give the law to neighbouring nations, while the possession of Belgium, the Palatinate, and Holland, not only rescued its inhabitants from the dread of famine, but enabled them to obtain ample supplies from countries accustomed to furnish the rest of Europe with corn.

While the French armies were subduing Flanders, re-annexing Liege to the republic, and menacing Holland, their forces on the banks of the Rhine, although few in point of numbers, became their rivals in glory.

The campaign of 1794, was opened in this quarter by the reduction of the strong fort of Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate; and the capture of Spire, Gummorsheim, and Leimer-

sheim, extended the conquests of the republic ; so great was the terror of the Austrians, that they soon after abandoned Fort Louis, now called Fort Vauban, and destroyed the works, on hearing that the enemy were marching against it.

A variety of bloody and uninteresting skirmishes now ensued, but nothing of any moment occurred until Field-Marshal Mollendorff, who had succeeded to the command of the Prussian troops on the resignation of the Duke of Brunswick, at length took the field. As he was desirous of achieving something worthy of his reputation, he determined to signalize his command by a brilliant exploit. The French, to the number of twelve thousand men, were forced on the 27th of May, behind the defiles of Otterback, Hogglesback, and the Lauter. They had covered these positions by means of redoubts and intrenchments ; the bridges were every where destroyed, and three strong posts had been occupied to facilitate their retreat in case of accident. It appears, however, that these formidable preparations only tended to impress them with a blind security ; for so inattentive were they to the approach of the enemy, that the Prussian commander-in-chief, by a sudden movement, contrived to surround and surprise their camp. The loss on this occasion was considerable, for one thousand men were killed on the spot, and more than two thousand made prisoners, while eighteen pieces of cannon and two howitzers, fell into the hands of the victors. After this, the marshal established his head-quarters at Winnweiler, while his advanced posts extended as far as Deux-Ponts and Carlesberg : the Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelsingen, at the same time, took possession of Nieustadt.

But the French attributing the recent disaster to accident alone, only waited the arrival of supplies to exact a severe retaliation. A large reinforcement having accordingly joined them, they recurred to a mode that had hitherto proved uniformly successful ; this consisted of fighting a series of battles day after day, until their object was fully obtained. Nor were they disappointed upon the present occasion, for, notwithstanding the troops opposed to them were posted in an advantageous situation, their attacks were so incessant, their artillery so well directed, and their numbers so superior, that neither the mechanical prowess of subsidized soldiers, nor that species of discipline obtained by the cane of the adjutant, could resist the native impetuosity of men who considered themselves as fighting to vindicate the glory of their country, and ascertain their own freedom as well as that of their posterity. All however that could be expected from the Prussians was obtained ; for this body of troops held out, during

two whole days, and withstood seven different attacks before they were subdued. Another strongly posted at Tripstadt still resisted ; but as the epoch on which they were assailed, proved to be the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, the 14th of July, the French fearlessly advanced and stormed their works, amidst hymns addressed to liberty, and shouts announcing triumph. On this occasion they took a great number of cannon as well as many prisoners ; and such was the unabating ardour of their courage, that on the succeeding morning they commenced a fresh attack along the whole of the line occupied by the Imperial and Prussian troops. Although the superiority of the French artillery was particularly conspicuous, yet the allies maintained their ground until night, when they happily effected a retreat. An extent of territory sixty miles in length was now abandoned to the conquerors, and the ancient jealousies among the vanquished immediately revived with increased rancour.

But these were not the only fruits reaped from this series of victories, for the army of the Moselle having commenced its march, under the command of General Michaud, entered the electorate of Treves on the 3d of August, and seized its capital on the 8th, where the troops were welcomed by the magistrates and the people. The Palatinate too was over-run rather than conquered about the same period ; and as this occurred at the commencement of the harvest, the corn destined for the supply of Germany was applied to the maintenance of the French troops.

The possession of the duchy of Juliers, the bishopric of Cologne, and the city of Coblentz, tended not a little to render the French name terrible in the empire ; while the retreat of the gallant but unfortunate Clairfayt across the Rhine, afforded a pretext to the Prussians to abandon offensive operations, and withdraw to the neighbourhood of Mentz.

Various disputes and altercations now took place between two of the allied courts ; and one of the Prussian generals deemed it incumbent on him, not only to vindicate his conduct, relative to the charge of abandoning Treves to the enemy, but even to term it a wicked calumny. The King at the same time intimated his intentions, notwithstanding the subsidy received from England, to employ his troops solely for the defence of Germany ;* and the diet of the empire began to

* Extract from a "Nore" transmitted to the circles of Franconia and Suabia, by the Prussian minister, at the end of September, 1794.

"Meanwhile his Majesty the King of Prussia cannot but signify, that the imperial court has laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England ; who, though she pledged herself to

listen about this period to propositions for peace. The Elector Palatine, part of whose dominions were in possession of the enemy, testified his wishes on this subject in an official note. The Elector of Mentz proposed to invoke the mediation of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; and the ministers of Treves, Cologne, and Bavaria, readily acceded to the propriety of a negociation. Frederick-William II. also, in his capacity of Elector of Brandenburg, testified his approbation of the measure; and even his Imperial Majesty, who at this period insisted on the necessity of levying the quintuple contingent, did not openly oppose it.

Thus, partly in consequence of the revival of ancient jealousies, and partly from the progress of the French arms, that formidable confederacy, which at one time threatened the liberties, and at another the independence of France, was on the point of being dissolved. The British cabinet, justly alarmed at the idea of a separate peace, immediately dispatched an embassy to the Emperor, with a view of inducing that prince to remain firm to his engagements; and a subsidy, under the name of a loan, was accordingly promised for the purpose. But by this time it became evident, that all the forces of Germany, aided by all the treasures of England, were incapable of an efficacious resistance to the revolutionary torrent which now threatened to overspread Europe.

The same uniform career of victory that attended the French arms in Germany and in Belgium, accompanied their exertions in the eastern and western Pyrenees, and began at length to alarm the court of Madrid. The armies of Spain, once so dreaded both in Europe and America, were incapable of contending with the hardy republicans now opposed to them; the inhabitants of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian beheld the three-coloured flag floating from their battlements; the whole province of Guipuscoa offered to capitulate on conditions; and Charles III. who in vain attempted to raise a people bigotted by superstition, in a mass against their enemies, would have been taught to tremble upon his throne, had not the hatred against all crowned heads been modified after the fall of Robespierre, by the same maxims of policy which actuated one of freest nations of antiquity, and taught it to control its rivals, and even its enemies, by means of Kings.

The efforts of France on the side of Italy, were at length prosperous there also; and although the attempt to possess

pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her pleasure of the Prussian army, which is henceforth to remain to defend Germany, in whatever quarter his Prussian Majesty may deem it most expedient, or where the allied powers have agreed, or will agree to let it act."

any portion of that beautiful country had constantly proved abortive during the existence of the ancient monarchy, it soon became evident, that the inroads of a military democracy were likely to be attended by more permanent and more fatal effects. In the course of the former campaign, Savoy, indeed, had been annexed to the territories of the republic, yet but little impression could be made on Piedmont; and the insurrection in the southern departments, added to the unexpected possession of Toulon by the English, and the gallant resistance displayed by the inhabitants of Lyons, retarded the progress of the French arms in that quarter. Oneglia, which contained a couple of frigates and a few gallies, belonging to the King of Sardinia, and had been in part destroyed by Vice-admiral Truguet during the preceding year, was now besieged and taken on the 6th of April, although encircled within the territories of a neutral power; which on account of its feebleness, has been repeatedly menaced and insulted in the course of the present war, both by the English and French. The capture of this place, insignificant in itself, was important when considered with relation to collateral circumstances, for it not only gave shelter to a number of privateers, which preyed upon the wreck of the French commerce in the Mediterranean, but also served to keep up a direct communication with the British fleet.

While a body of troops penetrated into Piedmont on one side, and overcame the Sardinians and Austrians, who attempted in vain to oppose their progress, another, after traversing vallies formerly unpeopled by a bigotted Duke of Savoy, at the request of an unprincipled King of France, because the inhabitants were protestants, by piercing through defiles supposed to be impenetrable, and ascending mountains the heads of which were covered with eternal snow, at last scaled Mount Cenis. A feeble effort was made to resist their progress, by means of redoubts, batteries and fortifications; but the dispositions made by General Dumas were so judicious, and his troops so replete with ardour, that he seized all the enemy's posts one after another, and not only took nine hundred prisoners but obtained possession of a numerous train of artillery.

General Dumvilion nearly at the same time seized on the forts of Saorgio, Belvedere, Rocabilere, and St. Martin, in consequence of which sixty pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and two thousand prisoners, were obtained by the invading army.

The Austro-Sardinians had now recourse to a new system, and endeavoured to prevent the further progress of the

French, first by means of partial attacks upon their advanced posts, and next by a defensive system calculated to prolong the war. But in neither did they prove successful, for they were completely beaten towards the end of autumn, and forced to seek shelter under the walls of Alexandria.

Having thus wrested the key of Italy from the King of Sardinia, it will be seen in the sequel, that its finest provinces were destined to grace the triumph of an ambitious nation.

But the Vendean war still appeared to be interminable, notwithstanding the inflated accounts of the leaders who had fought, and the deputies on mission who had witnessed, and not unfrequently countenanced, the scenes of horror that took place in that unhappy country. Previously to the fall of Robespierre, General Westermann had stated at the bar of the convention, "that of the rebel army, which once amounted to ninety thousand in the district of Mons alone, not a single combatant had escaped;" and he added with a disgusting particularity, that "chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, countesses, and marchionesses, had all perished by the sword, the flames, or the waves."

Carrier, on his return from the insurgent departments, on the twenty-second of February 1794; asserted, "that the number of the banditti, and the nature of the war, had hitherto, been alike unknown." According to him, the whole population of a space of more than four hundred square leagues had appeared in arms. In August, 1793, the rebels, he said, "amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men; but the victories of Mortagne and Cholet had proved fatal to them, as their leader had acknowledged that the former battle cost them twenty thousand combatants." He hoped however, "it would not be supposed that the war was terminated, for the country abounded in forests and was covered with brushwood, which afforded a secure retreat to the disaffected; as a proof of which, the republicans at one time had passed through forty thousand insurgents, who were concealed there."

Soon after the fall of that faction which protected his enormities both in the committee of public safety and the convention, this deputy, who had disgraced his public character by a series of the most atrocious cruelties recorded in history, suffered the punishment due to his crimes; and it was now intended to employ policy as well as force, against men whose prejudices and whose courage appeared to be equally inveterate.

But, although France at length began to reap the fruits of so many victories, and the continental powers were reduced to the mortifying alternative of either acceding to a disgraceful peace, or persevering in a war, now become hopeless, one nation still defied her vengeance. In consequence of the

position, naval strength, and financial resources of Great Britain, her inhabitants were enabled to contemplate the triumphs of their fleets, and behold an island in the Mediterranean, and many in the Atlantic, conquered by the bravery and perseverance of their armies.

CHAPTER XV.

Cruise of the Channel Fleet—French Fleet sails—The Two adverse Fleets meet—Obstinate Conflict continues Three Days—Victory decided in favour of the British Fleet commanded by Lord Howe—Naval History—Conquest of Corsica—New Constitution, formed by the Corsican House of Representatives—Crown offered to and accepted by His Britannic Majesty.

ALTHOUGH events had not been propitious to the armies of the allies during the present campaign, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The Channel fleet, which during the last summer had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy that had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous upon the present occasion to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command, left no doubt relative to the result of a contest.

On reaching the Lizard, a signal was made for the East-Indiamen to proceed on their voyage under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre.

While Lord Howe sailed directly in quest of the enemy, who were expected to put to sea for the protection of a fleet chiefly laden with provisions from America, Rear-admiral Montague, after obeying his instructions relative to the merchantmen, was ordered to cruise in such a latitude as to be enabled either to rejoin the Channel squadron, or to intercept the French store-ships, now become an object of infinite importance to a country menaced not only by a combination of foreign and domestic foes, but suffering at the same time under the pressure of famine.

In the mean time the commander in chief having received information on the 19th of May, from two of his frigates detached for that purpose, that the Brest fleet was at sea, deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under Rear-admiral Montague as soon as possible; but on hearing two days after, from some of the Lisbon convoy which he recaptured, that the enemy had been seen a few

leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered in that direction.

During the former campaign great care had been taken to avoid any contest with the English, but on the present occasion orders were transmitted to Vice-admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. Andre, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag-ship, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the convention.

On the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude $47^{\circ} 33'$. W. long. $14^{\circ} 10'$. the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event, Earl Howe continued his course, while Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance that greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander at fifty-five minutes past one o'clock, displayed the signal for a general chase, and to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Admiral Pasley* to make an impression on their rear: that officer accordingly, near the close of day, came up with and attacked the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line; but his topmast being disabled during the action, Lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the *Leviathan*, gallantly advanced and received her fire, which was tremendous, and by the time it was dark, Captain Parker of the *Audacious*, having arrived close to the rear ship, fought her also within the distance of half a cable's length, but without any decisive success on either side.

The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on one part, and twenty-five on the other, remained within sight of each other during the whole night on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward; but next morning, the 29th of May, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line ahead to engage the van of the British fleet.

* The Rear-Admiral commanded a flying squadron, consisting of the *Bellerophon*, *Russel*, *Marlborough*, and *Thunderer*.

Lord Howe, taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, renewed the signal for passing the adversary's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weather-gage, while the enemy were repulsed by the *Barfleur* and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the *Queen* and *Royal George*. At length *Villaret-Joyeuse* tacked again by signal, and, after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet, which still retained the weather-gage.

The second day's action, proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time Rear-admiral Neilly joined the French commander in chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates, comprehending *Le Sanspareil* of 80 guns, and *Le Trajan* and *Le Temeraire* of 74 guns each, and *La Semillante* and *La Tamise* of 36 guns each; this accession of strength, enabled him to detach his crippled ships, and the dawn of the succeeding day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in the following order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. (23.)

(23.) The deficiency of French official accounts of their naval operations, is a subject of great regret. From whatever cause this may have arisen, the consequences have been very injurious to the interests of truth as well as to the reputation of that country. The partial and exaggerated statements of the British historians have passed current in the world for authentic narratives, and the British character and importance have been thereby exalted in an undue degree. The events of the late war, however, between America and England, have had the effect, as we have observed in a preceding note, of undeceiving the minds of the people of this country in regard to the degree of credit that ought to be given to British official narratives. Previous to that period they had been received with implicit belief, and the extraordinary feats of valour and patriotism recorded in them, contributed to excite those feelings of respect and admiration for the British name which were at one time visible in so considerable a portion of the American people. While the bulletins of the French commanders became proverbial for their supposed destitution of truth, the great majority of American readers would as little have thought of discrediting an English official statement as the most admitted truth in history. Since that period the public opinion has undergone a sensible change. The exaggerations, the gross mis-statements, and the want of candour that marked the official letters of almost all the British commanders, surprised and disgusted the people of this country. It became then generally known, for the first time, that the British vessels of war carried many more guns than they were nominally rated at, and that the number of seamen was considerably greater than was publicly stated. It was found also, by comparing their letters with those of the American officers, that their loss in action was greatly diminished, and the force of the American vessels, as well as their loss, grossly exaggerated. Thus, in publishing the account of an action between a British and American frigate, each rated at 38 guns, it was usual for the British commanders to describe it as an en-

English Line of Battle, June 1, 1794.

		STARBOARD DIVISION.		
		<i>Names of Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Van S.	1st Division.	1. Cæsar (the leading ship of the van division)	80	Capt. A. J. Molloy.
		2. Bellerophon, - - -	74	{ **R. Ad. Pasley. * W. Hope. * Lord H. Seymour. * J. W. Payne. Hon. G. Berkley.
		3. Leviathan, - - -	74	
		4. Russel, - - -	74	
		5. Marlborough, - - -	74	
	2d Division.	6. Royal Sovereign, - - -	104	{ **V. Ad. Graves. * H. Nichols. * J. Gambier. R. Ad. Caldwell. G. B. Westcott. J. Pigott.
		7. Defence, - - -	74	
		8. Impregnable, - - -	98	
		9. Tremendous, - - -	74	
		The Audacious after the first day's action had been obliged to return to port.		

gement between a British frigate of 38 guns, and an American frigate of 49 guns. This ungenerous attempt to magnify the force of an enemy was not confined to the case of single vessels, and every American remembers how grossly devoid of truth were the accounts published in the British journals of the victories on Lakes Erie and Champlain. Where so much incorrectness has been discovered in their statements in regard to one country, it is natural to doubt their accuracy in respect to others; and if we subject their relations of victories over the French to as strict an examination as those in respect to America, we shall probably find reason to entertain a different opinion of the splendour of their achievements, from what is carefully promulgated in English histories. In the British account, for instance, of the victory of Lord Howe, in page 231, we find the number of British ships of the line stated at 25. Now, the French commissioner, Jean Bon St. Andre, in his report to the National Convention, states them at 36, and the number of French vessels at 26, which agrees with Lord Howe's account. There is no more reason why we should give greater credit to the latter than to the former. The statement too, in the text, of the comparative force of the two fleets is manifestly incorrect. The British ships of the line it is well known carry in general between 80 and 90 guns, although rated only at 74, and the larger vessels a proportionably greater number, whereas the French ships of the line carry only the number of guns they rate. In Lord Howe's list, however, we find the force of his own vessels computed according to their rates, and the French vessels according to the number of guns they actually carried. If, therefore, (giving full credit to the English statement of the number of their vessels) we add together the number of guns *actually* on board each English ship, we shall find that Lord Howe's fleet carried about 2300 guns, while their opponents mounted only 2144. In the list also of French vessels we find included the Tyrrannicide of 74 guns, which took no part in the action, while the Audacious, an English vessel of the same force, and disabled under the same circumstances, is excluded by the English writer from the computation. Notwithstanding this great disparity of force, and the still greater inferiority of the French in discipline and experience, in consequence of the emigration of the ancient marine officers, the victory was long doubtful. The French fought with the utmost resolution, and the injury their antagonists received is proved by the fact that Lord Howe was compelled to return to port without effecting the object for which he sailed, namely, the capture of the French West India convoy.

Centre S.	1st Division.	10. Invincible,	-	-	-	74	*Hon. T. Pakenham.	
		11. Barfleur,	-	-	-	98	{ **R. Ad. Bowyer.	
		12. Culloden,	-	-	-	74	C. Collingwood.	
		13. Gibraltar,	-	-	-	80	Is. Schomberg.	
							T. Mackenzie.	
		14. Queen Charlotte,	-	-	-	100	{ **Ad. Earl Howe.	
							**Sir R. Curtis.	
							**Sir A. Douglas.	
		LARBOARD DIVISION.						
Rear S.	2d Division.	15. Brunswick,	-	-	-	74	J. Harvey.	
		16. Valiant,	-	-	-	74	*T. Pringle.	
		17. Orion,	-	-	-	74	*J. F. Duckworth.	
		18. Queen.	-	-	-	90	{ **R. Ad. Gardner.	
							J. Hutt.	
	1st Division.	19. Ramilies,	-	-	-	74	*H. Harvey.	
		20. Alfred,	-	-	-	74	J. Bazeley.	
		21. Royal George,	-	-	-	100	{ **V. A. Sir A. Hood.	
		22. Montagu,	-	-	-	74	*W. Domett.	
							J. Montagu.	
2d Div.	23. Majestic,	-	-	-	74	C. Cotton.		
	24. Glory,	-	-	-	98	J. Elphinstone.		
	25. Thunderer,	-	-	-	74	A. Bertie.		
25 ships of the line.						2032 guns.		

The following Frigates, Sloops, Cutters, &c. also attended the British Fleet.

1. Niger	32, Repeating Frigate to the Van S.,	Hon. A. K. Legge.
2. Pegassus,	28, Repeating Frigate to the Centre S.,	Capt. R. Barlow.
3. Aquilon,	32, Repeating Frigate to the Rear S.,	H. R. Stoptford.
4. Phæton,	38,	Captain W. Bentinck.
5. Latona,	38,	—E. Thornborough.
6. Southampton,	32,	—Hon. R. Forbes.
7. Venus,	32,	—W. Brown.
8. Charon,	44, (hospital-ship,)	—G. Countess.
9. Comet,	14, (fire-ship,)	—W. Bradley.
10. Incendiary,	14, (fire-ship,)	—J. Cooke.
11. King's-fisher,	18, (sloop,)	—M. Gosselin.
12. Ranger,	14, (cutter,)	Lieut. C. Cotgrave.
13. Rattler,	14, (cutter,)	—J. Wayne.

The flag officers marked thus ** were afterwards presented with a gold medal and chain; and the captains marked thus * were presented with a gold medal.

French Line of Battle, June 1, 1794.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
1 La Convention, - - -	74	
2 Le Gasparin, - - -	74	
3 *L'Amerique, - - -	74	
4 Le Terrible, - - -	110	Rear Admiral Bouvet.
5 *L'Impetueux, - - -	74	
6 L'Eole, - - -	74	
7 Le Mucius, - - -	74	
8 Le Tourville, - - -	74	
9 Le Trajan, - - -	74	
10 Le Trente un Mai, - - -	74	

Le Tyrannicide,	-	-	-	74	(Out of the line.)
11 L'Audacieux,	-	-	-	74	
12 *Le Juste,	-	-	-	80	
13 La Montagne,	-	-	-	120	} Jean Bon St. Andre, (Nat. Com.) Vice Ad. Villaret- Joyeuse, Capt. Basile.
14 Le Jacobin,	-	-	-	80	
15 *Achille,	-	-	-	74	
16 Le Patriote,	-	-	-	74	
17 †Le Vengeur,	-	-	-	74	
18 *Le Northumberland,	-	-	-	74	
19 Le Gemappe,	-	-	-	80	
20 L'Entreprenant,	-	-	-	74	(Broad pendant.)
21 Neptune,	-	-	-	74	
22 Le Republicain,	-	-	-	118	Rear Admiral Neilly.
23 *Le Sanspareil,	-	-	-	80	
24 Scipion,	-	-	-	80	
25 Le Mont-Blanc,	-	-	-	74	
26 Le Pelletier,	-	-	-	74	(Broad pendant.)
<hr/> 26 ships of the line.				<hr/> 2144 guns.	

Frigates.

La Proserpine.	La Surprise.	L'Insurgente.
La Resolue.	La Nayade.	La Galathe'e.
La Gentile.	La Felicite'.	La Bellone.
La Pre'cieuse.	La Tamise.	La Semillante.

Corvettes.

Le Maireguiton.	Le Furet.	La Mutine.
Le Jean Bart.	L'Atalante.	La Mouche.
Le Papillon.	Le Courier.	

[† The six ships marked by an asterisk * were captured upon this occasion, and the ship designated thus † sunk.]

The British admiral perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, an event which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement. But they were miserably disappointed, for in about half an hour. Lord Howe, relaxing the usual sternness of his countenance into a smile, with joy and hope at the same time beaming in his eye, gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte, on board of which was flying the signal for close action, alongside the French admiral. This was accordingly effected at nine o'clock in the morning, and, by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of his master, Mr. Bowen, he was enabled to assume a most excellent position, so as to be able to contend with advantage against a vessel far superior in point of size; and while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of

battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward.

So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little either on the exertion of nautical knowledge, or the exhibition of that scientific skill which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics. All was hard fighting. Yet upon this occasion, when the drapery of the three-coloured flag not unfrequently intermingled with that of the British cross, and the muzzles of the guns of many ships belonging to the hostile fleets almost touched each other, the superiority of the English seamen was eminently conspicuous. Disciplined into war, the undaunted eye, the steady arm, the animated countenance, denoted that they were not unacquainted with the element on which they fought; and while the shot of the enemy made little havock on decks where there were no useless men, every broadside spread death and desolation through the crowded vessels of their antagonists.*

Such was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage, on the part of the British, that in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several of his ships dismasted, and one of seventy-four guns, about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain, Basile, and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded. He accordingly crowded off with all the canvas he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van, that were not completely crippled; two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail, hoisted on the occasion; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished: the Queen Charlotte in particular, which, but for an unlucky broadside from Le Jacobin, would have captured her antagonist, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action; this was soon after followed by the maintopmast, which fell over

* Comparative Estimate of Killed and Wounded:—

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
On board the six French ships taken, -	690	580	1270
On board six of the English ships that suffered most, - - - - -	125	335	460
Suplus killed and wounded on the part of the French, 565	565	245	810

the side ; while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizen-mast, and the Queen, which was also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty, and five seventy-four gun ships,* however, still remained in possession of the victors, but one of the latter went down soon after she was taken possession of.

The slaughter on the part of the English was not so great as might have been expected. Captain Montagu, of the Montagu, happened to be the only commander who fell during the engagement. Several officers of distinction, however, suffered in the course of the day : for Vice-Admiral Graves, the Honourable G. Berkley, and Captain J. Harvey,† were among the wounded ; and the Rear-Admirals Pasley and Bowyer, and Captain Hutt of the Queen, lost a leg each.

Never did a British fleet exhibit greater eagerness to engage, or evince more ardour in battle, than was displayed upon this occasion. The commander-in-chief, whose vigour appeared unabated either by age, that usually emasculates the mind, or disease, that is always supposed to enervate the body, not only gave the signal, but also the example of close fight, and he was, in general, ably seconded by the admirals and captains

* List of French ships captured, June 1, 1794 :—

	<i>Guns.</i>
Le Juste, - - - - -	80
Le Sanspareil, - - - - -	80
L'Amerique, - - - - -	74
L'Achille, - - - - -	74
Le Northumberland, - - - - -	74
L'Impetueux, - - - - -	74
Le Vengeur, (sunk between five and six o'clock at night,) - - - - -	74

† Captain J. Harvey, of the Brunswick, who had conducted himself with distinguished bravery during the action, died a few days after his return to Portsmouth, of a fever accompanied by a delirium ; Captain Hutt, of the Queen, also perished in a similar manner. These two gallant officers were thus prevented from receiving the rewards so justly due to their valour : but the Rear-Admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each per annum. Admiral Graves and Sir Alexander Hood, had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the king in person, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead ; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his Lordship's name, and the date of the action.

In December, 1796, his majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals, to the following flag officers and captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet :

Vice-Admirals Sir A. Hood, T. Graves. Rear-Admirals A. Gardner, G. Bowyer, T. Pasley, Sir R. Curtis. Captains W. Hope, Elphinstone, Hon. T. Pakenham, J. T. Duckworth, Sir A. Douglas, H. Harvey, W. Domett, H. Nichols, J. W. Payne, T. Pringle.

under him. The crews of all the ships displayed a degree of steady valour, that could not fail to ensure victory ; and so conspicuous was the spirit and discipline every where prevalent, that when a commander was either killed or severely wounded, the next officer in rank continued the fight with unyielding valour.

On the other hand, due praise ought to be given to the enemy, who, according to the British admiral, “waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.”* Notwithstanding the reinforcement that had been received previously to the signal contest that followed two undecisive engagements, their manifest inferiority in every point was conspicuous ; and when it is recollected that nearly all the officers of the royal marine were precluded by their birth, from serving upon this occasion, but a small portion of either skill or discipline could be expected. However, if the crews were deficient in respect to these qualifications, they must be allowed not to have been wanting in enthusiasm ; and although their intrepidity has been perhaps exaggerated, certain it is, that the French navy never displayed a greater portion of bravery than on this occasion. One ship†, on a former day, appears to have engaged three of ours in succession ; and, on the present occasion, another that had struck, was fired into by one of her consorts, and forced once more to hoist her colours. On board a third,‡ after the lower deck guns were under water, and destruction inevitable, they continued to fire the upper tier ; and at the moment the ship went to the bottom, the air resounded with the cry of “*Vive la Re'publique ! Vive la liberte', et la France !*”

The skill of the admiral also ought not to be overlooked, for on the 29th it was thought by some of the British officers, that his order of battle was admirable ; and even after he broke the line on the 1st of June, instead of making directly for port, he collected such of his scattered ships as had experienced but little damage, and by affecting to renew the engagement, enabled two or three of the dismantled ones to escape.

In the mean time Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately dispatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which, in case of an action, might take shelter

* Letter from Earl Howe, dated “Queen Charlotte, at sea, June 2d, 1794,” published June 10, in the London Gazette Extraordinary.

† La Re'volutionnaire.

‡ Le Vengeur.

in that port ; he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day he espied the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse ; but notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase ; while the fleet from America, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the 12th of June.

Lord Howe now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy, into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron. He accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, on the 13th of June, and in the course of the same day, returned thanks for “ the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy, on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st of June.”

Thus ended a cruise, which, although one of the objects had not been attained, yet conferred not only the dominion of the narrow seas, but the sceptre of the ocean, on Great Britain. While the French convention, inflamed by the delusive eloquence of Barre're, and the exaggerated report of Jean Bon St. Andre', gave orders to hang up the model of the *Vengeur*, the crew of which had long contended hand to hand with an enemy's ship of the same rate,* in the Pantheon, the English nation exhibited unbounded joy at a victory in some measure necessary to its independence. The metropolis, and many of the provincial cities and towns, were illuminated during three nights in succession ; the parliament passed a vote of thanks ; large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action ; and the King repaired to Spithead, on purpose to congratulate in person the gallant admiral, officers, and seamen, who had performed such brilliant achievements.

The British fleet after it had been refitted, again put to sea, but the enemy was so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out until Lord Howe had returned to port, and instead of making captures, they actually lost five sail of the line.

The success of the British navy, in the course of this year,

* The Brunswick, Captain J. Harvey.

was nearly uniform, both in respect to squadrons and single ships.

On the 23d of April, Sir John Borlase Warren had signalized himself by the defeat of a small French squadron in an engagement off Guernsey, in which after two hours fighting and some hours of close pursuit four sail were captured from the enemy. In the month of August he pursued five other French ships of war off Scilly, and driving two of them under the batteries of Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them ; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed, during the campaign, the superiority of our seamen in a most brilliant light. Of these, the action of Captain Nagle of the Artois, with the Revolutionnaire, and others might be mentioned. Nor did the loss of the Alexander of 74 guns in the month of November, tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize was resounded through France as an immortal achievement. This vessel, which had parted from the division of Admiral Bligh, and could not re-join it, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, which she engaged, and resisted for two hours, and it was not till her lower masts were on the point of going by the board that she reluctantly struck to this disparity of force. (24.)

The progress of the English arms in the Mediterranean, subsequent to the evacuation of Toulon, was also flattering. Early in the month of February, Lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the convention, the inhabitants being excited to this resistance by the influence of their ancient and popular Chief Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since restored to his country with honour by the constituent assembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans, who adhered to the French interest, retreated to Bastia, which held out till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms ; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were forthwith issued for the assembly of the general consulta to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of

(24.) No French account of this engagement has, we believe, been published. When it is considered how well the French ships were fought in the action of the 1st of June ; we are led to doubt the accuracy of a statement, in which one English 74 gun ship, is represented to have maintained an engagement of two hours, against three French vessels, carrying altogether 222 guns.

Corsica, on Sunday, the 8th of June, of which General Paoli was elected president. The representatives of the Corsican people immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British Crown, and a constitutional act was framed similar to the French constitution of 1791. Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic Majesty, formally accepted this act in the name of his Majesty, and immediately assumed the title of Viceroy.—The most remarkable features of this democratic form of monarchy, were, the establishment of the right of universal suffrage—the dissolution of the legislative body at the end of two years—no senate or house of nobles—municipalities chosen by the people in every piere or district ; and lastly, an unlimited toleration without tests or penal disabilities. The inherent sovereignty of the people is not only implied in the formation of this constitution, by a national convention “ possessed” as the preamble of the act says, “ of a specific authority for this purpose,” but expressly recognized ; for the Viceroy declared his acceptance of it, “ on the part of the Sovereign King of Corsica, George III. King of Great Britain,” says, “ If his Majesty therefore accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect and never to enslave those from whom he receives it, and above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.”

CHAPTER XVI.

Melancholy state of France under the Reign of Terror—Abolition of the Slave Trade—The Honours of the Pantheon voted to Rousseau—Hebert, Ronsin, Cloutz, and their Associates guillotined—Trial and Execution of Danton, Eglantine, and their Party—Execution of General Dillon and Madame Desmoulins—Of Malesherbes and Baron Trenck—Of the Princess Elizabeth and Twenty-five other Persons—Decline of the Power of Robespierre—The Tyrant's fall.

FROM the ensanguined plains of the theatre of war, we turn to the no less sanguinary, yet much more revolting scenes of the French capital. At this moment, the legislative body was only a scene of faction and depravity, and the convention was the great stage on which bad men contended for power. The progress of faction, from its first successful attempt at anarchy to its termination in the despotism of an individual, will form a curious and interesting topic for the historian, and will serve to illustrate the truth—that slight is the division between licentiousness and slavery. Scarcely had the Republican party in 1792, accomplished the overthrow of the consti-

tution, than they became themselves divided into two opposite and inveterate factions, that of the *Gironde* and that of the *Mountain*. The latter had no sooner obtained a horrid and sanguinary ascendancy over their unfortunate opponents, than a second division took place, and a contest equally violent with the former, now lay between the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. In the midst however of terror and of death, there are to be found some incidents that tend to soothe and solace the feelings of afflicted humanity.

On the third of February, three deputies from the island of St. Domingo were received into the convention, as representatives of that place; one of them was a negro, and the other two were of that description of persons, called men of colour. On the succeeding day, the deputies gave an account of the troubles in that island; and they had no sooner concluded than Lacroix rose to move the entire abolition of slavery within the dominions of France. The national convention rose spontaneously to decree the proposition of Lacroix; and the men of colour were all declared to be French citizens. The most affecting scene took place, and a female negro who attended the sitting, fainted with joy at the passing of the decree. On the motion of Danton, on the 5th, the convention resolved to refer to the committee of public safety the decree of emancipation, in order that they might provide the most effectual and safe means of carrying it into effect, lest "the too sudden transition from slavery to liberty might prove fatal to those for whose advantage the vote had been decreed." (25.)

At this period it was resolved by the convention, that the remains of the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau should be deposited in the beautiful church of St. Genevieve, now styled the Pantheon. The president upon that occasion, said, "This illustrious patriot has left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers who profess to believe neither in a Providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only consolation of mankind in their last moments."—Religion was now again the order of the day in the national convention. The number of public executions upon the most frivolous and wanton pretences, still continued, nevertheless, to be almost incredible. M. Palissot, a dramatic author, who had many

(25.) How much it is to be regretted, that a similar degree of caution was not used by the French themselves, in respect to their own emancipation. What blood and misery might have been spared, had they contented themselves with a gradual progress towards freedom, and made the people capable of governing themselves before they made them their own masters.

years before written a comedy in ridicule of Rousseau, was now destined to expiate this offence with his life. He wrote to the municipality an acknowledgment of his error, and of the merits of Rousseau; "Yet," said he, "if Rousseau was a God, you ought not to sacrifice human victims to him."—This striking expression produced its effect, and Palissot was released from his imprisonment.

In the course of some of the preceding sittings a committee of subsistence had been appointed, and on the 17th of February, they brought up to the bar of the convention a table of the *maximum*, or highest prices at which the necessaries of life should be sold throughout the republic. The table comprehended provisions, clothing, grocery, fuel, and military stores; but so far was this measure from alleviating the evils of want with which the French nation was at that time visited, that it greatly increased their number, and aggravated their pressure.

The prodigies of valour performed by the republican armies, and the successes achieved by them during the latter months of the preceding campaign, in some degree opened the eyes of the confederate princes, and from the proceedings of the convention at this period, it appears that some secret advances had been made on the part of the allies to establish a truce for two years between the belligerent powers. In a report made by Barrere early in the month of February, from the committee of public safety, he declared, "that the coalesced Kings were willing *provisionally* to acknowledge the French republic." This was followed by loud bursts of laughter. "Well," said the orator, "let us *provisionally* destroy all tyrannical governments." The bursts of laughter changed to acclamations of applause. A few days afterwards, the president of the convention, adverting to this proposition, exclaimed, "What singular generosity is this towards a nation of twenty-five millions of souls, which has 1,200,000 heroes in arms! Depend, citizens, on the incorruptible Mountain. It is against this rock that our enemies are wasting their strength!" Such was the unshaken and well-founded confidence, which, in the midst of internal discord and distraction, was placed by the existing government of France in the spirit and resources of the country.

At the head of the faction of the Cordeliers were Hebert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, styled the apostle of Atheism, &c.—men who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man, in the

hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Virtue and ferocity were declared in the convention, by Couthon, to be the requisite order of the day; and on the 25th of March, Hebert, Ronsin, Cloutz, and many others of the same association, were arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of course condemned to the guillotine.

But what excited still more amazement, was the arrest of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, La Croix, Chabot, Phillipeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Delaunay, d'Angers, Herault de Sechelles, the Abbe d'Espagnac, Gusman, the two Freys, Diendrichen, Lullier, and General Westermann. On the 2d of April, the accused were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a kind of mock trial, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Phillipeaux, Sechelles, and Westermann, were found guilty of plotting to effect a counter-revolution for the re-establishment of monarchy! by the destruction of the national representation and the republican government; and all the other prisoners, with the exception of Lullier, who was acquitted, were convicted of corrupt practices. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of April, sentence of death was pronounced upon the prisoners, and within three hours they were conveyed in carts from the Conciergerie to the place where state prisoners were usually executed. Danton, who suffered the last, when he was tied to the plank, cast up his eyes to the fatal axe, and his countenance and figure assumed an air of magnanimity, with which the spectators were deeply penetrated.* It is a singular circumstance well wor-

* DANTON.—J. G. Danton, an advocate to the council, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, on the 26th of October, 1759. His height was colossal, his make athletic, his features strongly marked, coarse and displeasing; his voice shook the domes of the hall, his elocution was vehement, and his images gigantic. These qualities contributed to give him influence in the districts, at the beginning of the revolution. He was successively the friend of Mirabeau, of Marat, and of Robespierre, whose victim he became. In 1790, he called on the national assembly, in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris, to require Louis XVI. to give up his ministers, who had lost the confidence of the nation. In February 1791, he was elected member for the department of Paris. In November he was appointed deputy-attorney, for the commune of Paris. His power in the metropolis increased greatly. In 1792, he was one of those who organized the sanguinary scenes of August 10th, by appearing on the 8th, at the bar of the assembly, to declare that if the king's deposition were not decreed, the section of Cordeliers would rise and trample on the government. Louis XVI. having been removed from the throne on the 10th, Danton became a member of the provisional executive council, obtained the appointment of administrator of justice, and accepted the no-

thy of remark in this place, that in the short space of two years, almost every individual of the principal actors of the

mination of agents to the army, and to the departments, which gave him opportunities of engaging many in his interests. No sooner was he admitted into the ministry, than he employed himself with great success in awakening that spirit of military enthusiasm, which by its influence, at first checked, and ultimately expelled the allied armies from the territories of the republic. On the third of September, the entrance of the Prussians into Champagne, spread consternation through the metropolis, and disturbed the members of the government. All the ministers, the distinguished deputies, and Robespierre himself, who was then apprehensive of Brissot, assembled at the house of Danton, who alone retaining his courage, seized in a manner all power, dictated the measures of defence which were then taken, and prevented the assembly from removing to the other side of the Loire. At this time began that inveterate hatred which Robespierre nourished against him, who never forgave the ascendancy Danton had then exercised, and cunning at last triumphed over hardihood. The department of Paris having elected Danton to the convention, he proposed at the very first meeting, that all property should be secured by a decree: he had a law passed declaring all citizens admissible to the office of judge, and he reproached the old magistracy with its servility and attachment to monarchy.

On the 25th of September, the Girondins gave warning that the department of Paris, to which he belonged, was brooding on a scheme for a dictatorship. This accusation took its rise from the papers of Marat; the charge was repelled with vehemence by Danton, who condemned Marat, representing him as the would-be king of the republican party, and by his means, the punishment of death was awarded against all who should attempt to scatter dissention, or establish tyranny in France.—About the end of October he became one of the revolutionary committee; was president of the Jacobins, when Dumouriez appeared before them, with a promise of delivering the people from tyranny, and told him, that he too desired to see the pike and the red cap triumph over crowns and sceptres. On his return from a mission to Holland, where he, with La Croix of Eure and Loire, had occasioned the most violent tumults, he voted for the king's death, brought on the war with Spain, and strove to appease the contentions of the Jacobins and Girondins.—On the 25th of July, 1793, he was chosen president, and on the first of August, proposed to erect the committee of public safety into a provisional government; and in that capacity he obtained a decree ordaining public education and national establishments, where the children should be gratuitously taught, fed, and lodged. On the 26th of November, the festivals, called those of Reason, at which the Hebertists presided, induced him to declaim once more against the unseasonable attacks made on the ministers of divine worship, and even proposed to consecrate a day to the Supreme Being; “for,” said he, “we did not strive to annihilate superstition for the sake of establishing the reign of atheism.” After the death of Hebert, the hatred which subsisted between Robespierre and Danton, was converted into open war. Danton was desirous of overturning that despotism which Robespierre exercised over the committee, and Robespierre, with more address, sought to destroy Danton, in order to free himself from a dangerous rival. With this view, Saint Just, a creature of the tyrant Robespierre, lodged an information against him, with the committee of public safety, and he was arrested in the night of March the 31st, 1794, with those who were called his accomplices. At his trial before the revolutionary tribunal, when asked the usual question, respecting his name and residence, he

10th of August, was brought to a violent end. Danton and Westermann, the former who directed, and the latter who executed the counsels of the insurgents, perished on the same day, and on the same scaffold!

The execution of Danton and his fellow sufferers, was followed by that of General Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the French army, which in the campaign of 1792, had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians: the general had been accused along with Madame Desmoulins, of a plot to overturn the government, and fell a sacrifice to those blood-thirsty counsels by which the government of France was now directed. The prisons of Paris were, during this reign of terror, crowded with victims from all parts of the country, and at one period their number is said to have amounted to between seven and eight thousand! In contemplating this black and dismal catalogue, the eye of humanity will be arrested by the fate of the venerable and intrepid defender of the unfortunate Louis XVI. Lamoignon Malesherbes; and they who have read the interesting memoirs of the eccentric, but persecuted Baron Trenck, will lament, that one whose life had been embittered by the ignominious cruelty of despotism, should at length be deprived of existence, by a new kind of tyranny, and that in a country whither he had fled, in the hope of enjoying perfect liberty.

To enter on a particular detail of the multitudes, who at this period were sacrificed by the unrelenting revolutionary tribunal, would be to enumerate a long catalogue of crimes. One illustrious victim it is, however, necessary to notice, one not less eminent for her purity and virtues, than for her rank and family. On the 10th of May, Fouquier Thinville, the public

replied. "My residence will soon be a nonentity, but my name will live for ever in the Pantheon of history!" To the president, who reproached him with his boldness, he said, "Individual boldness, is doubtless reprehensible; but national boldness, of which I have given so many examples, is allowable and even necessary, and I glory in possessing it!"—Conviction of course followed his trial, and on his return to the Conciergerie he exclaimed, "It is the anniversary of the day on which I caused the institution of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I implore pardon of God and men! I leave every thing in dreadful confusion; there is not one among them that understands any thing of government. After all, they are such brethren as Cain; Brissot would have had me guillotined, even as Robespierre has me guillotined." When somewhat recovered from his first paroxysms, he ascended the fatal cart with resolution, and without resistance. One thought, one feeling, turned towards his family, and affected him for a moment. "Oh, my wife, my best beloved," cried he, "I shall see thee no more!" Suddenly breaking short, however, he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" and immediately ascending the scaffold, met his fate.

accuser, made a formal demand to the commune of Paris, that the sister of Louis XVI. the Princess Elizabeth, should be immediately delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. On the same day, the unfortunate princess was conveyed to the Conciergerie, and on the 12th was brought before the inflexible judges. The trial was conducted in their usual summary way, and consisted only of a series of interrogatories, which were put to the prisoner. No witnesses were called; and the brutal conduct of the judges reminds us of the mock trials which were instituted in this country, in the corrupt and tyrannical reign of James II.—When questioned, as to what the judges termed the conspiracy of July 1789, she simply answered, that she had no knowledge of any such conspiracy, and the events which then took place, she was incapable either of foreseeing or seconding. She admitted that she accompanied her brother in his flight to Varennes; but when questioned with respect to the “orgies of the body guard,” she declared, that she was totally uninformed of their having happened, and had no concern in them. With equal firmness and dignity, she repelled some ridiculous charges relative to her conduct on the 10th of August, 1792; and with respect to the diamonds, which it was alleged she had sent to the Count d’Artois, she declared that she only placed them in the hands of M. Choiseul, as a trusty person, and knew not what was become of them. She utterly denied having maintained any correspondence with the emigrants, even her brothers; and when charged with having encouraged her nephew in the hopes of succeeding to his father’s throne, she replied,—“I have conversed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who is dear to me on more than one account, and I gave him all those consolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loss of those who had given him birth.” This reply was construed into a confession that she had encouraged the child in these fallacious hopes, and without further interrogatory she was condemned.

The unfortunate princess was nobly supported in the last scene by the consolations of religion. She betrayed some emotion at the first sight of the guillotine; but she presently resumed a look of pious resignation, and was executed the last of twenty-six persons who were carried to the scaffold on the same day.

In order to demonstrate that the most atrocious acts may be as intimately associated with religious hypocrisy, as with open profaneness, a grand festival was, a few days afterwards, (June 8,) observed in honour of the Supreme Being! The president of the convention, from the midst of a spacious

amphitheatre adorned with festoons and garlands, made an oration to the immense surrounding multitude, exhorting them to adore the great Author of Nature. During the performance of a solemn symphony, he descended from the tribune armed with the torch of truth; and approached an hideous monster representing atheism, which, on being touched by the torch, instantly vanished, and the resplendent figure of wisdom occupied its place. Such are the gaudy shows which human folly has ever been eager to substitute for rational devotion, and in which the divine simplicity of pure religion is obscured and lost.

No sooner had Robespierre reached the summit of power, than the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. After the proscription and immolation of thousands to his own safety, tortured by ceaseless suspicion and remorse, he sought in vain to convert his couch of thorns into a bed of roses. That terror which he had infused into the minds of all, at length appeared to have taken entire possession of his own. He was continually haunted with the apprehensions of approaching death: solitary and abstracted in the midst of company, he seemed to hear only the cries of the victims whom he had sacrificed; and to discern, through the medium of a disturbed vision, nought but mystic characters which portended his speedy and inevitable destruction.

On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oise, a member of the conventional assembly, had the courage to demand that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established; and that no member should be brought before the Revolutionary tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the assembly itself, instead of an order from the committee of safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried, before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. From this time the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, the artful, the penetrating, the insidious Barrere, took a secret, though efficient, part in plotting his overthrow.

The suspicions entertained by the tyrant of his danger appeared from the successive speeches which he pronounced at the hall of the Jacobins at this period; and one in particular, on the 16th of July, in which he declared that a counter-revolutionary committee actually existed in the republic. That he meditated the speedy destruction of all those whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifest; and it was rumoured that he meant at the same time openly to assume the

office of Director of the republic. Whether he was aware that Barrere was of the number of his adversaries, is doubtful. That extraordinary man made, on the 23d of July, a speech in the convention, well calculated to lull him into a false security. "This government, (said he) is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the convention not to sleep on its victories, but to strike terror among the conspirators." On the 25th of July, Robespierre delivered an oration in the convention, in which he plainly indicated his future project. "What a terrible use (said he) have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function!" The speech was heard with symptoms of contempt; many things in it contested; and it was evident that his influence in the convention was lost. This was the critical moment. The armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was still at his devotion; but his resolution, and even his sagacity, seemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining, and the applauses of the galleries attended the speeches of his opponents, who, on their part, perceived that they had already gone too far to recede.

In the sitting of the 9th of Thermidor (July 27,) Billaud Varennes complained openly "that the armed force of Paris was entrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot (said he) was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre." He then proceeded to recount with energy his acts of blood and oppression: and accused him, without reserve, of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. "In order to effect his purpose (said this orator) he has resolved to mutilate the convention, to leave there only men as vile as himself, and to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. I proclaim, I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre." Bursts of applause resounded from all parts of the Hall. Robespierre here reddening with fury, darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien rose to congratulate the convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conspirators unmasked. "Every thing (said he) announces that the enemy of the nation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected crimes, and overwhelmed with that detestation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. He

copied the example of the detestable Sylla. His proscriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship.—Was it to subject ourselves to so abject and degrading a tyranny that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, that we declared eternal war against kings, and swore to establish liberty as the price of life? No! the spirit of liberty has not sunk so low. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus; like him I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice.—Let us, republicans, accuse him with the courage that springs from loyalty in the presence of the French people; and as it is of the utmost importance that the chiefs of the armed force do no mischief, I move that Henriot and all his staff be arrested. I move that our sittings be permanent until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution. I also move that *Robespierre* and his creatures be immediately arrested.” These motions were passed amidst tumults of applause.—Barrere was now called upon to speak in the name of the committee of public safety, and after proposing that the national guard resume its original organization, and that the mayor of Paris be responsible for the safety of the national representation, he joined without reserve in invectives against the fallen tyrant, who has had the art, said he, of wearing so many different masks; and, when he had no longer occasion for his creatures, has made no scruple to send them to the guillotine, as Camille Desmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and others.—Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted without farther resistance to the decree of the convention, and was guarded by proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg;—the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refused to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time Henriot had found means to escape, and with the activity inspired by desperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the committee of public safety, and the convention. The representatives of the people shewed in this moment of danger much courage and presence of mind. No sooner were they apprised of the state of things, than they declared Robespierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief: and a proclamation was issued, exhorting the people to assert their liberty, and defend the national convention. The sections of Paris came in succession to the bar, and took an oath to acknowledge no authority but that of the convention. The

president, Collot d'Herbois, in returning thanks to them in the name of the assembly, expressed his hope that the sun would not go down before the heads of the traitors should fall. In consequence of these measures the troops of Henriot almost universally abandoned him; and he himself, with the remainder, took possession of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorously assaulted by a determined party of the conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise and other commissioners of the convention, who rushed boldly forward into the hall of the commune.—The insurgents, after a short and fruitless resistance, attempted in the last agonies of wild despair to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth with no other effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poniard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their wish, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. At six in the morning, the convention suspended its sitting. The victory being now decided, Robespierre and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the convention were immediately conveyed to the revolutionary tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons, and then conveyed to the place of justice, and on the evening of the same day, (July 28) to the number of twenty-one, executed in the Place de la Revolution, amidst the loudest and most general acclamations of joy. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood, mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless and petrified with horror.

Such was the merited doom of a tyrant, destined, by universal consent, to be ranked in the black catalogue of the Neros, the Catalines, and the Borgias, whose names are held up from age to age as the eternal execration of mankind. Immediately after this great and happy event, a very general alteration and amelioration took place in the different branches of the provisional government of France*. The Jacobin club was

* MAXIMILIAN ISIDORE ROBESPIERRE was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went into England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to be ignorant of his existence. His mother, whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer; she soon died, leaving her son only nine years

entirely demolished, and the remains of the Gironde party, excluded and proscribed from the month of May, 1793, to

old; and a brother who shared his fate. The bishop of Arras, M. De Conzie, who afterwards shewed such aversion to the principles of the revolution, contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted upon the foundation.

The political troubles of 1788 heated his imagination; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings in 1789, and the tiers-état of the province of Artois afterwards appointed him one of their deputies to the states-general. In 1790, he continued to gain power with the clubs, while he was despised in the assembly. On the 30th of May, 1791, he declared in favour of the abolition of the punishment of death; and this man, who, but a few months afterwards, caused rivers of blood to flow, maintained that this punishment could have been invented only by tyrants. Having connected himself with Danton and Marat, he made use of the impetuosity of the latter, without fearing to find a rival in him; and though he dreaded the ascendant of the former, he supported himself by his character and his revolutionary forms, as long as he had other enemies to combat. With the help of such auxiliaries, he already exercised great authority over the jacobins, and by them over the capital, which in its turn influenced the legislature and the provinces. On the 30th of November, 1792, he demanded that "the last tyrant of France (Louis XVI.) should be tried without delay, that the punishment due to his crimes might be adjudged to him;" and on the 10th April, he moved that the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, Sil-lery, Guadet, Gen-sonne', and Brissot, should be sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This multiplicity of denunciations and executions awoke in all minds a suspicion and terror which soon gave to Paris and to all France the appearance of a desert; scarcely durst people speak to each other, and every man thought that he saw a denunciator in the person that he met. Danton, whose energy had been so useful to him, and in whose shadow he had so often walked, while he detested him, had helped to sweep away the other factions before him: the two parties, of which they were the heads, then alone remained, and it was necessary that one or the other should sink. After having in a manner shared his power with him, he had taken care to deprive him of his popularity by sending him to enrich himself in Holland; and afterwards a week was sufficient to have Danton arrested, accused, and sent to the scaffold with Desmoulins, Lacroix, Fabre, &c. In the course of the same month, (April) he also delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal the remainder of the party of the commune, and of that of the Cordeliers, whom he termed *atheists*; and from that time till his fall, his power found no more rivals.

A storm was however gradually gathering in silence, which was soon to be burst upon his head. On the 10th of June, 1794, Ruamps, and especially Bourdon del'Oise, ventured to shew some suspicion of the committee of public safety, which occasioned on the 11th a debate, in which Robespierre spoke with haughtiness, and his confidant Barre're and Billaud-Varennés, who were to be his accusers a month afterwards, put Tallien to silence when he undertook the defence of Bourdon; the two last and their friends saw that they were irretrievably ruined, and from that time they redoubled their efforts to overthrow Robespierre. This task was less arduous than might have been expected; and it required only a firm resolution on the part of his adversaries to dissolve that spell, which had by its magical operation imposed the most galling and oppressive burdens on a people boasting of their enthusiastic love of freedom. On the 27th of July, 1794, Robespierre was denounced by

the number of seventy-one, were now restored to their seats in the convention. Dumas, president of the horrid revolutionary tribunal, Fouquier Thinville, the public accuser, Carrier, conventional commissioner, the destroyer of La Vendée, and various others of the same description lost their lives most deservedly on the public scaffold. At the same time hundreds were released from the different state prisons, who, but for the late revolution, would probably have fallen miserable victims to the Robespierrian tyranny; and the infamous decree of the convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, was formally rescinded. The insurgents of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire had never been completely subdued, and thousands were still sheltered in the natural recesses of that romantic country, under their leaders Charette and Stofflet. A general amnesty, however, being now published, they almost universally laid down their arms and submitted to the authority of the convention.

Tallien and his former friend Billaud Varennes, and after having been doomed to hear in that assembly where his name had but lately struck every mind with terror, the cry of "Down with the Tyrant;" he was hurried with his brother, St. Just, Couthon, and Le Bas to the prison of the Conciergerie. At the moment when he was going to be seized, he attempted to destroy himself with a pistol-shot, but he only shattered his under jaw. He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, and then shut up in the Conciergerie. Whilst he was in the antichamber of the committee, a slight dressing was put upon his wound; when wishing to wipe away the blood, with which his mouth was filled, he was presented with a cloth already moist with blood; this he pushed away, on which one of his attendants addressing him said, "It is blood, it is what thou likest." On requesting that pen and ink might be brought him, his gaoler said, "What dost thou want with it? Is it to write to thy Maker? Thou wilt see him without delay!" On his way to execution, the mob stopt him before the house where he lived; some women danced before the cart, and one of them cried out to him, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!" The executioner, when about to put him to death, tore the dressing off his wound; he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the upper; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of 35. The following epitaph was written for him: "Passenger, lament not his fate, for, were he living thou wouldst be dead." Of all the public characters produced by the French Revolution, none has left a name so abhorred as ROBESPIERRE.

CHAPTER XVII.

British History—Meeting of Parliament—Discussions on the King's Speech—Public Feeling strongly excited—Alien bill passed—Parliamentary proceedings on the French declaration of War—Traitorous Correspondence Bill passed—Alarming Failures—Motion for Parliamentary Reform negatived—Charter of the East India Company renewed—Supplies voted for the Public Service—Concessions to the Catholics of Ireland—Prosecutions for Sedition in Scotland—Alliances formed with Foreign Powers—Debates on the expediency of continuing the War—Augmentation of the Army and Navy—Precautions against Invasion—Subsidy voted to the King of Prussia—Political Societies—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Trials for High Treason—Poland overwhelmed by Foreign Despotism.

ALTHOUGH it is not the proper business of this work to enter into the details of civil history, yet there are a number of prominent events in the public concerns of our own country, which cannot, with propriety, be passed over in silence, and more especially as many of them stand closely connected with the wars of the French Revolution.

The trial of Louis XVI. was depending when the British parliament was suddenly convoked, on the 13th of December, 1792. The conduct of some democratic societies, and the applications of their members to the French assembly, had excited alarm; and the king, who had ordered the militia to be embodied, informed the two houses that events had recently occurred, which required the greatest vigilance and exertion, to prevent the loss of the civil and religious advantages so long enjoyed by this nation. The seditious practices, which had been checked for a time, had 'of late,' his Majesty observed, 'been more openly renewed, and with increased activity.' The spirit of disorder had shewn itself in 'acts of riot and insurrection:' the industry employed to diffuse discontent appeared to proceed from a 'design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government;' and this design had 'evidently been pursued in concert with persons in foreign countries.' He had scrupulously abstained from all interference in the internal affairs of France; but he could not see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong indications which its rulers had given of an intention of fomenting disturbances in other countries, and pursuing schemes of conquest and aggrandizement; and their views against his allies, the states-general, he particularly disapproved, because not only the law of nations, but the stipulations of treaties, opposed their pretensions. Amidst these grounds of alarm, he had thought it his duty to take some steps for the augmentation of his naval and military

force. At the same time, he would neglect nothing that could contribute to the preservation of the blessings of peace, consistently with the security of his dominions and the performance of his engagements. It was a great consolation to him to reflect, that ample resources for vigorous preparations would be found in the excess of the revenue above the ordinary expenditure.—He trusted that the means of enforcing obedience to the laws, and repressing all seditious attempts, would be the objects of immediate deliberation, as the defence of that constitution which had so long protected the liberties and promoted the happiness of every class of his subjects, claimed an early and earnest attention.

Some parts of the royal speech were arraigned by Lord Wycombe, who said that it contained calumnious animadversions on the behaviour of the people, and that the war in which it threatened to involve us could only be justified on our part by an actual invasion from France. Mr. Fox was of opinion that the alarm was excited by art and imposture, rather than by real danger, and that we had more reason to dread the encroachments of the crown than the seditious intrigues of the people; and he moved for an enquiry into the truth of the ministerial allegations. Mr. Windham was convinced that the country was in a state of great danger, from the traitorous machinations of the enemies of our constitution; but Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan contended that the peril was merely imaginary. M. Burke asserted the existence of a numerous and zealous party, whose aims extended to the reform of our government according to the French model; and he hoped that the house would be unanimous in counteracting such execrable schemes. A majority of 240 opposed the suggestion of Mr. Fox, and voted for an address, grounded as usual on the terms of the speech. A similar answer to the king's speech was voted by the peers, but not without strong expressions of disapprobation from the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Rawdon. After another debate on the address, a proposal from Mr. Fox, that a minister should be sent to Paris to treat with the governing power, was assailed with a pointed censure by Lord Sheffield, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Burke, who maintained that such condescension to a horde of monsters would reflect indelible disgrace on this country, but, that if no dishonour attended it, yet that the proposed measure did not afford the least promise of success. These sentiments generally prevailed, and the motion was rejected without the formality of a division.

The kingdom soon began to resound with exclamations against the arrogant, arbitrary, and violent proceedings of the Jacobin faction; and it was loudly affirmed, that the most vigorous exertions of every kind were necessary to prevent the evils with which Europe was threatened by the systematic diffusion of a wild spirit of democracy. Numerous associations were formed for the defence of liberty and property against the attempts of republicans and levellers; and various addresses and pamphlets, calculated for the diffusion of loyal sentiments, were distributed among the people. Many of the nobility, and others who had hitherto appeared in the ranks of opposition, caught the prevailing alarm, and under its influence were induced to join the ministerial phalanx.

From an apprehension of the intrigues of the French and other turbulent foreigners, a bill "for establishing regulations respecting aliens resident in this kingdom," usually called the alien bill, was introduced into the house of peers, on the 19th of December. This bill was opposed by the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Lauderdale, as tending to involve the nation in a war; and they advised that an ambassador should be sent to France to assist in composing the troubles of the continent, and avert by personal expostulation the danger which seemed to impend over the unfortunate King. The Earl of Guildford (son of the minister who stood at the head of his majesty's council during the American war) was also hostile to the bill, which, he said, infringed the commercial treaty: but it was supported by almost the whole house, and sent to the commons for their concurrence. It was applauded by Mr. Burke in a speech which not only abounded in declamations against the French, but contained severe strictures on the opinions and behaviour of the leader of opposition. On this occasion he endeavoured to render his eloquence more impressive by drawing forth a dagger, as a sample of an order given, as he asserted, by a democratic Englishman, for the manufacture of 3,000 such instruments at Birmingham. With rage and horror depicted on his countenance, he threw the weapon on the floor, saying, 'This is what you will gain by fraternising with France.' Sir Peter Burrell and Sir Gilbert Elliot lamented the necessity of separating from a friend (Mr. Fox) with whom they had been long accustomed to act; but it was imposed upon them, they said, by the consideration of the disregard recently shewn by that gentleman to the true principles of the constitution. Mr. Fox ridiculed the alarm of those who dreaded the influence of French opinions in a country which enjoyed a greater portion of liberty than any other in Europe; but Mr. Pitt declared that the arts, machi-

nations, and violence of the French, afforded grounds for the most serious apprehensions, and called for the strictest vigilance ; and the bill soon received the royal assent.

On the re-assembling of parliament after the recess, the King intimated to both houses his dismissal of the French agent, and expressed his reliance on their support in ulterior measures of precaution and defence. In the discussion of this message, Lord Grenville inveighed against the atrocious act which then engrossed the attention of Europe ; remarked that the promise of neutrality given by our court was conditional, depending on the proper treatment of the royal family of France ; and urged the necessity of taking arms for the assistance of our allies and the prevention of the dangerous aggrandizement of the French. Earl Stanhope said, that such a war would be unnecessary, and consequently unjustifiable : the Earl of Derby thought, that it might be easily and honourably avoided ; and the Marquis of Lansdowne opposed it as not required either by good faith towards the Dutch (who did not desire our interference in the affair of the Scheldt) or by any danger which threatened this country. But the speeches of the Earls of Carlisle and Darnley, the Lords Stormont and Porchester, and the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, manifested a strong spirit of hostility ; and an address of support was voted to his majesty.

In the Commons, Mr. Pitt deplored the death of the French King, and expatiated on the enormity of those principles which actuated the rulers of the republic—principles which tended to destroy all religion, morality, and social order, and reduce mankind to a state of anarchy. With such men, he said, a continuance of peace could not be expected. They had formed schemes of arbitrary encroachment on the rights of neutral powers ; aimed at a total change of the government of those countries in which their arms should happen to prevail ; and proposed a subversion of the long-established law of nations, and the propagation of a general spirit of revolutionary insurrection. After unsatisfactory explanations of an obnoxious decree, and palliations of offensive proceedings, their agent in England had persisted in what was equivalent to the avowal of every thing dangerous to Great Britain, and had thrown out menaces of hostility too obvious to be misunderstood. Mr. Fox admitted, that it was our duty to assist the Dutch, if they should demand our aid ; but he did not think that we ought to force them into a war replete with danger to themselves, as this constraint would be an abuse of treaty. He allowed that the decree of fraternity was an insult to the world ; but it was not a just ground of war. He blamed the ministry for insisting

on security in terms not sufficiently precise, as this was not the way to obtain satisfaction. The object of the contest ought to be clearly stated; otherwise the return of peace might be long retarded. If the court imagined that all Europe was exposed to danger from the progress of the French arms, the peril would not be increased by proposing terms before we should engage in war. The real cause of the war, he added, might be traced to the desire of restoring despotism in France; a motive which he highly disapproved, though he was by no means pleased with the existing government of that country. After other speeches on both sides of the question, an address corresponding with the message passed without a division.

The next communication from the King announced the French declaration of war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. It was alleged by the convention, that his Britannic Majesty had persisted (more particularly since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792,) in giving proofs of his attachment to the coalition of princes, had refused to acknowledge the new government of France, had violated in various instances the treaty of 1786, equipped an armament against the republic, and seduced the stadtholder into similar measures of hostility. The royal message censured this 'wanton and unprovoked aggression,' and called for the 'zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people,' in the prosecution of a 'just and necessary war.'

On the 12th of February, Lord Grenville moved an address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication, and assuring him of the determination of the house to support his Majesty's government in the arduous struggle in which the country was involved. An amendment from Earl Stanhope, calculated to ascertain the object of the war, and one from the Earl of Lauderdale, tending to make the war merely defensive, and to accelerate a negotiation, were rejected by the peers; and the motion of the secretary received the assent of the house.

In the lower house, Mr. Pitt analyzed the French declaration of war, and stigmatized the 'groundless pretences' by which it was supported; and, as we had no longer the power of choice, but were forced into a war, he hoped that the zeal of the people would second the views of the court. Mr. Fox was willing to agree to an address which should merely promise the co-operation of the house in defensive hostilities; but he could not vote for one which imputed unprovoked aggression to the French. Mr. Burke said, that a more necessary or justifiable war than that in which we were preparing to engage could not be conceived; but Mr. Sheridan strongly

argued against its supposed necessity, and particularly condemned the absurdity of making infidelity a ground of war, as the sword was not a proper instrument for the propagation of religion. The address framed by the minister was then adopted; and considerable additions were made to the naval and military force.

The subject of the war again came under discussion on the 18th of February, when Mr. Fox urged the house to adopt several resolutions, condemning all forcible interference in the internal government of any country, denying that the ministry had taken proper measures to avoid a war, and dissuading his Majesty from entering into any engagements which might prevent him from concluding a separate peace. This subject was afterwards resumed, when Mr. Grey moved an address to the King, accusing his advisers of having plunged their country into an unnecessary war. These propositions were rejected; as was also a motion from Mr. Sheridan for an inquiry into the truth of those reports of sedition which had been so studiously propagated.

Mr. Fox and his friends were equally unsuccessful in their opposition to a bill introduced to prevent traitorous correspondence, in trade, or in other respects, with the King's enemies. They affirmed that it involved an arbitrary extension of the act of the twenty-fifth year of Edward III.; that it would lead to perjury, and put any man in the power of a malignant adversary; and that, at the same time, it was a bill by which we should gain less, and our enemies lose less, than if it were not enacted. But the attorney-general and Mr. Burke said, that it was framed in the spirit, if not according to the letter, of former acts, and that its rigour was not greater than the urgency of the crisis required. On a division, the bill was carried by a large majority. In the upper house it was opposed with vigour, particularly by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who pronounced it to be repugnant to equity and an invasion of the constitution. He, on the same occasion, took a review of the state of Europe, and, on every ground recommended peace.

A memorial which had been presented by Lord Auckland to the states-general, proposing the subjection of some of the detestable regicides to the sword of the law, was reprobated by several members of both houses, as mingling purposes of vengeance with the views of defence and security; but the motions of censure were rejected with little hesitation.

On the 6th of May, a number of petitions to the commons from the inhabitants of Birmingham, Derby, Warwick, and many other towns, praying for a parliamentary reform, were

taken into consideration. The application of "the Friends of the people" for this important object, chiefly drew the attention of the house. They stated, that less than 15,000 persons, out of three millions of male adults, elected the major part of the assembly; that the right of voting was not regulated by any uniform or rational principles; that the extent of private parliamentary patronage was an abuse which tended to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in elections; and that the spirit of the constitution required a frequent renewal of choice, instead of the continuance of the same members to the seventh year. Mr. Grey eloquently exposed the defects and grievances of the present system, and moved for a committee of inquiry. Mr. Windham said, that the blemishes of the constitution could not be corrected without the risk of destroying its excellencies, and that the proposed experiment might lead to the most fatal consequences. Mr. Erskine enlarged on the prevailing abuses; but the Earl of Mornington considered them as unworthy of notice, when compared with the benefits of the parliamentary constitution. Mr. Pitt did not think that the people were desirous of a reform; and he deprecated the attempt in these perturbed times. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox defended the propriety of an investigation of the causes of complaint, and repelled the objections to the particular time, by arguing that an acquiescence in moderate and constitutional requests would tend to silence clamour and allay discontent, and would thus baffle the schemes of seditious revolutionists. A majority of 241, however, voted against the inquiry.

The slave trade was productive of fresh debates, without the adoption of any decisive measures. With regard to the trade of India, it was the wish of many that it might be opened; but, when the company petitioned for a renewal of its charter, the continuance of the monopoly was deemed advisable on the ground of expediency, though it was rendered less strict than it had been under the former regulations. The system of government, established for that country by the act of 1784, was also considered as worthy of retention. On the 23d of May, Mr. Dundas pronounced an elaborate speech in favour of those objects; and the bill which he had framed met with the concurrence of the two houses, and received the royal assent on the 11th of June.

The supplies demanded by the minister, and readily voted by the commons, were 16,698,000*l*. The seamen and marines were 54,000; the guards and garrisons exceeded 27,000 men. Four millions and a half were borrowed on this occasion; and some

taxes, at first intended to be merely temporary, were continued in consequence of this loan.

The war had scarcely commenced before its ruinous effects upon trade began to shew themselves. The sudden stoppage of the exportation to France ; the disappointment in the large speculations into which the merchants and manufacturers had entered, and the effects produced upon the enormous issue of paper money by the alarms which at that time prevailed in the country, produced a number of bankruptcies, exceeding all that had ever happened in the most calamitous times. To relieve the merchants and manufacturers, and to enable them to bear up under this pressure, an act was passed after some animated discussions in the house of commons, " to enable his Majesty to direct that exchequer bills to the amount of five millions, should be issued, to certain commissioners, to be by them laid out under regulations and restrictions for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as may apply, and who shall give such commissioners proper security for the sums that may be advanced for a time to be limited." This act which offered a very seasonable and indispensable relief to the trade of the country, passed the lords in two days, and on the 8th of May received the royal assent.

The depression of the manufacturing and commercial interests by the operation of the war, had induced a number of gentlemen of great property and influence in the state to endeavour to establish a more judicious system of husbandry than had hitherto prevailed, and a board of agriculture was accordingly established by authority, at the head of which was placed Sir John Sinclair, the original projector of the institution.

On the 17th of June, when a prorogation was expected, Mr. Fox took an opportunity of recommending a speedy negotiation, as the French had been so far checked that no ground of alarm for our security or that of the Dutch could be truly alleged. But Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt contended that no government with which we could safely treat existed in France ; and a majority of 140 voted for a continuance of the war.

The proceedings of the parliament of Ireland, in this session, ought not to pass without some notice. The catholics had chosen from among themselves a general committee of delegates, which sat at Dublin, and whose province it was to watch over the interests of the catholics as a distinct body ; and a numerous association consisting indiscriminately of protestants and catholics, had recently been established, under the name of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN, whose object it was to obtain a complete emancipation for the catholics, and a

radical reform of parliament, on the principles of universal suffrage and annual election.

In the preceding session of 1792, the government had made some concessions to the catholics, by which all legal obstructions to their intermarriages with protestants were removed. The right of taking apprentices and of keeping schools was restored to them, and they were permitted to practise at the bar. But the grand code of disabilities still remained in force.

The English cabinet seemed, in consequence of the alarming and agitated state of the country, to be fully convinced that some decisive measures of redress must now be adopted in relation to the catholics, and Lord Westmoreland (lord-lieutenant) was instructed in the course of his speech to the two houses at the opening of the present session, strongly to recommend "such measures as might be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's catholic subjects in support of the established constitution."

Early in March, the expected bill of relief was brought into the house of commons, and in its original form, it appeared well calculated to answer the purpose intended. The influence of the executive government was in this instance no less laudably than powerfully and seasonably exerted; but it had strong obstacles to encounter in a great majority of the house.—Some of these exceptions were admitted, others were rejected. The chief enacting clause, enabling the catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of trust or profit under the crown, was almost paralyzed by the subsequent restrictions,—that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman-Catholic to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to fill the office of lord-lieutenant, or lord-chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts of record or admiralty, or keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, or privy-counsellor, or master in chancery, or a general on the staff, or sheriff, or sub-sheriff of any county, with a number of other disqualifications. The bill, at length, modified with these restrictions, passed with few dissentient voices into a law: and though it stopped far short of catholic emancipation, and bore no relation to parliamentary reform, it was supposed to be all that the executive government, could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect.

The spirit of political reform, which spread so widely at this moment throughout England and Ireland, had extended itself to Scotland, and as is too frequently the case, had blend-

ed itself with the alloy of enthusiasm and theoretic extravagance. A numerous association of the advocates of these principles, sent from various towns and districts, met this summer at Edinburgh, under the pompous title of a CONVENTION OF DELEGATES for obtaining universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The extreme indiscretion of this association was manifested in their affected adoption of the modes and forms established in the national assembly of France; and more especially in their habitual use of the obnoxious term "*Citizen*." On a sudden, and while the legality of this conventional assembly was yet unquestioned, divers of the delegates were apprehended, (August, 1793,) on a charge of sedition, and brought to trial before the high court of justiciary, by which they were found guilty, and sentenced by the judges of that tribunal, to be transported beyond the seas for the term of *fourteen years*, to such place as his Majesty should judge proper. Of this number were, Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh; Mr. Gerald, whose defence attracted much notice; and Mr. Skirving, and Mr. Margarot, who were soon afterwards conveyed in a government transport, across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the settlement of Botany Bay. The same severe fate was awarded to Mr. Palmer, a member of the University of Cambridge, whose zeal for the dissemination of unitarian principles in religion, had induced him to fix his residence at Dundee, where he had opened a chapel and collected a congregation.—This gentleman had been engaged in printing an address to the people of Scotland, of which however, he was not the author, on the subject of reform, for which publication he was tried before the circuit court of justiciary, at Dundee, and on the 17th of September, convicted and sentenced to be transported for seven years.

Government in the mean time was actively engaged in the promotion of the success of the war, and with that view a convention was signed in the course of the year between our court and that of St. Petersburg, stipulating for the prosecution of hostilities till the French should relinquish all their conquests. A treaty was soon after concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for a subsidiary body of 8000 men; a number which, by a subsequent agreement, was extended to 12,000. A subsidy was also voted to the King of Sardinia, who engaged (for 200,000 pounds per annum) to keep up an army of 50,000 men, to be employed in the particular defence of his dominions, and in general service against the enemy. A compact of alliance was adjusted with Spain, one with Naples, and others with Prussia, Austria, and Portugal. Besides the

stipulations of vigorous hostility, it was agreed that the conduct of other powers should be watched with extraordinary circumspection, lest they should abuse their professed neutrality by protecting the commerce or property of the French.

The misfortunes sustained by the confederates in the latter part of the campaign of 1793, stimulated the British cabinet to greater vigour of exertion ; and a confident hope was excited of the speedy decline of that spirit which appeared to the premier to have been chiefly supported by a system of paper currency and by the influence of a despotic government.

At the opening of the new session of parliament, on the 21st of January, 1794, the King observed, that he and his subjects were engaged in a momentous contest, on the issue of which depended the maintenance of the constitution, laws and religion of the country, and the security of all civil society. Having mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, he added, that the circumstances by which their farther progress had been impeded, not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success. Their enemies, his Majesty observed, had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people ; but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country. He regretted the necessity of continuing the war ; but he thought he should ill consult the essential interests of his people, if he desired peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. Again referring to the 'true grounds of the war,' he begged parliament to recollect, that an attack had been made on him and his allies, founded on principles tending to the destruction of all property, to the subversion of the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to the general introduction of a horrible system of rapine, anarchy and impiety.

The address on his Majesty's speech was warmly supported by Lord Auckland, who inveighed in strong terms against the French government, and execrated that spirit of impiety, despotism, inhumanity, and rapine, which defied the laws both of God and man. He allowed that the republican leaders had shown considerable abilities, and had called into action a most formidable force ; but he trusted that Great Britain and her allies would be able to stem the torrent, and rescue the civilized world from the danger of anarchy and ruin. The

Earl of Guilford wished for a speedy negociation, as we had rushed into the war without necessity ; and he proposed an amendment for that purpose. The Duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law and order. Earl Spencer pursued the same line of argument ; and the Earl of Coventry, with equal zeal, supported the cause of hostility. The Duke of Norfolk asserted, that he had as strong a zeal for the support of our constitution as any peer of the realm, but he was not impelled by that zeal to an encouragement of the war, as he did not conceive that our happy establishments were endangered by the proceedings of the French. The Earl of Derby wished that the object of the war might be defined ; but the Earl of Mansfield said, that it was sufficiently marked out in the speech from the throne. It was not, as it had been called by many, a war of Kings. It was of a much more important nature, being directed to the preservation of general order, religion, and morality.—Lord Grenville also animadverted on the declarations, the opinions, and the conduct, of the different parties in France, and endeavoured to show, from the convulsed state of that country, the fallacy of all hopes of a successful negociation. On a division, the supporters of the address were 97, while only 12 peers voted for the amendment.

In the house of commons, the address was moved by Lord Clifden, and supported in a very luminous speech by Lord Mornington, who was followed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt ; this address was opposed by Earl Wycombe, Colonel Tarlton, Mr. Courtenay Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox ; but their opposition proved so unavailing, that the original motion was carried by a majority of 277 to 59.

On the 27th of January, Lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of 85,000 seamen including 12,115 marines for the service of the present year, and on the 3d of the following month he further moved that the land forces should consist of 60,244 men, including 3382 invalids, both of which motions were carried.

To guard against an invasion with which the French menaced this country, a bill was enacted for the augmentation of the militia ; and the court encouraged the formation of volunteer companies both of cavalry and infantry, not only with that view, but also for the suppression of riots.

On Monday, the 28th of April, Mr. Dundas delivered a message from his Majesty, importing that a treaty had been entered into with the states-general, and the King of Prussia, for the purpose of carrying on the war, in which it was pro-

vided that his Prussian Majesty should furnish 62,000 troops, which was 30,000 beyond his contingent, for which he was to be paid by his Britannic Majesty 50,000*l.* a month, 100,000*l.* for forage, 400,000*l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000*l.* on their return, which in one year would amount to 1,200,000*l.*, out of which the states-general were to pay 400,000*l.*

A message from the King, more essentially connected with the interests of this country, was soon after delivered. It referred to the seditious practices of democratic societies, and intimated the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined by a committee; and a report was soon presented by Mr. Pitt. It was affirmed, as the result of the inquiry, that the 'Society for Constitutional Information' and the 'London Corresponding Society,' under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations, in different parts of the kingdom, pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people; that they had provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh, in 1792 and the following year; that their proceedings were regulated on the French model; and that, after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the authority of parliament.

Having expatiated on the flagitious schemes of these societies, the minister proposed that the *habeas corpus* act should be suspended in cases of treason and sedition. Mr. Fox was of opinion that this stretch of power was not justified by the evidence which had been adduced against the associations; and Mr. Sheridan deprecated, as unconstitutional and dangerous, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment: but Mr. Burke was convinced that the power in question would not be abused, and that it would be attended with salutary effects; and Mr. Windham advised the strongest measures of coercion. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted; and after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two houses with the executive power for the suppression of all seditious attempts and treasonable conspiracies.

Although the state trials, pending at this crisis, served to heighten the alarm which so universally prevailed, the happy result of those trials tended not a little to allay the general apprehensions, and to restore the public mind to its proper tone. At the spring assizes in this year, held at Lancaster,

Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, and at whose house meetings for political purposes were statedly held, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion.—To establish this charge, involving in its consequences, not only the character, but the life of the accused, the principal evidence adduced, was a spy of the name of Dunn, whose testimony was so contradictory, and absurd, that the prosecution was even abandoned, by the council for the crown; and Mr. Walker was honourable acquitted, without being put upon his defence, while his wretched accuser, was committed to prison, to take his trial for perjury.

On the verdict of Not Guilty being pronounced by the jury, under direction of the Bench, Mr. Justice Heath, addressing himself to Mr. Walker, said :—

“I hope, Mr. Walker, that this will be an admonition to you to keep better company in future.”

Mr. Walker.—“I have been in no bad company, my Lord, except in that of the wretch who stands behind me; nor is there a word or an action of my life in which the public are at all interested, that I wish unsaid, or undone, or that under similar circumstances, I would not repeat.”

Mr. Justice Heath.—“You have been honourably acquitted, Sir, and the witness against you is committed for perjury.”

The trial of two persons at Edinburgh, who had been committed on a charge of high treason, took place under a special commission, in the month of September, in this year. On the 3d day of that month, Robert Watt, a man without a local habitation, and a spy by profession, was tried and convicted of high treason. This man, it appeared, had formed a romantic project for seizing by force, upon the castle of Edinburgh, as well as upon the persons of the principal judicial and municipal officers of that city, together with the bank and the excise-office. This intention he had communicated to several persons, who all refused to come into his plans, except one David Downie, an illiterate mechanic. That Watt had conspired to levy war against the King, there could be no doubt, but as he had not actually levied it, it was contended that his offence did not come within the proper and legal construction of the statute of Edward III. But the most remarkable circumstance in the trial was the prisoner's defence, in which he asserted, and produced letters in court from Mr. Secretary Dundas, in support of that assertion, that he had been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money from them, for his services.* The prison-

* Mr. Erskine's speech on Hardy's trial.

er's counsel, therefore, contended, that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at the knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and by appearing zealous in the same cause to cover his real intentions, of betraying these counsels and bringing to punishment the enemies of their sovereign.— This singular defence did not avail the prisoner, the jury pronounced him guilty, the judge passed the sentence of death upon him, and the executioner performed his duty. Downie was also convicted and condemned, but the jury recommended him to mercy, and the royal clemency was extended towards him.

While the public mind was still in a high state of fermentation, and in the interval between the state trials in the north, and those that were now pending in the British metropolis, a dreadful rumour was on a sudden raised, of a design to assassinate the King. The persons implicated in this charge, were one Le Maitre, apprentice to a watch-maker, in Denmark-street; William Higgins, apprentice to a chemist, in Fleet-street, and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book stall in the vicinity of Lincoln's Inn. Their accuser was a young man of the name of Upton, an apprentice to a watch-maker. The conspirators, who all resided in London, were apprehended by a warrant from the Duke of Portland, on Saturday, the 27th of September, and underwent several examinations before the privy council. The charge resting on the unsupported evidence of Upton, was to the following effect: An instrument was to have been constructed by the informer Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube, of two feet long; through this tube a poisoned dart or arrow was to have been blown by the breath of the conspirator Le Maitre, at his Majesty, either on the Terrace at Windsor, or in the play-house. The poison prepared was to have been of so subtle a nature, that if the point but glanced upon the King, it was to have produced instantaneous death. This story, which set at defiance all knowledge of every human art and science, for some time obtained credit, and the persons accused were committed for trial; but after a long and severe imprisonment, the evidence against them was found so inconsistent, absurd, and incredible, that the whole affair fell into contempt, under the popular designation of the *pop-gun-plot*, and the men were without trial set at liberty.

These transactions served but as a prelude to the proceedings that were now about to take place in the Sessions House, at Clerkenwell, and on which the attention of the whole country was rivetted with intense anxiety. On the 25th of October,

Thomas Hardy, a shoe-maker, in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London Corresponding Society; Daniel Adams, the secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; John Horne Tooke, the Philologist; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to Lord Mahon; John Thelwall, the political lecturer; Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist; J. A. Bonney; Steward Kyd; John Richer; and John Baxter, were all arraigned at the Old Baily, before the president of the Special Commission, Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The indictment was of uncommon length, and contained charges of no less than nine overt acts of high treason, all resolving themselves into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention with a view to subvert the government, to levy war against the existing authorities of the country, and to depose the King. The court, at the request of the prisoners, determined that they should be tried separately, and Mr. Hardy was the first of the number put upon his trial.

The opening speech of Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, occupied nine hours in the delivery, and consisted chiefly of a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons. The written evidence consisted chiefly of advertisements, addresses, &c.* published in the newspapers, and of several private letters, which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these papers were in an intemperate and even inflammatory style, with respect to ministers and other persons in authority, but none of them could by any fairness of construction be construed into high treason. On the parole evidence, the attorney-general had drawn a very candid, and as it afterwards appeared, a necessary distinction.—“Some of the witnesses, he observed, were above all exception; and some were persons employed by the government to watch over the proceedings of these societies:” From the witnesses of the former description, nothing was extracted to establish the charge against the prisoner, and the latter were found undeserving of credit. These men enumerated several instances of rash and inflammatory expressions, not personally affecting the prisoner, Hardy, used at different meetings of the popular societies, which might come under the designation of sedition, but of any formal design to subvert the government, there existed no evidence whatever.

The grand object at which these associations aimed, was

* See State Trials.

unquestionably to effect a reform in parliament, upon the principles of the Duke of Richmond—universal suffrage and annual elections ; and as these societies contained a large portion of converts to the novel and extravagant doctrines of Mr. Paine, there can be little doubt but that some of the members in the height of their enthusiasm, believed that a radical reform in parliament upon democratic principles, would eventually lead to the establishment of a democratic government ; but this did not amount to treason, nor even to sedition. An attempt was made indeed on the part of the crown-lawyers, to shew that the associations in question had armed themselves against the government ; whereas on examination, it appeared that they had procured a few pikes to defend themselves against the attacks of the mob at Sheffield, and other populous places where they held their meetings.* In the course of the year preceding the trials, the Corresponding Society had applied to Mr. Francis, a member of parliament, to present their petition to the house of commons, and that gentleman deposed, that upon this occasion Mr. Hardy, their secretary, had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the society, to evince that there was nothing seditious in their conduct, and that their object was merely parliamentary reform. The defence of Mr. Hardy by Mr. Erskine, may be considered as a model of forensic eloquence. With professional knowledge and science, this celebrated orator embodied a wide range of history and literature, and a thorough acquaintance with human life. Such attainments invigorated by genius and adorned with persuasive grace, spoke to the hearts of his hearers with the most impressive eloquence, and formed a defence inferior in no respect to Tully's defence of Milo, constituting, at the same time, a brilliant epoch in the oratory of the British bar.

After a number of witnesses had been called by the prisoner's counsel, principally for the purpose of proving that the prisoner was of irreproachable character, and that he was a peaceable and inoffensive man ; the defence was concluded very ably by Mr. Gibbs. The trial was protracted to the unprecedented length of seven days, and the evidence being closed, the jury after a short deliberation returned a verdict of *Not Guilty*—a verdict, than which none ever pronounced in an English court of justice, gave more general satisfaction, or was more extensively important in its consequences.

Considering the state of parties in the kingdom at this time,

* See State Trials, Camage and Broomhead's Evidence.

the public joy at the acquittal of Mr. Hardy, was much more general than might have been imagined. Even many of those who were decidedly adverse to the societies in question, appeared to partake in the triumph, and they were probably not insensible to the very judicious remark of Dr. Johnson, on the acquittal of Lord George Gordon, as quoted by Mr. Erskine:—"I hate Lord George Gordon, but I am glad he was not convicted of this *constructive treason*; for though I hate him, I love my country and myself."

"The acquittal of Hardy gave," says Dr. Bisset, "very general satisfaction: impartial friends to the King and constitution were aware, that the best security of those was the upright administration of law, even towards their enemies; and were pleased that a person was acquitted, whose proven act had not contravened the statutes which only establish the crime of treason."*

"Mr. Hardy's deportment," says an eye witness, "through the whole of his arduous trial, was distinguished by the most exemplary decorum, firm, temperate, and tranquil, he shewed throughout the conscious rectitude of his heart; when the jury pronounced the verdict of Not Guilty, he addressed them in a few words of grateful acknowledgment, which were drowned in the low but universal noise of joy which filled the court. On being liberated from confinement, he was drawn in a coach by the rejoicing multitudes, first to his own house in Piccadilly, and then to his brother's house in the Strand, but before he entered the house, he went into the church-yard of St. Martin, and was shewn to the grave of his wife, from whose side he had been taken when he was first seized, and who had fallen under the shock. The multitude respected his feelings with a sympathy that did them credit, they kept at a distance while his relation pointed out to him the grave; after this affecting scene, he went into his brother's house, and in a short address thanked his fellow-countrymen for the kind interest they had taken in his favour, and requested them as they respected the cause in which they had displayed their zeal, to separate in peace. The cry of "home! home!" succeeded, and in a few minutes the multitude had completely dispersed. The gratitude of the people was also shewn in a similar manner to Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs, the able and intrepid advocates of Mr. Hardy.

After an interval of eleven days, the celebrated John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a clergyman of the Es-

* Bisset's History, Vol. VI. page 12.

tablished Church, a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and mixed with a considerable alloy of eccentricity, was brought to the bar. On the trial it appeared, to the general surprise of the court, that Mr. Tooke, supposed so vehemently democratic, had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform—that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies—and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on that account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the house of peers, as an useful and necessary branch of the constitution; and had uniformly reprobated the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform; in proof of which it appeared, that in a conversation with Major Cartwright on the subject of reform, he made use of the following familiar, but expressive illustration: "You would go to Windsor, but I should choose to stop at Hounslow."

Some difficulty having arisen in the course of the trial concerning the identity of the prisoner's hand writing, Mr. Tooke offered himself to identify it whenever it appeared, adding:—"I protest I have never done an act—I protest I have never had a sentiment—I protest I have never had a thought of any political nature, which taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit. I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done or written." In the early stages of this trial, some altercations took place principally as to matters of form, but the whole was soon converted into such a scene of pleasantry and good humour as perhaps never before occurred in a trial for a capital offence.

The most extraordinary circumstance attending this trial was the examination of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, who were both subpoenaed as witnesses by Mr. Tooke. The former was interrogated merely as to the authenticity of his letter to Colonel Sharman, in order to shew that as to the matter of reform, the corresponding and constitutional societies were formed upon that plan, and not modelled, as had been contended, upon the principles of the French Revolution. Mr. Pitt was then called and asked a variety of questions relative to the Westminster convention held on the 18th of May, 1782; to these he was not able from want of recollection to return any precise answer, but he at length remembered that he was present at some meetings in Privy Garden, where there were delegates from different parts of the country whose object it was to consider of the best means of procuring a reform in the commons' house of parliament. The evidence being gone through on the 22d of November, the jury retired, and

in a few minutes returned a verdict of *Not Guilty*. An involuntary burst of acclamation instantly filled the court, and was re-echoed by the populace without, who as on the former occasion escorted the counsel, Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs to their chambers.

The prosecution of the members of the Constitutional Society, ended with the trial of Mr. Tooke, and on Monday, the 1st of December, a jury being empanelled *pro forma*, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Holcroft, were acquitted and discharged.

The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the same day, and terminated in the same manner as the other state trials. No new evidence was adduced against him except some intemperate expressions, which he was said to have used at a meeting at Chalk Farm, and in his lecture room, but the evidence of these expressions resting on the authority of the spies Lynam and Taylor, whose testimony was rendered nugatory by that of two other witnesses, he was acquitted. All the other prosecutions were then abandoned by the crown lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from confinement.

On the result of these trials, it is only simple justice towards the institutions of our own country, to remark, that whatever grievances Englishmen may have to complain of occasionally in the administration of public affairs, they cannot felicitate themselves too strongly or too frequently on the wide distinction which exists between the administration of justice in this and in the other countries of Europe. Even the forms of law, which in civil cases are productive of expense, and might perhaps be simplified with advantage, form in criminal cases a barrier against oppression and injustice. Woe to that nation, who consenting in any case to dispense with the forms of law, admits the dangerous doctrine of *constructive treason*, and the action of prejudice or passion in judicial proceedings. To this fatal error, may be traced those black and sanguinary transactions which disgraced the early periods of the revolution in France, and which led to the condemnation, or rather to the murder, of men upon suspicion, rumour, and prejudice.

It is painful in the extreme, to turn from contemplating the happy institutions of our own country, to take a view of the situation of Poland at this juncture. The people of that unhappy country groaning under the oppressive yoke of Russia, Austria and Prussia, triumphed in the successes of France over the armies of their oppressors : but a severe retribution for this *offence* awaited them ; and at the beginning of the year

1794, Baron d'Ingelstroehm, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, demanded the erasement of every record, and the surrender of every paper relating to the constitution of 1791, which had been forcibly abolished by the invaders, and that of 1772 substituted in its stead.

The passive submission of the Poles to this demand, served only to increase the insolence of the conquerors, and Russia at length issued its mandate for the reduction of the military force of Poland to 16,000 men. The veteran regiments, particularly in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, positively refused to comply with this requisition, and General Madalinski appeared at the head of a great body of insurgents who had resolved not to surrender their arms without a struggle. Early in the month of February, in 1794, the celebrated Kosciusko, who had already distinguished himself both in America and in Poland, appeared in the field. After obtaining several advantages over the Prussians in their newly acquired territories, he advanced towards Cracow, which was abandoned to him by the Russian garrison, on the 24th of March; on which he issued a proclamation inviting the nation in the most energetic terms, to shake off their fetters, and to unite in forming a new confederation, and a solemn oath was taken by all present, to maintain the constitution of 1791. In the month of April General Kosciusko began his march to Warsaw, with an army composed of such regular troops as he could collect, and reinforced by some thousands of peasants, armed with pikes. On the road he fell in with a strong corps of Russians, detached by Baron d'Ingelstroehm, from Warsaw, to regain possession of Cracow: a fierce encounter ensued, and the Russians were in the end totally routed, with great slaughter—the Polish peasantry in their fury, and to their disgrace, giving no quarter to the enemy. The inhabitants of Warsaw, now arose and drove out the Russian garrison after an obstinate resistance. Kosciusko took immediate possession of the capital, in consequence of which the King, who had previously issued a proclamation, requiring his subjects to lay down their arms, now yielded passively to the course of events, and declared himself head of the confederation.

Addresses of congratulation were presented from all quarters, and 70,000 men exclusive of peasantry, were in arms before the end of May; but this force was disposed in different bodies, throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania, and the vast armies of the powers allied for their destruction were advancing upon them with rapid steps on every side. A Prussian army under General Elsner, marched to the attack of Cracow, which surrendered at discretion on the 15th of

June. Nearly at the same time his Prussian Majesty advanced towards the city of Warsaw, defended by Kosciusko in person, with such skill and courage, that the Prussians were compelled after a blockade and siege of two months, to retreat with loss and disgrace, to the frontiers of Silesia. The Russians in the mean time, were gradually making progress on the side of Lithuania, and on the 8th of September, in a general engagement near Brzesc, defeated the insurgents, whom they obliged to retreat across the Bug. The invaders, now under the command of General Suwarrow the conqueror of Ismail, marched forward in full confidence of victory to Warsaw, designing in their way to form a junction with the detached corps of General Ferfen. With a view to prevent this project, Kosciusko, at the head of his brave Poles, attacked Ferfen, on the 10th of October, with undaunted intrepidity. The courage displayed by the Russians, was not inferior, and they had the advantage of numbers, and of superior discipline. After a contest of five hours, the Poles were totally overpowered, and Kosciusko himself having received a dangerous wound, was obliged to surrender. The fate of Poland was decided by this unfortunate battle. The Generals Suwarrow and Ferfen, on effecting their proposed junction, proceeded to Warsaw, which was defended by Madalinski, and other brave officers, a formidable line of batteries being opposed to the enemy. But Suwarrow was not to be intimidated by any obstacles however formidable; he immediately ordered his soldiers to mount to the assault, using only the sabre and bayonet; after a severe contest of eight hours all resistance on the part of the Poles ceased, and the fight was converted into a massacre. But the most remarkable circumstance in the conduct of this horrid business was, that nearly ten hours after, the Russians, apparently satiated with blood and slaughter, had rested upon their arms, the carnage and pillage of this devoted city commenced a-new. The beautiful suburb of Praga was set on fire, and vast numbers, not only of men, but of women and children, perished by the sword, or in the flames. A capitulation was at length granted to the prayers of Count Potocki, one of the insurgent chiefs; but even in this extremity some high spirited patriots refused to take any part in the capitulation; among these was General Wawrzecki, governor of the city, to whom Suwarrow offered to return his sword, but the noble Pole, whose heart adversity could not subdue, refused the proffered boon, saying:—"This sword has now become useless, since I have no longer a country to defend."

On the 9th of November, the Russian commander made his triumphal entry into Warsaw, traversing that dreadful scene

of desolation and destruction, in profound and terrific silence. Having made a solitude, he called it peace. The Polish chiefs Kosciusko, Potocki, and others, were sent under a strong military escort to St. Petersburg, and thrown into dungeons; and Stanislaus, the unfortunate monarch, soon after ended his days in that city. A third and a final partition of the unfortunate kingdom of Poland took place after a short interval, conformable to a new convention, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 24th of October, 1795, between the crowns of Russia and Prussia, to which Austria acceded, and the name of Poland, was from this time, blotted out from the map of Europe—or rather the name alone remained, to serve as an imperishable monument, of a series of the most flagitious acts of political injustice and oppression that are to be found in the annals of the civilized world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Operations in the West Indies—Expedition under the Command of Sir Charles Grey, and Sir John Jervis—Capture of Martinico, St. Lucia, the Saints, and Guadaloupe—French Expedition under Victor Hughes—Recapture of Guadaloupe—Operations in St. Domingo.

DISASTROUS as the campaign of 1794 had been to the British arms on the Continent, her success, wherever she acted alone and on her own element, was not less distinguished. Towards the end of the year 1793, the British Government had prepared a formidable armament to act against the colonies of France in the West Indies. On the third of November, in that year, this expedition sailed; the land forces, which consisted of about 6000 troops, under the command of Sir Charles Grey; and the naval armament, consisting of four ships of war, nine frigates, a bomb ketch, and a few gunboats, and several store ships, under the command of Sir John Jervis.

On the 1st of January, the fleet arrived in the West Indies, but it was not till the month of February, that the campaign commenced. On the 5th, 6th, and 8th of February, three separate landings were effected on the island of Martinico, and an opening for the British fleet having been made by the gallant exertions of the troops, Admiral Sir John Jervis immediately sailed from Ance L'Arlet, and anchored in the harbour of Port Royal, with a view to co-operate in the reduction of the fortress. Notwithstanding several spirited movements on the part of the enemy, a detachment under Colonel Symes

succeeded in the capture of the large town of St. Pierre, while the third battalion of grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Buckeridge, and supported by the first and second battalions of light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonels Coote and Blundell, assailed General Bellegarde, with so much gallantry and success, as to take possession of his camp and artillery, with very inconsiderable loss ; the General himself, and three hundred of his followers, having fallen into their hands. But, notwithstanding the success of the British arms, two strong fortresses still remained to be subdued : the first of these was Fort Louis, situated on a neck of land, which forms one side of the harbour called the Carenage ; the second, Fort Bourbon, built upon a hill, and greatly superior in point of strength. The British batteries of the second parallel, meant to be directed against Fort Bourbon, being at length complete, measures were concerted with the Admiral, for a combined attack by the naval and land forces ; the artillery on the Morne, Tortentson, and Carrier, accordingly kept up a constant fire upon Fort Royal, while all the other batteries played on Fort Bourbon, during both day and night, as well as on the succeeding morning of the 19th of March, until the ships destined for this service had taken their respective stations.

Previously to this, the battery on Point Carrier, which forms the East side of the entrance of the Carenage, had been opened, and with the gun-boats, kept up an incessant fire on Fort St. Louis. Lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who commanded the latter, perceiving a favourable opportunity, boarded the *Bien Venue*, a French frigate, and brought off the Captain, Lieutenant, and about twenty men, under a severe fire of grape-shot and musquetry from the fort. The success of so gallant an action, stimulated the commanders by sea and land, to attempt this place, as well as the town of Fort Royal, by assault. Scaling ladders were accordingly provided ; the *Asia* and *Zebra* were ordered to be kept in readiness, to batter the walls, and also to cover the embarkation, consisting of flat boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of Commodore Thompson, supported by Captains Nugent and Riou ; while the grenadiers and light infantry, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Stewart, Close, and Buckeridge, advanced from the camps of La Coste and Sourriere. This movement succeeded completely in every part except in respect to the *Asia*, which did not enter the port as intended, in consequence of some mistake of the pilot, who was a French naval officer.* But

* Monsieur de Tourelles, Lieutenant of the Fort previously to the revolution.

that unfortunate circumstance did not deter the gallant Captain Faulknor, who had been for some time exposed to a fire of grape-shot, from undertaking the service, although alone and unsupported. On the 20th he ran the Zebra close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard, at the head of his sloop's company, actually assailed and carried it by escalade, before the boats under Captain Rogers, an active and spirited officer, could get on shore to his assistance. Immediately after this, a body of land forces, under Colonel Symes, entered the town by the bridge over the canal, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name of Fort Louis to Fort Edward, in compliment to the prince, who had arrived some time before from Canada, and now commanded at the camp of La Coste.

General Rochambeau, who is supposed not to have been very warmly attached to the cause of the republicans, sent his aide-camp on the 21st, with a flag, offering to surrender Fort Bourbon. The terms were accordingly discussed, and ratified next day; in consequence of which it was agreed that the garrison, amounting to nine hundred, should march out with colours flying, thirty rounds a man, and two field-pieces with twelve rounds; they were then to lay down their arms, and after stipulating not to serve against his Britannic Majesty or his allies, during the present war, to embark immediately for France.

On the 23d, at the hour appointed, the English troops marched to the fort, struck the French three-coloured flag, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name of the place, from Fort Bourbon to Fort George; while the governor, in consequence of a secret article, was permitted to retire to America.

After leaving six regiments as a garrison, under Brigadier-general Whyte, and Colonel Myres, the fleet sailed for St. Lucia, the reduction of which was attended with little or no difficulty. On the very next day after the fleet had left Martinico, a landing was effected; and the enemy's troops being appalled at the matchless intrepidity with which Lieutenant-colonel Coote, with only four light companies, had stormed a redoubt and two batteries, agreed to surrender on the 3d of April; Prince Edward accordingly hoisted the British colours, and changed the name to Fort Charlotte, while the Grand Cul de Sac, in which the fleet anchored, received the appellation of Barrington Bay.

The entire conquest of St. Lucia having been thus effected, without the loss of a man, and Colonel Sir Charles Gordon entrusted with the government of the island; the British squadron immediately returned to Fort Royal Bay, in Marti-

nico, where, having taken on board two regiments, and the heavy ordnance, the admiral detached Captain Rogers of the Quebec, and three other ships*, on the 5th of April, to take possession of the little islands called the Saints, which they effected without any loss. On the same day, part of this fleet anchored at Pointe-à-Petre in Guadaloupe, but a fresh wind, and a lee current, prevented many of the transports from arriving, until some time after. Without waiting for their assistance, General Grey effected a landing with a body of infantry, and five hundred seamen and marines, in the bay, notwithstanding the fire of Forts Gozier and Fleur d'Epe'e, under cover of the Winchelsea, Lord Garlies, who placed his ship so close to the batteries that the enemy could not stand to their guns, and happened to be the only person wounded upon this occasion. At break of day, on the 12th of April, the fort of La Fleur d'Epe'e was carried by assault, the troops on this occasion attacking in three divisions with the bayonet; the first under the command of Prince Edward, who with a body of grenadiers and a hundred of the naval battalion, stormed the post on Morne Mascot; the second, of nearly the same number of troops, under Major-general Dundas, who marched in such a direction as to take Fleur d'Epe'e in the rear, and cut off its communication with Fort Louis and Pointe-à-Petre; the third under Colonel Symes, who proceeded by the road on the sea-side, with intent to co-operate with the former.

The success of this bold and decisive attack, in the course of which it is to be lamented that the greater part of the garrison was put to the sword during the heat of the contest, obtained for the English the immediate possession of that part of the island called Grande Terre, for the enemy thought proper to evacuate Fort Louis, the town of Point-à-Petre, and the new battery on the islet called Cochon; but many of the inhabitants escaped to Basse Terre, before the Ceres and two gun-boats could reach the Carenage, notwithstanding the alertness and precision with which Captain Incledon, of the navy, executed the orders of the admiral.

After a garrison had been placed in Fleur d'Epe'e, now denominated Fort Prince of Wales, part of the squadron, with two divisions of the army, under the command of Prince Edward and Colonel Symes, anchored under Islet Haut de Fregatte, and the troops were landed that night and next morn-

* The squadron under Captain Rogers consisted of his own ship, the Quebec, the Ceres, Captain Incledon, the Blanche, Captain Faulknor, and the Rose, Captain Scott.

ing, being the 14th of April, at Petit Bourg : nearly about the same time another detachment, under Major-general Dundas, disembarked within a short distance of the town of Basse Terre, and carried the strong post of Morne Magdaline ; while the two former columns, after seizing on the dedoubt of d'Arbond, which had been evacuated by the enemy, and carrying Anet by storm, obtained possession of the important post of Palmiste, with all its batteries, at break of day. As these commanded Fort Charles and Basse Terre, General Collet thought fit to signify his intentions to capitulate. A negociation accordingly commenced for that purpose, and Guadeloupe with all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marigalante and Desirada, were given up by him on the same terms that had been allowed to General Rochambeau. The French garrison marched out of Fort Charles on the 21st of April, and Prince Edward, with the Grenadiers and light infantry, having taken possession, the British colours were immediately hoisted on Fort Matilda, the new name by which it was intended to designate this place in future.

A large accession to the sugar colonies of Great Britain was thus obtained at a very inconsiderable expense, through the gallant and indefatigable exertions of her fleets and armies ; while the small portion of English blood split in the achievement, scarcely stained the laurels of victory. But the clemency of the conquerors is not supposed, upon this occasion, to have been equal to their valour ; and a prostrate enemy, instead of being reconciled to his fate by gentleness, was soon menaced with exactions, wholly incompatible with the rights of legitimate warfare.*

Other unfortunate circumstances contributed also at this period to render the English unpopular in the conquered islands ; while the almost indiscriminate seizure of neutral property, under the authority of a temporary order of council, excited the jealousy of several independent nations, and produced the bitterest reproaches on the part of America, whose vessels were confiscated, condemned, and sold, with a facility that excited their astonishment and indignation.

While the English commanders, lulled into a false security by the facility with which the conquest of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe, was achieved, had despatched a reinforcement to St. Domingo, and were publishing proclamations

* See Major-General Dundas's proclamation, dated Martinico, February 19th, 1794 ; and another proclamation by Lieutenant-General Prescott, dated May 10th, 1794, in which it was intimated, that " all the colonial productions and provisions of whatever kind and quality should be publicly sold for the profit of the captors."

enforcing military contributions on the new subjects of Britain, the French government, with some difficulty, fitted out a feeble armament for the West Indies. This was composed of only two frigates, two forty-four gun ships armed *en flute*, and incapable of much resistance, a corvette, and two transports, the whole of which did not contain above fifteen hundred troops. But the chief strength of this little squadron consisted in a simple decree of the national convention, which, by recognising the principles of universal justice, conferred liberty on all the slaves in the colonies.* But if the law in question was admirably contrived to effect the purpose for which it was intended, the commissioner by whom it was to be enforced must be allowed to have been equally well calculated for deriving every possible advantage from so extraordinary a measure. This was Victor Hughes, a man fitted by nature for desperate enterprises, and favoured upon the present occasion by a combination of circumstances singularly auspicious; for General Dundas, the governor of Guadaloupe, died about this period, of the yellow fever; Colonel Clos, the second in command, was seized at the same time with a disease that proved mortal; while the troops were thinned by contagion, and the inhabitants disaffected to the English government in consequence of recent events. The people of colour too could not easily forget that beneficent but perhaps premature law, which had rendered them the equals of the white inhabitants; and the negroes, glorying in a principle congenial to and closely interwoven with the texture of the human frame, hailed the decree of emancipation with rapture, and joyfully rallied round the cap of liberty now hoisted as a standard.

The French squadron having escaped all the English cruisers in a most extraordinary manner, arrived at Pointe-a-Petre, in Guadaloupe, on the 3d of June, after a passage of forty-one days from Rochefort, landed a body of troops near the village of Gozier in the course of the same night, and prepared for an immediate attack.

In the mean time, many of the French planters stationed

* LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Extract of a Decree of the National Convention of the 25th Pluviose, the second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

“The national convention declares that negro slavery in all the colonies is abolished; and consequently, that all men without distinction of colour, domiciliated in the colonies, are French citizens, and entitled to all the rights confirmed by the constitution. It enjoins the committee of public safety constantly to report on the measures to be taken to secure the execution of the present decree.”

within the fort, being ignorant of the force as well as of the ultimate intentions of the enemy, proposed to march out and surprise them, with a view of cutting off their communication with the disaffected inhabitants in the colony, and driving them back to their ships. On this, the commandant having permitted them to assemble one hundred and eighty volunteers, the party sallied forth at eight o'clock in the evening; but on being unexpectedly discovered, a general panic seized on the unhappy royalists, who recollected that if they escaped from the fire they would be exposed to the guillotine of the republicans, betook themselves to flight, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of Captain M'Dowell of the 43d, the English officer, by whom they were commanded, to rally them.

Encouraged by this unfortunate event, Victor Hughes determined to advance against Pointe-a-Petre, and attempt it by storm. After an arduous struggle, he at length succeeded in obtaining possession of the whole of that part of the island called Grande Terre; Lieutenant-colonel Drummond having found it necessary to retreat with his feeble garrison to Basse-Terre.

In the mean time the British commanders by sea and land had actually embarked, and were about to sail from St. Kitts for England, when they received the intelligence, equally unpleasing and unexpected, of the arrival of an armament from France. On this, Sir John Jervis, after despatching a vessel to Martinico for reinforcements, and collecting some ships of war, immediately proceeded to Guadaloupe, and arrived on the day after the evacuation. On learning the state of affairs, he anchored off Pointe-a-Petre, and blockaded the French squadron, while Sir Charles Grey proceeded to Basse-Terre, where he collected a force from the neighbouring colonies, at the town of Petit-Bourg, for the reduction of Grande Terre, and the islands of St. Christopher and Antigua, alarmed at recent events, raised a considerable body of volunteers to assist in the expedition.

Every thing being at length prepared for the re-conquest of Grande Terre, a landing was effected under cover of two frigates, at Ance Canot, the grenadiers being led by Lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and the light infantry by Lieutenant-colonel Gomm. On this the French abandoned Gozier, and assumed a position that commanded the road to Fort Fleur d'Epe'e. From this position they were with some difficulty dislodged, and although they rallied again, they were at length obliged to retire into the fort.

Recurring to the mode of successive engagements practised by his countrymen in Europe, in the course of the very eve-

ning in which they had been last defeated, the French commissioner sallied out at the head of a motley army of blacks, mulattoes, and whites, and attacked the post occupied by Colonel Fisher on Morne Mascot, under cover of the guns of Fleur d'Epee. But notwithstanding they were worsted upon this occasion also, they persevered with amazing obstinacy, and on the 29th of June, advanced with a field-piece, to the number of one thousand five hundred men, assuming a more regular appearance than before, the people of colour being by this time clothed in the national uniform; the bayonets of the English, however, once more drove them from the heights with considerable slaughter.

The British commander, encouraged by these successes on the one hand, and urged by the approach of the hurricane season on the other, determined to finish the campaign by one bold and brilliant manœuvre, in which was displayed all his former zeal, unaccompanied however with any of his former good fortune. Having concerted the necessary measures, Brigadier-general Symes received orders to advance from Morne Mascot, and assault the town on the second of July. He accordingly proceeded with a body of infantry, and the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by Captain Robertson, who stormed Pointe-a-Petre before day-break; but by a mistake on the part of the guides they entered at the strongest side, and were soon overpowered by the enemy, who commenced an attack upon them with round and grape shot, as well as small arms, in the course of which the commanding officer and Brigadier-general Fisher were both wounded, as well as Lieutenant-colonel Gomm, and Captain Robertson of the navy, two meritorious officers. The complete failure of this attempt, in all probability, prevented the termination of the war in Guadaloupe, as Sir Charles Grey had made preparations, in case of success, for the storming of Fort Fleur d'Epee; but he was now obliged to relinquish the meditated attack, and even to detach a body of troops under Captain Stewart, as well as a party of seamen from the Boyne, under Lieutenant Woolley, to cover the retreat of the unfortunate division. Nor did the disaster terminate here, for in the course of that very night it was found necessary to retire to Gozier, to march one part of the forces by Petit-Bourg to Berville, and to embark the remainder; which was happily effected without the loss of a single man, under the direction of Rear-admiral Thompson. After this, the commander-in-chief occupied the ground between St. John's point and Mahault bay with his whole force; he also erected batteries of heavy artillery, as well as of mortars, and Point Saron and

Point St. John, opposite Pointe-a-Petre, whence he attempted to destroy both the town and the shipping, while the gun-boats belonging to the fleet were incessantly employed in battering the forts at Pointe-a-Petre and La Fleur d'Epe'e ; but by this time the French commissioner, although not a military man, had concentrated his strength, and made such able dispositions, as soon gave him a decided superiority. He had also recourse to energetic proclamations, in which, while he detailed the benefits conferred by the convention, he at the same time inflamed the courage and aroused the hopes of those devoted to a cause which he had so ably and so successfully supported.

By this time the admiral and general, unable to counteract the efforts of a man who contrived to arm both master and slave in one common cause, had retired to Martinico, whence they in vain solicited succours from England. Until these should arrive, a defensive system of warfare was adopted, and it was hoped that the naval force stationed at the Sale'e would render Basse-Terre secure from invasion. But these calculations proved fallacious, for this resolute and persevering enemy, by eluding the vigilance of the English shipping, effected the passage in the night of the 27th of September, and made two different landings, the one at Goyave, and the other at Lamentin. After seizing on Petit-Bourg, where, under pretence of retaliating former outrages, many of the sick and wounded were basely put to death, they advanced to Point Bacchus, unfortunately intercepting Colonel Drummond and a party of French colonists, and obtained possession of the heights, in the neighbourhood of the English camp.

The British troops under the command of Brigadier-general Colin Graham, which at first consisted of near 600 regulars and royalists, were in the course of a few days reduced to 125 rank and file fit for duty. Finding that he was cut off from all communication, the general reluctantly consented to capitulate on the 6th of October, and the British troops were allowed the honours of war. But a harder fate awaited the white and free people of colour, who had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. The British general could only procure the privilege of one covered boat, in which he conveyed away some of the principal royalists ; the others, many of whom the conqueror thought proper to consider as rebels, were abandoned to their fate, and one of the chiefs finding that his three brothers were not to be admitted into the privileged boat, is said to have shot himself with a pistol in the presence of the English general.

In consequence of these unfortunate events, the whole of the island of Guadaloupe, one post only excepted, was resto-

red to the French, in whose favour the militia, conscious of the fate that awaited their disobedience, now declared ; and General Prescott, who commanded at Fort Matilda, finding his cannon dismounted, and that even the Boyne and other men-of-war, which had repaired to his assistance, were occasionally obliged to sheer off from the gun and mortar batteries, after protracting the siege for near a month, deemed it prudent to evacuate the place during the night on the 10th of December, which was accordingly effected without loss, under the superintendence of Captain Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, who was wounded upon this occasion.

Thus, in consequence of the exertions of a single individual, aided by a small force from the mother country, and armed with a decree of a few lines annulling slavery, Guadaloupe was restored to France ; and when it is recollected, that although uninstructed in the art of war, he completely baffled the activity, enterprise, and professional skill of two of the ablest commanders in the service of Great Britain, it is but candid to add, that if the humanity of Victor Hughes had been as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present age.

While the British cause was by turns triumphant and unprosperous in Guadaloupe, fortune seemed for a time to smile propitious in St. Domingo, where nearly the whole of the peninsula of Tiburon had submitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke.

But in the West Indies, as in Europe, it was soon found that the occupation of so many places necessarily rendered the defence of each weak, and that extension only produced insecurity ; for although Captain Grant, of the 13th regiment, gallantly repulsed three distinct bodies of the enemy, after both himself and his two lieutenants were wounded, yet the town and port of Leogane fell into the hands of the republicans, and the officer commanding at Tiburon was obliged in the course of a few weeks to evacuate that post.

CHAPTER XIX.

Retrospect of the Triumphant progress of the French Arms—Dissolution of the first Coalition—The Republic recognized, and Peace concluded with Tuscany, Prussia, Hesse Cassel, and Spain—War in La Vendee ; its origin, sanguinary progress and temporary cessation—The Vendean War resumed—Expedition to Quiberon ; its disastrous result—French Civil History :—State of the finances ; Conflicts of Parties ; Insurrections of the 1st of April, and the 20th of May—Death of Louis XVII—Exchange of the Princess his Sister for the arrested Deputies—New Constitution—Insurrection of the Sections of Paris—Dissolution and Character of the National Convention—The New Government.

AT no period in the annals of the Revolution, nor perhaps in the history of France, had such a succession of brilliant exploits distinguished the arms of that country as in the campaign of 1794 ; and a list of recent conquests was printed and affixed to a tablet which was hung in the hall of the convention, from which it appeared that the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands ; the seven United Provinces ; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire ; the Electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz ; the duchy of Deux-Ponts ; the Palatinate ; and the duchies of Juliers and Cleves, all ranked amongst her conquests in the north ; while the duchy of Savoy, with the principalities of Nice and Monaco, in Italy, swelled their number in the south. The population of the conquered countries, was in this document estimated at thirteen millions of souls ; which, added to the twenty-four millions contained in ancient France, gave the republic a number of citizens amounting to thirty-seven millions. These conquests, had as they asserted, been achieved in seventeen months, during which period the French armies had gained twenty-seven general battles, had been victorious in no less than one hundred and twenty-seven actions ; and had taken one hundred and sixteen strong cities and fortified places. These successes, say they, have been obtained over the best disciplined armies in Europe ; elated with their past triumphs over warlike enemies, and commanded by generals of consummate experience and most dazzling reputation ; while the armies of the republic, at the commencement of the contest, consisted of officers and soldiers, few of whom had seen service, and commanded by generals hitherto without renown.*

The natural effect of such a series of successes was to weaken the cement which held together the coalition, and most of the neighbouring powers became eager to recognize the republic.

* Dr. Bisset's History, vol. vi. p. 49, 50.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother to the emperor, was the first to acknowledge the new government, and in a public proclamation dated March 1, 1795, he says, "his royal highness now expressly repeals all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession to the armed coalition against the French republic," and re-establishes "the neutrality of Tuscany." This was soon after followed by a recognition of the French republic on the part of the King of Prussia, who having annexed two great commercial cities Dantzic and Thorn, together with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, entered into a negociation with the committee of public safety, and on the 5th of April, 1795, concluded a treaty, of reciprocal advantage, by means of his minister, the Baron de Hardenberg, with citizen Barthelemy, the French ambassador at Basle. His Prussian majesty, who had been the first to enter into the coalition against France, and was now among the first to abandon the confederated princes, felt that his conduct called for some justification, and accordingly on the 2d of May, a declaration was promulgated from Berlin, in which he said:—"After three bloody campaigns, fertile in death and desolation, is not suffering humanity brought sufficiently low? His majesty cannot wholly sacrifice himself, and leave his dominions entirely a prey to destruction, for the sake of participating in the future experiment of a war, the result of which, if it were even as favourable as possible, would still be inferior to a present negociation for peace. All considerations of foreign and domestic relations, as likewise the sacred duties which his majesty owes to the prosperity of his provinces, to his subjects, longing for peace and tranquillity, and to the happiness of his own royal bosom, summon him most urgently to renounce forthwith a war whose future issue must only prove ruin past redemption."

This proclamation, so different in language and in spirit to the memorable proclamation issued by the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander, on entering the French territory in the month of July, 1792, was soon after followed by a treaty of peace between the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the French republic, under the mediation of the King of Prussia, in which it was stipulated, that the French should still continue to occupy one of his fortresses, Rheinfeldt, and that he should neither renew nor prolong the two subsidiary treaties with the court of Great Britain.

On the side of the Pyrenees, uninterrupted success still attended the arms of France. In the first campaign indeed, after the breaking out of the war, the Spaniards had been victorious, and after taking the important fortress of Bellegarde,

had gained a decisive victory over the republicans, on the territory of France; but from this moment success seemed to have forsaken their standard. In the second campaign, the republicans entered the kingdom of Spain, in the direction of St. Jean de Luz, Figuierras, and Irun; and the important city of Fontarabia capitulated on the first summons of General Moncey, while the gates of Tolosa were opened to the victorious invaders. On the eastern side of the Pyrenees, General Dugommier obtained a decisive victory over General de l'Union, at Colisaro, in which not less than seven thousand of the Spaniards grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; after which Bellegarde fell again into the hands of the French, to whom Figuierras surrendered with a garrison of nearly ten thousand men. No sooner had the third campaign opened, than the French seized upon Vittoria, while General Miollis crossed the Ebro, and took possession of Miranda, in Old Castile, within one hundred and sixty miles of Madrid. The King of Spain, seized with terror at the conquests of an enemy who threatened speedily to over-run his kingdom, transmitted orders to Don Domingo d'Yriate, whom he had nominated his plenipotentiary at Basle, immediately to conclude a treaty of pacification, which was signed on the 22d of July. By this treaty, France agreed to evacuate her conquests in Spain, on his catholic majesty ceding to the French republic, all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo.

From this period the contest assumed a new form, and all the governments of Europe, that of England alone excepted, now breathed a fervent and sincere wish for peace; and even the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, had notified his accession to the treaty between France and Prussia, and soon after issued the most peremptory orders for the removal of all the armed emigrants from his Germanic territory.

It has been already intimated that the Thermidorean revolution, in consequence of which Robespierre and his accomplices from being executioners, became in their turn victims, produced an entire change in the domestic policy of France. Efficacious measures had been for some time adopted to quiet the insurgent districts, and extinguish the flames which had so long consumed a tract of country, consisting of many of the western departments of France, but stigmatized under the name of La Vendee. The war in that country which originated in attachment to "the throne and to the altar," had been carried on ever since the 10th of May, 1793, with various success, and during the reign of the Mountain party had as-

sumed the most ferocious aspect on both sides. The insurgents conducted their hostilities with a degree of savage ferocity, unexampled for ages in modern Europe, anterior to the wars of the French Revolution. All the republican prisoners, even those who had not carried arms, finished their lives in dreadful and prolonged tortures. Every cruel device which the most rancorous ingenuity could invent, was perpetrated on the mutilated bodies of their expiring enemies, in the name of the catholic faith and of Louis XVII. After the manner of the savage Indians, the women too were called in to participate in these horrid rites ; and when the sufferings of the captives were to be heightened by any new refinement in cruelty, the female sex were incited to inflict additional pangs, and protract the agonies of the victim without bereaving him of his life. Some of the leaders, however, were not exempt from humanity. The brave D'Elbee spared all those placed within his power by the fortune of war, during the first five months of his career ; and at length put his enemies to death, not from a love of vengeance, but the necessity of retaliation. The name of Charette, on the contrary, was terrible to his foes, and he exercised his power with the most savage ferocity ;* but Bonchamp, although expiring by a wound received in battle, restored to liberty no less than four thousand of the soldiers employed by the convention.

On the other hand, the republicans recurred to means that can never be justified, or even palliated. The convention put all the inhabitants of the insurgent departments out of the protection of the laws ; and no sooner did the Chouans make their appearance, than orders were issued "that they should be pursued without intermission, and put to death without quarter." Some of the deputies sent to those devoted departments acted like so many executioners rather than legislators, and more than one of the generals† appear to

* When Charette retook Machecoul, he caused the patriots of that place to be assembled, and after adding to these a few prisoners taken in battle, he ordered them all to be shot, to the number of seven or eight hundred. Although the greater part of these unfortunate persons were only slightly wounded, yet they were immediately thrown into a ditch, and thus literally buried alive!

† Turreau, on commencing an expedition against the Vendéans, is said to have addressed his soldiers as follows :—

"Nous entrons dans le pays des insurgés ; vous y brûlerez tout, vous passerez au fil de la baïonnette tous les habitants. Il peut y avoir quelques patriotes dans les pays ; mais c'est égal, il faut tout sacrifier."

"We are about to enter the country of the insurgents ; you are to burn every thing, and bayonet all the inhabitants. There may be indeed some few patriots among them ; but, notwithstanding that, the whole must be sacrificed."

have cheerfully participated in their crimes. At Bressuire, Floutiere, Le Chapeigneraye, Pouzanges, Meilleray, and several other places, the habitations were delivered up to the flames, and the inhabitants to the bayonets of a furious soldiery. Grignon, a dealer in cattle, anterior to the revolution, and an officer afterwards, is said to have ordered his own father-in-law to be shot. Francastel and Henty, sent on a mission to the western army, commenced their bloody apostleship at Angers, and one thousand two hundred Vendéans were immolated at one time to their vengeance.* Huchet, not content with committing the most atrocious murders with his own hand, and ordering the country every-where around him to be destroyed by fire, actually commanded all the members of a municipality who had repaired with their three-coloured scarfs to his camp at Sorinieres, to be shot, although they had gone thither to request his protection against the royalists.

But, notwithstanding the reign of terror had now commenced, many of the republican party abhorred these measures as equally impolitic and cruel, and some were bold enough to denounce them openly. Phillippeaux, a deputy from the department of Sarthe, after visiting La Vendee, declared that the jacobin generals perpetuated the war by means of their crimes, and even accused the committee of public safety as the accomplices of their atrocities.

Amidst this horrible state of uncertainty, during which the royalists and republicans triumphed alternately, such of the inhabitants as escaped exile, disease, and the sword, were obliged by turns to declare for the victors. They accordingly appeared before the advancing columns with white or three-coloured cockades in exact conformity to the principles of the invaders, and were careful to be prepared with other emblems of attachment in case of an unexpected retreat.

* Francastel assisted Carrier in the massacre of the priests at Nantes; and he himself is said to have issued an order to bind sixty-one of the clergy of Nievre together, and drown them by means of a vessel sunk for that purpose. The following is a copy of his directions to General Grignon:

"Tu feras trembler les brigands auxquels il ne faut pas faire de quartier: nos prisons regorgent. . . . Des prisonniers dans La Vendee! . . . Il faut incendier les maisons ecartees, les moulins, surtout les chateaux; enfin, achever la transformation de ce pays en desert. . . . Point de mollesse ni de grace. . . . Ces sont les vues de la convention."

"You must make the robbers tremble, and give them no quarter.—Our prisons are crowded. . . . What! prisoners in La Vendee! . . . It is necessary to burn all the lone houses, the mills, and above all the castles; in short, to transform the whole country into a desert. . . . Neither mildness nor clemency. . . . Such are the intentions of the convention."

Thus all La Vendee was unceasingly a prey to horrors ; and a portion of the French territory destined by nature to feed twenty departments, could scarcely supply the wretched remnant of its own population with food.

No sooner, however, had Robespierre and his ferocious satellites received the tardy punishment invoked by so many crimes, than an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war. The convention, permitted at length to pause in the career of slaughter, and no longer terrified with the prospect of new proscriptions, determined to put an end to the bloody strife. A system of moderation, equally politic and humane, accordingly took place ; and the authority of the insurgent chiefs, which remained undiminished amidst all the mischiefs inflicted by the desolating torch, and the exterminating sword, was suddenly sapped and diminished by the language of peace and the prospect of conciliation. The deputies of mission not only permitted mass to be said publicly, but cherished and protected the non-juring clergy. Hoche, who seconded all their efforts, punished every infraction of the laws of humanity with the most exemplary severity, and prohibited the brutal custom of exhibiting the bleeding heads of the vanquished Vendean in the front of the French columns. At the same time an amnesty was published, offering pardon, amity and protection to such as should bring in their arms ; the insurgents embracing this offer, deserted by multitudes, and their chiefs saw no alternative but to accept the proposed act of oblivion.

After some preliminary negotiations in the beginning of February 1795, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army on behalf of the Vendean, and General Cormantine on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future, in subjection to the existing government. In the mean time, conferences were opened at a farm house near Nantes, between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the convention ; and on the 7th of March, a treaty was concluded, signed and ratified at Nantes, by which it was stipulated, that “ the sum of eighty millions of livres should be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendee to indemnify them for the losses, burnings, and devastations they had suffered—that the contracts entered into between the generals and inhabitants of La Vendee should be discharged by the French republic—that the inhabitants of La Vendee should acknowledge the French republic—that General Charette, who should give in a list of persons to be banished from La Vendee, should have the command of a body of two thousand men—and that the

free exercise of the catholic religion should be permitted; the banished non-juring priests to return and be restored to their patrimonial estates only—and that there should be no districts or municipalities, but only a national agent in La Vendee, in which no requisitions were to take place for the space of five years.

In the paper signed by Charette and the other chiefs on this occasion, they attribute their taking up arms, principally to the oppressive government of Robespierre and his party; and say, “As the government of blood has disappeared, we declare our submission to the French republic, one and indivisible, and our acknowledgment of its laws. We promise to surrender as soon as possible, all the artillery and horses in our possession; and we make a solemn promise never again to bear arms against the republic.” At the same time, these chiefs published an address to the inhabitants of La Vendee, exhorting them to submit to the laws, extolling the justice and liberality of the convention, and setting forth the folly and mischief of perseverance. Stofflet, and some of his adherents still however continued to resist, but being soon forsaken by many of his followers, he signed a treaty on the 20th of April, in this year, to the same effect as the treaty made with the Vendéans.*

The hopes that the peace of La Vendee would be permanent, and that the French armies would from this time have only to contend with foreign enemies, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on the plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated by the treaty of the 7th of March, and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in the month of June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. In the mean time the British government, listening to the counsels of the French refugees, was meditating an attack upon France, in this most vulnerable part; and a number of regiments were

* The act of accession of Stofflet, and his adherents, was to the following effect:

“We, the general and principal officers of the catholic and royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, declare, that, animated with the desire of peace, we have retarded its conclusion till this day, solely to consult the desires of the people, whose interests have been confided to us, and those of the catholic and royal army of Brittany. We adhere to the measures taken by the deputies, for the pacification of the insurgent departments, and submitting ourselves wholly to the laws of the republic, promising never to bear arms against her, and to send our artillery with as little delay as possible.

(Signed by Stofflet and seventeen of the chiefs.)

accordingly raised and embodied, partly of British, but principally of emigrants ; but as the number of volunteers for so desperate an undertaking, proved insufficient, the fatal measure of recruiting from the gaols was resorted to ; and as a natural consequence of such a proceeding, a mutinous spirit exhibited itself among the troops, amounting even to a regular conspiracy, immediately after the expedition sailed.* This army, which consisted of from 4 to 5000 men, was placed under the command of M. de Puisaye, who possessed considerable influence amongst the Chouans, but who neither enjoyed the confidence of the troops, nor possessed any military renown. Under his command were placed the Count de Sombreuil, a young nobleman of great promise, and the Count d'Hervilly, a general, anterior to the destruction of the monarchy. This little army, fitted out with a liberality bordering upon profusion, was embarked in transports, under the convoy of a small squadron, commanded by Sir John Borlase Warren, whose intimate knowledge of the French coast rendered him particularly adapted for such an undertaking. After having been sixteen days at sea, the fleet anchored on the 25th of June, in the bay of Quiberon. The debarkation of the main body of the troops was effected during the night, under the orders of General d'Herville, and the remainder landed on the succeeding days without molestation from the enemy, together with an immense quantity of muskets, uniforms, stores, and five pieces of cannon. The first movement was to take possession of Auray and Vannes, and the fleet co-operating with the army, attacked and carried Fort Penthièvre, which surrendered after a defence of two days, with a garrison of 400 men. The royalists soon after, made themselves masters of the whole peninsula, together with the intrenched camp of Carnac, and although the inhabitants appeared unfriendly to their cause, M. de Puisaye, who had established his head-quarters at the village of Genese, was soon joined by a body of Chouans, and the commander clothed and armed, without sufficient discrimination, all the peasantry that presented themselves.

Thus far the enterprize wore a prosperous aspect, and the commander in chief had time and opportunity, under the title of "Lieutenant-General of the king's armies, and Commander-in-Chief of the catholic and royal army of Brittany," to publish a proclamation, inviting Frenchmen of every description to rally round his standard.

But no sooner did the intelligence of these events reach Paris, than the National Convention despatched to Brittany,

* Hist. philosoph. de la Revol. par Ant. Fantin Desodoards, t. vi. p. 186.

Blad and Tallien, two deputies on whose energy they could rely. Their business was to raise the neighbouring departments, while Hoche assembled troops, and organized an army. This being accomplished, the first object of the French general, was to oblige the invading army to withdraw to the camp of Kousten, and to erect batteries to confine them within the peninsula. The Anglo-emigrant army, now swelled to the number of 12,000, with a view of extricating themselves from this perilous situation, and of keeping up the communication with the disaffected in the interior, determined to assault the republican lines by break of day, on the 16th July. Accordingly a detachment, consisting of nearly half the troops fit for service, marched to attack the intrenched camp of Hoche, at St. Barbe; but intelligence of this important operation had been communicated to the enemy the preceding evening, by not less than four different deserters; and on the approach of the columns of the invaders, General Humbert fell back to the intrenched camp, followed by the English and French troops, in confidence of victory; but on a sudden, a masked battery of grape shot was opened upon them, which did inconceivable execution. Almost in a moment the whole army of the assailants was thrown into confusion; the retreat was in a very short time converted into an absolute flight, and had not the fire from the British fleet stopped the progress of the republican columns, scarcely a man would have escaped. In this disastrous affair, three hundred of the emigrants, with the Count de Thalmont, and a number of nobles, were left dead on the field, while General d'Herville, who commanded on the occasion, was desperately wounded, and three pieces of cannon fell to the lot of the victors.

Hoche, who had by this time collected a formidable force, determined to leave the lines hitherto occupied by his troops, and attack the invaders whom he had pinned up within the peninsula. Accordingly at eleven o'clock, on the night of the 20th, three thousand of the republicans, led by the Generals Humbert and Valle, and conducted by a number of deserters, left the camp of St. Barbe, amidst a dreadful storm accompanied with a deluge of rain, and passing along the low and level shore of the sea, climbed the rocks without being discovered, and attacked the fort before there arose the least suspicion of danger. On receiving intelligence of this event, the remainder of the republican army was instantly put in motion, and the commander-in-chief assisted by the two representatives, Blad and Tallien, penetrated the peninsula in three columns with an overwhelming force, when M. de Puisaye, seeing that all was lost, sought his own personal

safety, on board a man of war, directing the brave, but unfortunate, M. Sombreuil to await his orders. At length the intrenched camp was forced, and while nearly one half of the invaders joined the army of Hoche, with cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" the remainder retired to a rock, where they had posted a piece of cannon, and defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. But it was found impossible to resist the number and the artillery of the assailants, and these wretched and unhappy men were at length forced to surrender at discretion, but not till some of the chiefs had escaped on board the boats sent to their succour. In fort Pen-thievre and the peninsula, were found seventy thousand muskets, clothing for forty thousand men, one hundred and fifty thousand pair of shoes, and all the artillery landed from the fleet; the beach of Quiberon was covered with wines, liquors, and all sorts of stores, and a number of vessels laden with flour, rice, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors.

But part of the sad story of the fate of the vanquished remains to be told. No less than six or seven hundred of the emigrants perished at the foot of a rock called *le rocher de Portignes*, where they had taken shelter; about two thousand were saved by the boats of the fleet, and of those that surrendered, such as were not noble, after some time obtained their liberty, and all the women and children of the Chouans were immediately set free. The Bishop of Dol, who had sailed with the expedition from England, and fourteen of his clergy, received death, with the most exemplary resignation; M. de Broglie, and several men of birth, to the amount of nearly three hundred, after a trial before a military tribunal, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, serjeant, corporal, and private, also suffered death upon this occasion, and the gallant Count Charles de Sombreuil, whose fate attracted the attention and commiseration of all Europe, fell under the hand of the executioner. A day or two previous to the death of this unfortunate young nobleman, he addressed a letter to Sir J. B. Warren, in which he says, "a number of vessels which remained on the coast might have afforded me the disgraceful retreat which M. de Puisaye so vigilantly seized; but the dereliction of my companions in arms would have been far more shocking to me than the lot which awaits me. I am bold to say, I deserve a better fate; and this you will acknowledge, together with all those that know me, if chance should ever permit any of my companions to reveal the mysteries of this fatal—this unexampled day. Farewell! I bid you farewell with that calmness which can alone result from purity of conscience. In this last moment I derive a source

of enjoyment, if any can be tasted in a situation like mine, from the esteem of my companions in misfortune, and that of the enemy by whom we are conquered.—Farewell!—Farewell! to all the world!

Such was the fate of this disastrous expedition, but the British squadron remained some time on the coast, and the Isle of Dieu was taken possession of, and converted into a place of arms, whence the Chouans could occasionally be succoured, while the British cruisers by hovering in the neighbourhood, kept the adjacent coast in continual alarm, and intercepted all communication by sea.

France still continued to be agitated by factions, and her metropolis, even at this period, was too often defiled with blood. The convention, made wise by experience, assumed sufficient fortitude to abolish the law of *maximum*, which fixed the price of the necessaries of life, and prescribed the limits above which they should not advance. This salutary repeal, so essential to the interests of trade and so closely connected with the very existence of the people, was soon after followed by a report presented by Johannot from the united committees of commerce and finance, from which it appeared that

	Livres
The value of the national property amounted to	2,276,430,410
The National forests occupying five millions of acres to	} 2,000,000,000
The confiscated lands and palaces of the Emigrants, to	
The national domains in Belgium, to	} 15,226,280,220
	3,000,000,000
	<hr/>
	22,502,710,630

making a sum equal to about nine hundred million pounds sterling, on the credit of which national paper had been issued, amounting to little more than one third of that sum.

The two parties who had combined to overthrow the sanguinary tyranny of Robespierre, soon began to shew that they could not exist together; and on the 2d of March, 1795, a report was presented to the convention, in which Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed, that they should be transported to Guiana. The proceedings against these deputies united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the 1st of April, and was not suppressed till the following day.

The trial of Fouquier Thinville, and the ex-judges and

jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, during the reign of terror, followed, and having been convicted, on the clearest evidence, of the mal-administration of public justice, and of having perverted the law to purposes of judicial murder, Thinvillle, and fifteen others, were executed on the morning of the 9th of May, amidst the execrations of an indignant people.

Another insurrectionary rising took place in the metropolis, on the 20th of May, when the rallying exclamation was "Bread, and the constitution of 1793," which was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed by a mixture of terror and reconciliation.

No event in the history of the internal concerns of France during the present year, made a more powerful impression on the sympathies of Europe, than the death of the infant son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. It was at first supposed, that this child of misery, whose only crime consisted in being born to a throne, owed his death to poison, but for such an atrocity there appears at the period in question, to have been no adequate motive, though it is highly probable, that his death was hastened by the unjust confinement in which he was held, and by which he was debarred from taking the air and exercise necessary to his existence. He had ever been an unhealthy child, subject to a scrofulous complaint, and for some time previous to his decease had suffered from swellings in his knees and wrists. In this deplorable situation he was attacked by a fever, and death at length terminated his woes on the morning of the 9th of June, in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. Penetrated, perhaps, with this event, the committee of public safety proposed the exchange of his sister, the princess, who remained a prisoner in the temple, for the deputies, Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria, by Dumouriez, and for several others; this proposal was after some delay acceded to, and the captive princess once more breathed the balmy air of liberty.

The unsettled state of France, and the continual conflicts of the contending factions in the convention, served to convince every Frenchman who really felt the sacred flame of patriotism glowing in his breast, that a regular form of government, and an executive power, were indispensably necessary, to rescue that country from the revolutionary vortex in which she had been so long involved. The plan of a new constitution was accordingly drawn up and presented, on the 23d of June, by a committee appointed for that purpose. After much discussion, and various alterations, the

constitutional act was, on the 23d of August, declared complete, and referred to the primary assemblies, for their approbation. By this constitution, the legislative power was vested in two councils, chosen through the medium of the electoral assemblies,* the one consisting of 500, and the other of 250 members. To the former, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing, to the latter, styled the Senate or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws; and no person could be a member of the council of elders who had not completed his fortieth year. One third of each council was appointed to be re-chosen every year. The executive power was delegated to a directory of five members, to be partially renewed by the annual election of one member in regular rotation; the directory to be elected by the two councils; the council of five hundred, making out by secret scrutiny, a list containing ten times the number of the members of the directory, from which the council of elders selects, by secret scrutiny, the proposed number. The judicial power to reside in judges of department and district, chosen by the electoral assemblies, and a high tribunal of appeal, and cassation or annulment, established by the same mode of election for the whole kingdom.

This was certainly the outline of a free and noble constitution; but it was by no means exempt from defects. The directory was not invested with the power of assembling, or proroguing the legislative bodies; and the executive authority was much weakened by being committed to five persons, between whom differences and division might be expected to arise, to the embarrassment of public business, and the injury of the state.

On this constitution two decrees were engrafted, which in their consequences plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution: by the first of these decrees, passed on the 5th Fructidor, (August 22d,) it was enacted, that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the legislative body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present convention; and by the second, that in

* Every man of one and twenty years of age, born and resident in France, who paid a direct contribution to the state, and who had not forfeited his franchise by any infamous crime, was by this constitution declared to be a French citizen; these citizens formed the *Primary Assemblies*; and by them the *Electoral Assemblies* were nominated in the proportion of one Elector for two hundred citizens; it being required that each elector should be five and twenty years of age, and possessed of certain property.

default of such election, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, who had usually given the tone to the nation at large, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, as firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two thirds. The majority of the primary assemblies throughout the country, to whom both the constitution and the decrees were submitted at the same time, accepted them both, but not without violent opposition. But such was the determined resistance of the sections of Paris, that they soon proceeded to acts of open hostility, and, in the dead of night of the 4th of October, the cry of *To Arms! To Arms! Liberty or Death!* once more reverberated through the streets of the metropolis; and at the early dawn of day, the sections having drawn out their forces, marched them to the hall of the convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided on this occasion to Barras, by the convention; and the different avenues of the *Thuilleries* being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who repeatedly rallied, and returned to the charge with incredible obstinacy; but being over-powered, they were, at the close of the day, and not till then, driven by the conventional troops from all their posts, with the loss of about eight hundred men; and the convention, now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of *Fructidor*.

The labours of the convention were now drawing to a close; and on the 30th of September, they solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previous to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France. The last, and perhaps the best act of the convention, passed on the 27th of October, 1795, when it was decreed, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted; and the president then rising, said—"THE COVENTION IS DISSOLVED!"

Such was the termination of this memorable assembly, whose decrees and transactions were more important and extraordinary than those of any set of men upon record. "Where is there a Tacitus," says a French writer, "to convey to posterity the history of their glorious actions, and of their criminal excesses?" This convention, composed of lawyers, physicians, and men of letters, with an audacious hand, signed the death warrant of the successor of a hundred kings, and in one day broke the sceptre for which an existence of fourteen centuries had pro-

duced a religious veneration. These men, when their country was on the eve of subjugation, created an army of fourteen hundred thousand men, who repelled the invaders, and conquered the conquerors ; but their glorious deeds were sullied by licentiousness, and their conquests abroad were contaminated by their cruelties at home.

The members of the new legislature having formed themselves into two councils, according to the constitutional act, proceeded to the choice of the directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list stood Reveilliere Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party : the next was Reubel, a moderate man, of plain good sense, and one of the village attornies mentioned by Mr. Burke. Letourneur de la Manche, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the mountain than the plain, was the third. The fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, a soldier by profession, and a man of pleasure in habits. Sieyes, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he saw too clearly the difficulties of the constitution ; and Carnot, a member of the committee of safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, " That he organized victory, and rendered her permanent," filled up the number.

Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

CHAPTER XX.

Opening of the Campaign of 1795—Luxembourg, Dusseldorf, and Manheim, taken by the French, who invade Mentz—The siege of Mentz raised, and Manheim retaken by the Imperial Army—Renewal of Hostilities in Italy—Success of the French Armies, and retreat of the Austrians—War declared by Great Britain against Holland—Capture of the Dutch Settlements in the East by the British—Conquest of the Cape of Good Hope—Campaign in the West Indies—Naval Campaign of 1795.

THE belligerent powers of the continent, exhausted by the memorable campaign of 1794, were not in a situation to take the field till the month of May, in the following year ; and it was not till the 7th of June, that the fortress of Luxembourg was attacked by the French troops : aware that the reduction of

this place, so necessary for the security of their other conquests, would be attended with extreme difficulty, and that its fall was rather to be expected from famine than from the sword, the republican generals had cut off all supplies, and left a numerous garrison to subsist entirely on its own magazines. It was now regularly invested, and notwithstanding the Field-marshal Bender, a veteran general, commanded in the place, yet he found himself under the necessity of capitulating, as there was not the most distant prospect of being relieved.

Nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of a city lately wrested from them by the King of Prussia. The blockade of Mentz was accordingly the first operation that took place on the frontiers of Germany. The defence of that place, formerly entrusted to the troops of the house of Brandenburg, had now devolved upon the emperor, and his majesty was pleased to select Marshal Clairfayt, as the most able officer to whom he could confide the command of the troops collected for that purpose. This general, who had been driven at the latter end of the last campaign across the Rhine, being now placed at the head of the Austrian army, as well as that of the empire, returned to the charge, and, nothing dismayed by his recent defeats, attacked and routed the French who were posted upon the heights of Mornbach, after which he occupied that advantageous position with his own forces.

Notwithstanding this, Germany was soon after menaced with a new invasion, and Mentz with a new siege, by two of the greatest commanders in the service of the republic. After a considerable time had elapsed in preparation, a large portion of the army of the Sambre and Meuse suddenly crossed the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorf. That city was immediately summoned, and, having refused to surrender, was taken by assault, the Austrian garrison having previously retired. The duchy of Berg was also overrun; a large quantity of ammunition and artillery belonging to the enemy fell into the hands of the invaders, and the imperialists retiring on every side, Mentz was again invested.

No sooner had Pichegru received intelligence of these exploits, than he also crossed the Rhine with his army, advanced against Manheim, and obtained possession of that important city, with a degree of facility so disproportionate to the strength of the place, that it was evident he must have been favoured by the good wishes of the inhabitants. On this, general Wurmser, who was advancing by rapid marches to its

relief, endeavoured to form a junction with Marshal Clairfayt, but he was overtaken and defeated by a detachment of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The French, however, were surprised and overcome in their turn; and in consequence of one of those sudden reverses, so common in all wars, but more especially in the wars of the French revolution, the fortune of the campaign, from being highly disastrous, became at length eminently propitious to the imperial arms.

Pichegru being no longer able to second the efforts of Jourdan, the latter was under the necessity of raising the siege of Mentz, and retreating before the victorious Austrians to Dusseldorff, where he repassed the Rhine; while the former fell back upon Mannheim, and after leaving a considerable garrison in that place, and sustaining a number of sanguinary attacks, was happy to escape across that river also.

Marshal Clairfayt, who was not unmindful of the great object of the campaign, appearing before Mentz, attacked and carried the intrenched camp, which the French had endeavoured to render inexpugnable by the labours of eleven months. General Schaal, who occupied this strong position on the retreat of Jourdan, with fifty-two battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry, was obliged to retire, and leave one hundred and six pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, and about two thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals, in the hands of the assailants.

Notwithstanding the disasters sustained by the French army, the garrison of Mannheim, consisting of about nine thousand men, contrived to make a stout resistance. The imperialists at length obtained possession of an intrenched hill called the Gulyenberg, by assault, as well as the Necker fort; but although they were driven from the latter, they persevered with unabating ardour, and after a long siege, obliged this important city to capitulate.

In the mean time Marshal Clairfayt and General Wurmser had crossed the Rhine in pursuit of the French, and having formed a junction, resumed possession of the Palatinate, reconquered many of the acquisitions of the French, and even threatened to retake Luxembourg. On this, Pichegru and Jourdan, after receiving the necessary reinforcements, marched to encounter the triumphant enemy. The former carried the town of Kreutznach twice by storm in the course of one day; but he was obliged at length to evacuate that place, while his colleague was repulsed soon after in an attack upon Kayserslautern, in which he lost two thousand men. At length the severity of the season, and an unexpected armistice of three months, put an end to a campaign, the close of which

was not only far different from its commencement, but also from what might have been augured from the relative forces of the contending powers.*

The troops of the house of Austria, although entirely destitute of the support of the Prussians as formerly, must be allowed to have conducted themselves not only with exemplary skill and bravery, but with a degree of zeal, and even of enthusiasm, which they had not hitherto evinced. The Field-marshal Clairfayt and Wurmser added greatly to their former reputation; and the Generals Boros, Kray, and Haddick, evinced talents that afforded a promise of future celebrity.

On the other hand, the fame of Pichegru and Jourdan, two of the best generals in the French service, experienced a sudden eclipse; while they loudly complained that the victories of the imperialists had been accomplished by the violation of neutral territory, they at the same time evinced a jealousy and even a hatred of each other, that proved but little serviceable to the interests of their country.

The peace with Spain produced a considerable effect on the military operations in Italy. No sooner did the court of Madrid consent to the termination of hostilities, than the victorious troops which had crossed the Pyrenees in search of conquests, were conducted to the Appenines, and Kellermann was soon in possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice.

The war, however, for some time was defensive in this quarter; and while the Austrians intrenched themselves at Borghetto and Albenga, the French strengthened their position at Dego, neither of the armies paying the least attention to the neutrality of Genoa, the territories of which were invaded and occupied occasionally by both.

General de Vins, who had again assumed the command of the Austro-Sardinian army, in the mean time extended his redoubts along Mount Balin, which commands Savona and Vado, with the double view of securing a retreat, in case he should be pressed by superior forces, and keeping up the communication with Alexandria and Savona, whence he drew his supplies.

But the army of Italy being at length pressed by famine, in

* By a convention signed at Vienna, on the 4th May, in the present year, between his Britannic majesty and the emperor, it was agreed, that the sum of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, should be raised in England on account of the latter, and that the emperor should in return employ in his different armies in the campaign of this year, a number of troops, which should amount at least to two hundred thousand effective men.

consequence of the capture of all neutral vessels laden with corn in the Mediterranean, a council of war was held at Albenga, on the 26th of October, in which it was determined to attack the imperialists throughout the whole extent of their line, with a view of chasing them from the dominions of Genoa, and obtaining a supply of provisions. Accordingly several partial engagements took place, in one of which the Austrians were driven from Campo di Pietra, by the Generals Augereau and Chastel, with the loss of five hundred prisoners. On the 22d of November they were again attacked by General Scherer in the valley of Loano; and after a battle that lasted from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, the allies were obliged to retreat to Garesio, with the loss of eight thousand men, who were either killed or made prisoners.

The action being renewed next morning at break of day, the enemy fled in confusion towards Savona and Bagniano. In this state of distress, De Vins summoned the senate of Genoa to deliver up the fortress of Savona, and being refused the possession of a place which he was unable to obtain by force, the Austro-Sardinians were obliged to pass the defiles of the Bochetta, and retire towards Acqui; on which the French took possession of Pietre, Loana, Finale, and Vado, as well as of the immense magazines which the Austrians had collected at Savona.

In consequence of this succession of victories, the barriers of the Alps were completely laid open to the invaders; but the excesses which accompanied and followed their triumphs, notwithstanding the repeated proclamations of General Scherer, who endeavoured in vain to render the commanding officers of companies, the colonels of battalions, and generals of brigades and divisions, personally responsible for the malversations of their soldiers, soon reduced the republican army to a state of complete anarchy. In addition to the disorganization that ensued, other circumstances contributed to restrain the farther progress of the French; for the emperor, in consequence of his recent successes on the Rhine, was enabled to detach into Italy a body of twenty-five thousand men, who fortified a position on the back of the Appenines; while the court of Turin, fully aware of its critical situation, sent a reinforcement of six thousand troops to General Colli, who commanded the Sardinian army.

But the rigour of the season prevented the allies from attempting any enterprize of moment; and the intervention of mountains covered with snow, restrained the rage of hostile armies, and procrastinated the fate of Italy.

The conquest of the seven United Provinces, and the entire change in the government, which arose out of that event, prepared the way for a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive between the republic of France, and the republic of Holland, which was concluded at the Hague on the 15th of May, 1795. The necessary consequence of this alliance was, to place the Dutch people, on whose behalf the war was ostensibly undertaken, in a state of actual hostility with England; and his Britannic majesty accordingly issued a proclamation, ordering all Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain to be stopped; and five men of war, nine Indiamen, and about sixty sail of smaller vessels, were immediately detained. This proclamation was followed by an order in council to seize all property whatever of that nation; and on the 15th of September, an order for general reprisals was granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the republic: and in the course of the year all the factories of Holland in Asia, were either obtained by stratagem, or seized after a short resistance by force of arms.

Upon receiving the necessary instructions from England, the government of Madras immediately determined to fit out a small armament, with a view of obtaining possession of the important island of Ceylon. This expedition, which was entrusted to Rear-admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart, sailed towards the middle of the summer, and consisted of the *Suffolk*, which was the flag-ship, the *Centurion*, the *Diomedé*, which joined off Negapatam, and several transports.

Notwithstanding the loss of the *Diomedé*, which struck upon an undescribed rock between Pigeon Island and the outer point of the bay, the first detachment, consisting of five hundred and twenty European and one hundred and ten native soldiers, and two field-pieces, landed without opposition at the White Rocks, on the 3d of August, and were immediately followed by the remainder of the troops. About ten days more were consumed in the debarkation of stores and provisions; after which the English commenced their approaches, opened batteries against the fort of Trincomale, and completed a practicable breach in the course of a week after they had broken ground, during all which operations little or no molestation was experienced on the part of the enemy. Rear-Admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart now summoned the garrison to surrender; and on the 26th of the same month, Major Fornbauer consented to a capitulation, by which the troops, amounting to more than six hundred, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On this the commandant of *Ostentburgh* immediately entered into a negotiation for the sur-

render of that place also, which was accordingly delivered up on terms similar to those granted at Trincomale, and the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts. The fort of Batticaloe was secured a short time afterwards, as well as the settlement of Jaffnapatam, and the fort and military post of Molletivoë.

These important acquisitions were soon followed by the capture of the island of Manar, which was seized by Captain Barbutt, with the flank companies of the 72d regiment and two parties of sepoys. A small armament from Madras, consisting of the *Resistance*, Captain Newcome, some transports, and the *Suffolk's* tender, with four European and a few native troops, commanded by Major Browne, obtained possession of Malacca on the 17th of August; by the acquisition of which additional security was afforded to the British commerce in the straits of that name, as well as in the Chinese seas. Cochin also surrendered to the English arms, with Chinsurah and its dependencies, the fort of Porca, and Quilon; and in fine, all the settlements on the continent of India appertaining to the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time the flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope was transferred to the English.

The invasion of that settlement was undertaken partly with a view of preventing the French from obtaining possession of it, and partly with an intention of securing an intermediate station between Europe and the rich and numerous possessions of Great Britain in the East; and the conduct of the expedition was entrusted to Vice-admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Sir Alured Clarke.

On the 14th of July a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated with the intention of being burnt. Major-general Craig, though entirely destitute of artillery, marched against the enemy, who was posted in great force at Mysenberg. After a long and fatiguing march, the major-general made an unsuccessful attack upon one of the enemy's outposts, which failed, partly from the intricacy of the roads, and partly from the timidity and ignorance of the guides. The British commanders were now reduced to a very distressing dilemma, for neither the numbers nor the energy of their adversaries seemed to diminish; and while no fair opportunity presented itself on the one hand for the army to advance, the navy on the other was unable, on account of the unfavourable season, to form a ready co-operation with the troops, by occupying Table Bay. The arrival of General Clarke with the forces under his command, was of course looked for with in-

tense anxiety ; but such was the exigency of the situation of the British army, that it was determined, if at the expiration of six days no succour arrived, Major-general Craig should march forward under every disadvantage, to try the fortune of an attack, before the total failure of their provisions rendered a retreat unavoidable. They were however anticipated by the enemy, who on their part meditated an assault on the British camp, which in all probability would have decided the fate of this important colony. They accordingly advanced during the night of the 1st of September, with their whole strength, supported by a train of eighteen field-pieces ; and considerable bodies of troops had already made their appearance—when at this critical and important moment, the signal for a fleet, soon after succeeded by the appearance of fourteen large vessels, induced the enemy to relinquish their enterprize, and to return to their former post. This event was decisive of the conquest of the Cape, for on the morning of the 16th an officer arrived from the Dutch Governor Sluysken, in consequence of which a cessation of arms ensued, and the castle and Cape of Good Hope were surrendered to the British arms.

To counterbalance these brilliant successes in the east, our affairs in the western hemisphere wore a less auspicious aspect ; and while the English ministry was fitting out a powerful armament for the West Indies, Victor Hughes not only retained possession of Guadaloupe, but extended his arms and his influence to the neighbouring isles. Declining no arts however inhuman, and no measures however dangerous, he violated the sanctuary of the dead* without compunction, and exposed the living to all the penalties of rebellion without remorse. In one of his numerous proclamations he boasted that eight hundred republicans and two French frigates had conquered the island where he then resided ; and after ridiculing the idea of declaring Guadaloupe to be in a state of blockade, he affirmed that his cruisers “ had taken, sunk, and burnt, eighty-eight of the enemy’s vessels,” while they, according to his account, had “ turned pirates, and ransacked neutral vessels.”

Nor was his government unmindful of the services of this singular man ; for early in the present year a small armament,

* In the latter end of 1794, this commissioner published a proclamation, in which, after stating “ that the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations,” had been violated by the British commanders, he added, “ that the body of Thomas Dundas, Major-general and Governor, interred in Guadaloupe, 3d June (slave style,) should be taken up and given a prey to the birds of the air,” &c.

consisting of a cut-down seventy-four ship of war, four frigates, and ten armed transports, and carrying forty-six guns and five hundred men, arrived safe in the West Indies, with the loss of only one of the frigates. On this the commissioner, who had dispersed proclamations and emissaries every where, determined to extend the theatre of war, and retaliate on the English by attacking them in their own settlements. He began on the 7th of January, with the Island of Grenada, which had formerly appertained to France; and having conveyed a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition thither, with a small body of troops, an insurrection took place under Fedon, on the 10th of April, in consequence of which, the lieutenant-governor and several of the principal inhabitants were taken prisoners.

As materials for combustion are ever ready in colonies where a few whites hold a multitude of negroes in slavery, St. Vincent also was subjected to all the calamities of civil war, which were aggravated greatly by the fury of the Caribbees. The French inhabitants of Dominica were likewise instigated to revolt, and a small detachment sent to their assistance; but they did not hold out so long as in the other islands, for the invaders were resisted by the militia, and obliged to submit as prisoners of war, while those who had joined them were punished with all the rigour of the laws.

Victor Hughes, however, found means to resume possession of St. Lucia, on the 20th of April, having landed a body of troops there under Massades and Lombard, and incited the negroes to revolt by the allurements of liberty, so congenial to the heart of man. Brigadier-general Stuart, after obtaining possession of Vieux Fort, proceeded to attack the enemy at Souffriere; but he was anticipated in his intentions, and although he found means to dissipate an ambuscade, yet his troops were compelled, at the close of an engagement of seven hours, to retire. The capture of Pigeon Island, and the loss of the Vigie soon after rendered St. Lucia no longer tenable; it was accordingly determined to evacuate it, which was happily effected without any loss, on the 19th of June, by Captain Barrett of the Experiment.

Nearly about the same time, the Maroons, instigated by real or supposed injuries, took up arms in Jamaica; in consequence of which a contest commenced, and was carried on with a spirit of relentless hostility never before practised by Englishmen. On all former occasions, when the insurgent slaves, or such of their descendents as had been admitted to the protection of the British government, made war upon the colonists, no unmanly or perfidious stratagems were recurred to, but

they were constantly overcome by the superior bravery, discipline, and resources, of the Europeans and Creoles. Yet upon the present, not only Spanish arts, but Spanish arms were employed for their extirpation; the ferocity of the canine race, for the first time in our history, was invoked in aid of the soldiery; while the women, children, and old men, were exposed to the rage of blood-hounds; and the public faith itself is said to have been violated in respect to the articles of a treaty entered into with these deluded people. But their sufferings did not end here; for such as the sword had spared were transported from the tropical region of the Atlantic Isles, and exposed to all the rigours of polar cold in Upper Canada, until they were at length transferred by the interposition of some humane individuals to a more congenial climate on the coast of Africa.

From scenes such as these the indignant Briton will readily avert his eyes to contemplate the more honourable triumphs of that navy destined to add to the glory and protection of his native country.

Notwithstanding the naval power of France had been greatly reduced, and the spirit of her seamen almost entirely annihilated by the memorable engagement off Ushant in the course of the former campaign, she yet found means early in the spring to fit out a squadron in the Mediterranean. Toulon, although hitherto supposed to have been rendered incapable of furnishing a supply of stores for that purpose, was the port whence this armament, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, and two corvettes, issued forth, with a view of making a descent upon Corsica, and restoring that island to the dominion of its former masters.

Vice-admiral Hotham having received intimation from Genoa that this fleet had been seen off the isle of Marguerite, left Leghorn road in pursuit of it, on the 9th of March, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four armed vessels. Anticipating the enemy's destination, he shaped his course accordingly, and sent orders for the Berwick, then at St. Fiorenzo, to join him off Cape Corse; but he received the unwelcome news that this ship, after an action in which Captain Littlejohn, the commander, was killed, had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

Although the respective squadrons were seen daily by the advanced frigates of both, yet they did not descry each other until after the lapse of three days, when the French were discovered to windward. As they evinced no inclination to bear down, the signal was made by the admiral for a general chase; in the course of which, the weather being squally and

blowing very fresh, one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was perceived to have lost her top-masts. On this the *Inconstant*, which acted as repeating-frigate to the commander-in-chief, attacked, raked, and harrassed this vessel until the arrival of the *Agamemnon* of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Nelson, since so much renowned in the naval annals of his country, rendered her a complete wreck; but he was twice recalled by signal from the *Brittania*, as several of the enemy's ships were advancing to her succour, by one of which she was soon after taken in tow.

Finding that the British squadron did not gain upon that of the French, the ships of the latter being fresh from port, the vice-admiral gave orders to form on the larboard line of bearing; and perceiving the disabled ship with her consort separated from and to leeward of the main body, it was determined to reduce the enemy to the alternative of either abandoning two of their line of battle ships or coming to action.

The Captain and Bedford, of 74 guns each, were accordingly despatched to secure these vessels: on this, the French squadron bore down to their assistance, and a partial action ensued, in the course of which the British van ships, particularly the *Illustrious* and *Courageux*, not only lost their main and mizen masts, but suffered considerably, the former having twenty seamen and marines killed, and seventy wounded. But although nothing further was effected, the *Ca Ira* of 80 and the *Censeur* of 74, which had been separated from the French fleet, were captured after an obstinate and very bloody engagement; for one of these ships having one thousand three hundred, and the other one thousand on board, their decks were strewed with carnage, and they lost between three and four hundred men; the whole loss on the part of the English amounting only to seventy-five killed, and two hundred and eighty wounded.(26.)

(26.) The force of the British, on this occasion, is said in the text to have consisted of 14 sail of the line, 4 frigates, and 4 corvettes; and that of their antagonists to have amounted to 15 sail of the line, 4 frigates and 2 corvettes. We find, however, in another historical work,* a statement of the comparative numbers of each fleet, by which it appears (estimating the British ships of the line to carry 84 guns) that the French force was inferior to that of their antagonists, by about fifty guns; besides, as the British also lost two 74's, one taken by the French fleet, and the other so much injured that they were compelled to run her ashore, it could hardly be called a victory, on their part. It is worthy of remark, that the two French vessels captured, were part of the fleet said to have been destroyed at Toulon.

* Stephens' History of the wars of the French revolution, vol. 2, p. 61.

Notwithstanding this success, a flying squadron, consisting of the *Agamemnon*, *Maleager*, *Ariadne*, *Moselle*, and *Mutine* cutter, under the command of Captain Nelson, was chased on the 7th July, into St. Fiorenzo bay by twenty-three sail of the enemy, seventeen of which proved to be of the line. On this admiral Hotham immediately put to sea, and the enemy was at length descried to leeward. But as six of the English squadron were unluckily forced to bend main-top-sails in the room of those that were split in the course of the night, some time was lost, and the attempt to cut the French off from the land, whence they were only five leagues distant proved abortive: about eight o'clock the signal was hoisted for a general chase, and a few of the van ships got up with their rear about noon, in consequence of which a partial action took place, and the *Alcide*, French ship of 74 guns, struck, but about half an hour after she caught fire and was consumed. The rest of the fleet being favoured by a change of wind, took shelter in Frejus Bay, and eluded all further pursuit.

On the 26th of August, a detachment from the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of six ships of the line, under the command of Captain Nelson, proceeded to the bays of Alassio and Languelia, in the neighbourhood of Vado; whence he cut out nine ships belonging to the French. On the other hand, the *Censeur* and part of the Mediterranean convoy were taken nearly about the same time by a squadron under Richery, consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates; and that admiral being afraid either to keep the sea or return to a French port, immediately took shelter in Cadiz, which was afterwards blockaded by the English.

A small detachment from the channel fleet evinced in the course of this summer a manifest superiority over the French, both in skill and resolution. Vice-admiral Cornwallis, whose flag was flying on board a first-rate, with four seventy-four-gun ships, and two frigates, fell in with a fleet of thirteen line-of-battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, near the Penmarks. In consequence of a change of wind the enemy obtained the weather-gage, and while one of their large ships began to fire upon the *Mars*, a frigate, which had kept to leeward, ran up upon her larboard quarter, and frequently yawed and fired with an unusual portion of gallantry, while the other ships kept up a distant cannonade. Towards evening an attempt was made to cut off this vessel, which was at some distance from the squadron; on which the English admiral bore up for her support, and all the ships under his command evinced such a determined

spirit, that the superior fleet drew off, and before sunset tacked and stood away.(27.)

A portion of the same fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line and eleven frigates, was on the 22d of June perceived off Port L'Orient, by Admiral Lord Bridport, whose flag was flying in the Royal George, with a strong squadron, consisting of two ships of a hundred, three of ninety-eight, one of eighty, and four of seventy-four guns, under his command.(28.) Perceiving that the French declined a contest, four of the fastest sailing men-of-war were the first detached,—and the whole followed soon after in quest of the enemy, the pursuit continuing during the night. Early next morning the headmost ships came up with the enemy, and after an action of three hours, the *Alexander*, *Formidable*, and *Tigre*, struck, and had not the remainder been protected by the land, more would perhaps have been captured; however, when it is recollected that the action was fought in the face of batteries, and before a strong naval port, it must be allowed to have evinced considerable gallantry on the part of the British squadron.

In the course of this summer the coasting trade of France was greatly distressed, and many of her armed ships captured, by the zeal and attention of the English cruisers. Several commanders, well acquainted with all the rocks, shoals, and harbours, distinguished themselves upon this occasion; particularly Sir W. S. Smith, who in the *Diamond* chased some of

(27.) After reading this account, it can no longer be a matter of doubt, that the English navy was fully entitled to claim the empire of the ocean. A French fleet, it seems, of 13 sail of the line, 14 frigates, 2 brigs, and a cutter, is put to flight by a British squadron of 5 sail of the line, and 2 frigates! Supposing the frigates on both sides to have carried 40 guns each, the number of guns in the French fleet amounted to about 1,600, and that of the British to about 400; a disproportion which it required British valour to surmount, and British historians to record. When it is remembered, however, that one Englishman has always been considered in that country equal to three Frenchmen, our admiration is in some degree abated. If the victory had been gained by any other people, therefore, we should have added one feeble tribute of admiration to the eulogies bestowed in the text; but when between Englishmen and Frenchmen the proportion is only four to one in favour of the latter, we take it as a matter of course that the French vessels suffered an ignominious defeat, particularly after the instances of British valour recorded in the annals of this country, such as the chase of Commodore Rodgers by a small frigate, and the capture of the *President* by the *Endymion*, without the assistance of any other vessel.

(28.) The force of the British fleet on this occasion is said in the Annual Register to have consisted of 14 sail of the line, with 8 frigates, carrying much heavier metal than their opponents.

their corvettes on shore, and engaged with their land batteries, while Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Richard Strachan, and Sir Edward Pellew, lost no opportunity of exhibiting the most determined spirit of enterprise.

Of all the actions between single ships during the present campaign, and perhaps also during the whole of the war, no one deserves more particular notice than that which occurred between the *Blanche*, mounting thirty-two, (29.) and *La Pique*, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and sixty men, in the West-Indies. Capt. Faulknor, who commanded the former, during a cruise off the island of Guadaloupe, perceived a frigate at anchor, on the 5th of January, near Pointe-a-Petre, under protection of the batteries. Next day, finding that this vessel had come out, and was two leagues astern, he made sail for, and about noon passed under her lee on the starboard tack, exchanging broadsides at the same time; and after an engagement of five hours, during which *La Pique* had seventy-six men killed and one hundred and ten wounded, she surrendered to the *Blanche*; but the gallant Captain Faulknor, who had before distinguished himself in the sight of the English fleet and army at the assault of Fort Royal, was no longer alive to receive the sword of his vanquished rival, having fallen by a shot which proved mortal, in the midst of the action.* The superior skill and seamanship of the victors will appear more conspicuous when it is stated, that during the whole of this memorable fight, eight of them only were killed, and twenty-one wounded.

In fine, the naval campaign of this year was peculiarly auspicious to England, for she lost only four ships: the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, in the Mediterranean; the *Le Censeur*, of seventy-four, retaken by the enemy off Cape St. Vincent; the *Daphne*, which was forced to yield to two men-of-war; and the *Nemesis*, of seventy-eight guns, taken by two frigates, in the port of Smyrna. While on the other hand, the French had about fifty armed vessels of various descriptions, sunk, destroyed, and captured: of these one was a ship of ninety-eight guns, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, two of forty-four, one of forty-two, two of forty, one of thirty-eight, and one of thirty. And in addition to the five Dutch men-of-war, detained in England, one of sixty-four was seized at Cork, and six smaller ships were captured in other places.

(29.) That is, probably about forty-two guns.

* A monument has since been erected at the public expense to commemorate the exploits of this brave and able commander. in *S. Paul's Cathedral. London*

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY. *Session of Parliament of 1795; his Majesty's Speech; Address; renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; Ways and Means; Motion for Enquiry—Affairs of Ireland; Earl Fitzwilliam appointed Lord-Lieutenant; Measures of his Government; his Recall; Discussions thereon in the British Parliament—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade lost—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Termination of the Session of Parliament—Distracted State of Ireland—Treaties with America and Russia—The Duke of York appointed Commander in Chief—Petitions for Peace—Riots in Westminster—Revival of the Charge against Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre; their Trial and Acquittal—Alarming Scarcity—Outrageous Attack on the King on his way to open the Session of Parliament; Proclamation thereon—Treason and Sedition Acts—Ways and Means—Message from his Majesty—Birth of the Princess Charlotte of Wales—Motion for Peace; for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Second Loan—Motion for the Appointment of a Committee of Finance; for Censure on Ministers—Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament.*

THE session of Parliament of 1795 opened under circumstances of great public difficulty. The coalition formed against the enemy in 1793 was on the eve of dissolution; already had Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia, exhibited indications of declining zeal abroad, while some of the most independent supporters of the war at home were ready to propose a negotiation for peace with Republican France. Undismayed by these inauspicious circumstances, and strengthened by the accession of several men of talents and of influence from the ranks of opposition, ministers determined to persevere in a contest involving, as they contended, not merely the vital interests of this country, but the security and repose of all the other governments of Europe. With such sentiments prevailing in the cabinet, parliament assembled on the 30th of December, 1794, when the king, in his speech from the throne, informed the two houses, "that notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which the allied arms had experienced in the course of the last campaign, he retained a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged, confident that it was only from firmness and perseverance that we could hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds." "In considering the situation of our enemies," his majesty remarked, "parliament would not fail to observe that the efforts which had led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, had produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected, and that

every thing which had passed in the interior of the country had shewn the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system which must prove equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations. He should therefore continue to use the most effectual means for the augmentation of his forces, and should omit no opportunity of concerting the measures of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same necessity of vigour and exertion." He concluded with expressing a confident hope that, under the protection of providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, would ultimately be successful, and that his faithful people would find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the enjoyment of secure and permanent tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greatest danger with which it had been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.

Earl Camden, in moving the address, drew a contrast between the situation of France and his country, much to the advantage of the latter. His Lordship strenuously urged the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and contended that the present was the most improper season for making peace that could possibly be chosen. The Earl of Guildford, in moving an amendment to the address, urged "the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the present object of the war,—the dictating of a government to France." The Marquis of Lansdowne declared that he could see no difficulty in treating with France at the present period, nor could he admit the objection that there was no power existing in that country to treat with. "When persons," said his Lordship, "wish to make up a quarrel, when there is a sincere desire for peace on both sides, the means of effecting reconciliation are always to be found, and France, amidst all her change of parties, had, in no one instance, since the revolution, falsified her engagements with foreign states." After a very animated debate, the amendment was rejected, by a majority of 107 to 12 voices.

In the lower house, the debate on the same subject was still more interesting. On the address being moved by Mr. Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning,

Mr. Wilberforce, the representative of the county of York, and an intimate friend of the minister, to whom he had hitherto afforded his support, rose to object, that the obvious tendency of the address was to pledge the house to a prosecu-

tion of the war till there should be a counter-revolution in France. He further observed, that in his majesty's speech, he was sorry to say, there was nothing pacificatory ; although the jacobin system, so hostile to this kingdom, had been destroyed, and there appeared an assumption, at least, of moderation, on the part of the new rulers of that country.—“ The confederacy against France,” he observed, “ was now dissolved, and her internal disorders were appeased ; how then could we conquer a people who had resisted with such success, when assailed by the combined forces of Europe from without, and when distracted with insurrections from within ? The retrospect of our affairs was bad, but the prospect before us was still worse ; like the waves of the ocean, the armies of France seemed rapidly overthrowing every thing that stood in their way. Regardless of slighter difficulties, they looked merely to the convention, and thought themselves bound to adhere to what they perceived would alone keep the country together. This circumstance it was, which first had staggered his opinion with relation to the probability of ultimate success in the contest in which we were unhappily engaged. He was well aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France when that country was united in opinion and in act, and he scrupled not to add, that though a friend to monarchy, he did not conceive a monarchy to be the fittest form of government for France, in present circumstances, as the current of prejudice set so strongly against it.” He added “ that he did not think this country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace : true magnanimity consisted in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determining to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required, by an alteration in the state of affairs. Those who thought it so easy to effect a counter-revolution in France, should recollect that revolutionary principles had now been six years prevalent in that country, and that a new generation was rising up, who had been educated in and familiarized to them. Equitable proposals for a negociation would at all events be beneficial to this kingdom, and if rejected, every person would unite with government in carrying on with vigour what would then in reality be a just and necessary war.” Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving an amendment to the address, embracing the principal topic contained in his speech. Mr. Duncombe, his colleague, seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Burdon, Mr. Banks, and Sir Richard Hill, the latter of whom observed, that the object of the continental war had been stated in one word—*security*.—But if we were asked what we had gained by the war, short

as had been the period of its duration, we might be answered in another word—*ruin*.

Mr. Pitt rose under visible emotion, and expressed his astonishment at the language of those members who, after voting for the war, had now become the advocates of peace. "Neither the speech nor the address," he affirmed, "pledged the house never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of a secure peace till the return of the monarchy. The recent change which had taken place in France was a change merely in name and not in substance, and the present government no more deserved the name of moderate than that under Brissot," which, as he asserted, "had provoked this country to war. Peace, could it be obtained, would not place us in a situation of confidence; we must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Hostilities would again commence on the part of the French, when our military power was diminished, and we should again be opposed to an enemy who might have found it as difficult to disband his armies as we should to obtain fresh forces. Even if disposed to peace, the French rulers would be compelled by fear to give their troops new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy we could not again hope to see it restored, and we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France." In conclusion, Mr. Pitt entered into a variety of details to shew that the French finances were in the very gulf of bankruptcy, and that the expenditure of the government since the revolution, had amounted to three hundred and twenty millions. After a debate protracted to four o'clock in the morning, the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment 75, against it 246.

This subject was frequently resumed during the same session of parliament, on various motions by Earl Stanhope, Mr. Grey, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Wilberforce, all deprecating the idea of interfering in the government of other countries, and recommending the British government not to object to proposals for a general pacification, on account of the present circumstance of France; but these motions were in succession strenuously opposed by ministers, and ultimately lost by large majorities.

On the 5th of January, 1795, the discussion of the suspension of the habeas corpus act was resumed. Mr. Sheridan said, that the preamble to that act stated that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country; but three distinct verdicts of our courts of justice, had shewn that this conspiracy was a mere fabrication of ministers, who had resorted to a species of management in forming the grand jury,

wholly incompatible with the laws and constitution of this realm. The accused, as Mr. Sheridan asserted, had undergone the strictest trial, and though eight thousand pounds had been paid out of the public purse to crown lawyers, and no less than two hundred witnesses had been procured at a vast expense against one culprit, they had all been acquitted by juries of their countrymen. Mr. Lambton, the member for Durham, declared, that though a confiding parliament had during the last session, yielded credit to bare assertions, and suspended the habeas corpus act, by which we held our personal liberties, upon the strength of those assertions; yet the persons accused of high-treason had been acquitted, not only upon principles of law, but of common sense. The evidence had totally failed on the part of the crown lawyers; and their own witness had disproved their case. He wished to know on what pretence ministers demanded a renewal of the bill, and demanded some information respecting these hidden conspiracies:—

“Quis? Quid? Ubi? Quibus? auxiliis? Cur?
Quomodo? Quando?”

Mr. Hardinge, on the other side, strongly contended, that a conspiracy did really exist, though no conspirators had yet been found whom the law had been able to reach. The late verdict of the juries would of itself encourage those who had embarked in these wicked counsels. He affirmed, that it was no common treason that lay before them—it was not English, but French treason, and proved by a mass of evidence, which though it could not effect conviction in the courts of law, well warranted the passing of the suspension bill. Mr. Adair, in supporting the suspension act, maintained, that the suspicions entertained against the accused had not been cleared up to their advantage, and that the transactions of the societies sufficiently proved their treasonable intentions. The debate closed by a division of the house against the repeal, the numbers being 230 to 53, and the bill for the renewal of the act, being transmitted to the house of lords, passed that assembly also, but not without a vigorous protest against it, signed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

On the 23d of February, Mr. Pitt submitted his annual statement of supplies to the consideration of the house. The number of men voted for the service of the year was, one hundred and fifty thousand landmen, including militia; and one hundred thousand seamen; and the loan proposed was eighteen millions, being the largest sum ever voted by parliament up to that period.

The nation, in this stage of the contest, seemed wearied and dispirited with the war, and Mr. Fox, availing himself of this state of the public mind, and of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce, and a number of his friends, from the court party, moved, on the 24th of March, "that the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the state of the nation." Mr. Fox said, that in justification of his motion, nothing more, he thought, was necessary, than to state to the house that, after a contest continued for two years, we had been uniformly unsuccessful, and had relinquished every object for which the war was said to be undertaken, while the enemy had gained more than the wildest imaginations ever ascribed either to their ambition or to their principles. In one view indeed an enquiry must be favourable even to ministers themselves: if, as they asserted, we had entered into the war from necessity, and had conducted it, as they also asserted, with wisdom and vigour, the inquiry would redound to their honour. After a most comprehensive and luminous view of our various relations both foreign and domestic, Mr. Fox concluded by observing, that he thought highly of the eloquence and even of the talents of the present prime-minister, as exerted in a particular line; but he was a minister of art and plausibility merely, not of discernment, nor of candour, nor of generosity—"in rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil honestum."

Mr. Pitt, in reply, asked whether, at a period so arduous and important, and at so advanced a state of the session, it would be expedient to commence an investigation so extensive as that at present proposed? Every topic in the speech just delivered, had, he said, been fully discussed and decided upon: such a committee as that required was therefore as unnecessary as it was improper: it could answer no good purpose at the present moment, but whenever a proper period should arrive for investigating the conduct of the executive government, ministers would not shrink from the inquiry, and it would then be found that moderation and forbearance had uniformly distinguished his majesty's councils. This reasoning of the premier was considered so conclusive by the house, that after a long debate, he was supported by the votes of 219 of the members, while only 63 concurred in the motion for inquiry made by his political rival.

The affairs of Ireland formed one of the most important subjects that engaged the attention of the present parliament. Distracted as this country had long been by political and religious feuds, it became the duty of ministers to take every means within their power to heal these dissensions. With

this view a bill was introduced into the Irish parliament, during the last session, under the auspices of his majesty's government, for removing a number of those disabilities under which his catholic subjects had hitherto laboured, and ministers, acting upon the same enlightened policy, determined, at this most critical juncture, to appoint to the head of the Irish government Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman distinguished for his mild and conciliatory conduct, and of whom it has been justly said, that his only wish is to act right, and his only fear lest he should do wrong. This appointment was peculiarly acceptable to the Irish nation, and his lordship was received with universal satisfaction. The parliament of the sister kingdom assembled on the 22d of January, 1795, and after voting to the new viceroy an address expressive of the general satisfaction, agreed, without hesitation, to the most ample supplies ever granted in that kingdom.

The lord-lieutenant, finding it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the catholics for the removal of the remaining disabilities under which they still continued to labour, employed, in his transactions with the leading members of that body, the celebrated Mr. Grattan, a statesman in whom the catholics universally confided. At the instance of this gentleman, and with the acknowledged confidence of the lord-lieutenant, a bill for the further relief of the catholics was introduced into the Irish parliament, with the most flattering prospects of success, and the utmost joy was diffused through the catholic body in Ireland, in the expectation of this enlarged toleration; but what was their disappointment and chagrin, when, two days after the favourable reception of Mr. Grattan's motion, intelligence arrived in Dublin that the British ministry avowed themselves adverse from the measure of emancipation. The lord-lieutenant himself, foreseeing the consequences that would naturally flow from this unexpected proceeding, did not attempt to conceal his displeasure, and he is said to have declared, that the retraction of an assent so formally given, would raise a flame of rebellion, which could only be extinguished by torrents of blood, and that he would rather retire than be answerable for the consequences. His lordship's recall immediately followed, and after holding the government only three months, he was displaced, and Lord Camden appointed in his stead. As a proof of the estimation in which Lord Fitzwilliam's government was held in Ireland, it is proper to remark, that on the day he quitted that country, the shops in Dublin were shut up, and the whole metropolis was put in mourning.

On the 24th of April, Earl Fitzwilliam appeared in the

English house of peers, and challenged ministers to a full investigation of the nature of his instructions, and the cause of his removal. He said, they had insinuated blame to him in his capacity of the king's representative in Ireland, and the gauntlet they had thus thrown down he now avowed himself willing to take up. A profound silence here ensued on the other side of the house, and the Duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to address the king, that those parts of the correspondence between Earl Fitzwilliam and the ministry, which related to his lordship's recall from his government in Ireland, should be forthwith laid before their lordships. This motion was debated in a full house on the 8th of May, being supported by the Duke of Leeds, Earl Moira, and Earl Fitzwilliam himself, who positively avowed that he went out expressly authorised to complete the measure of catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the steps he had adopted for that purpose, until he had proceeded to the dismissal of certain persons in office inimical to that measure, and had taken other gentlemen into his favour and confidence.*

Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal discussion of the subject, being prevented by reasons of state which he could not with propriety explain. The motion, he observed, called upon ministers to violate the secrets of the cabinet and the sanctity of their oaths; but he asked in what respect the situation of a lord-lieutenant differed from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure? and affirmed that the noble lord complained with an ill grace of being himself removed from office, after he had exercised his authority in the removal of so many others. His lordship in conclusion observed, that he had witnessed the removal of many lord-lieutenants, without a single complaint to parliament on the subject, and to adopt a new course would be to change the constitution, and to convert the house of parliament into a committee of public safety. After a long and vigorous debate, the house divided—contents, 25; noncontents, 100. A similar motion in the house of commons, moved by Mr. Jekyl and seconded by Mr. Fox, was lost by a majority of 188 to 49.

* By these changes, Mr. Beresford, who, with his political friends, was left in an unofficial minority, repaired to London, and immediately after his conferences with the British cabinet, a new system was adopted, the veto was put upon further proceedings in the measure of catholic emancipation, and the reign of protestant ascendancy was restored.

During the present session of parliament, an event of great national importance took place in the marriage of the heir-apparent to the throne of this kingdom. His royal highness espoused his royal father's niece Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick and the Duchess Augusta of England, and Lord Malmsbury was employed to conduct the royal bride from her father's court. On her arrival in England she was received with every mark of distinction due to her royal birth and illustrious alliance. Having arrived at St. James's, the people, with the ardent eagerness of spontaneous loyalty, received the beautiful stranger with long-continued shouts of congratulation. To these unequivocal expressions of the public regard she could not be insensible, and while she was standing at the window with the prince, she addressed the people concisely but impressively in the following terms, expressed in good English:—"Believe me, I feel very happy and delighted to see the good and brave English people—the best nation upon the earth." On the 8th of April the marriage of their royal highnesses took place in the chapel royal, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence suitable to the rank of the illustrious parties.

On the 27th of April, a message from his majesty to the commons, announcing the marriage of the prince, expressed the king's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was under pecuniary incumbrances, and recommended to parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose part of the income which should have been settled on the prince, and appropriating to that object the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the house, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, together with thirteen thousand pounds arising from the duchy of Cornwall, should be settled upon the prince, of which seventy-eight thousand pounds should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, which amounted at this period to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds, and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the house, and a jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum was settled upon the Princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

Mr. Wilberforce, persevering in his efforts to rescue the

much injured inhabitants of Africa from the merciless gripe of commercial avarice, this year renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade; but after a very animated debate, the motion was negatived, though the eloquence of both Fox and Pitt were displayed in its support.

The long depending trial by impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq. which had commenced on the 12th of February, 1788, terminated in his acquittal on the 23d of April in the present year. Out of twenty-nine peers who pronounced judgment on the occasion, twenty-three declared the accused innocent of the whole of the twenty-four charges preferred against him; and which resolved themselves into four heads: by the first and second of which the governor was accused of cruelty and extortion towards Cheyt Sing, and towards the Begums of Oude; by the third, with receiving presents to the amount of two hundred and sixty-nine thousand pounds, as bribes for obtaining particular services; and by the last, with granting contracts to the prejudice of the East India Company.

The session of parliament was terminated on the 27th of June by a speech from the throne, which breathed the air of pacification, and his majesty was graciously pleased to declare it to be impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we were contending, without indulging a hope that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace.

The situation of public affairs in Ireland assumed a most portentous aspect at the present period; the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam had cast a deep gloom over the country, and the arrival of his successor in the capital, on the 31st of March, was accompanied by so marked an ebullition of popular discontent, that the intervention of the military was found necessary to maintain public tranquillity. On the 13th of April the Irish parliament assembled, and on the 21st of that month a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an inquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam; but strange as it may appear, this motion was negatived by a large majority of that parliament who had almost unanimously, and apparently with enthusiasm, supported all the measures of the preceding administration. On the 24th Mr. Grattan presented his memorable bill for catholic emancipation, but the time for extending the privileges of that numerous body had gone

past, and on the second reading, which took place on the 4th of May, the bill was rejected by seventy-one votes.

From this period the political association styled the society of *United Irishmen*, rapidly extended itself over the whole country. All the catholics, and a large proportion of the protestants of the kingdom, joined this community, and the leaders began, as was too truly predicted, to entertain dangerous designs, and to form illegal and treasonable connexions with the government of France. Secret oaths of adherence to the association were administered; and agents were sent to negotiate with the national convention. Acts of sedition, rapine, and murder were perpetrated by the most desperate of the lawless and licentious populace; while on the other hand, the sanguine and violent supporters of the system of exclusion confederated together for the purposes of security and revenge, under the name of *Orangemen*, in societies styled Orange Lodges. Mutual injuries soon engendered a most inveterate hatred between these two descriptions of men, one of which was beyond comparison superior in number, and the other in property, in legal authority, and military force; and these dissensions rapidly increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of consternation, blood, and horror.

But it is time to turn from these deplorable scenes, which will, however, again force themselves upon our notice, to take a view of our foreign relations:—In the month of November, 1794, a treaty of amity and commerce was signed in London, by Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay, between the crown of Great Britain and the United States of America: and in the February following a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with the imperial court of Russia.

The office of commander-in-chief, and field marshal general of the forces of Great Britain, was this year conferred upon his majesty's second son, Frederick Duke of York, on the resignation of the venerable Lord Amherst, who retired from public life with the well merited thanks of his country.

Early in the present year, a spirit of discontent, arising out of the dubious origin and disastrous prosecution of the war, pervaded the country, and the necessity of peace for the renovation of our manufactures, the revival of commerce, and the recruit of our finances, produced petitions for that purpose, from the cities of London, York, and Norwich, and from the towns of Hull and Manchester, as well as from several other places of inferior note: but these petitions were not sufficiently general to produce any material impression, and their influence was counteracted by counter-petitions, expressive of a confident reliance in the wisdom of government, and in their readi-

ness to enter upon negotiations for peace whenever the proper period should arrive.

In the month of July, some serious riots, which continued for several days, took place in Westminster, arising out of the excesses committed in several crimping houses in that city, and the mob, who had long shewn a marked aversion to the prime-minister, repaired to his house, in Downing-street, where they broke the windows, and were proceeding to further excesses, but the minister had sufficient address to escape by the park gate, into the horse guards, and the presence of a body of military soon restored the public tranquillity. During this period of alarm and agitation, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, the persons accused of a conspiracy to take away the life of the king, by shooting at him a poisoned dart through a tube, were again apprehended by a warrant from the privy council, and along with one Crossfield, a surgeon, who had been for some time a prisoner in the town of Brest, were put upon their trial for imagining the death of the sovereign; but the evidence adduced against them chiefly rested on the authority of one Upton, an informer, and after a full investigation of the case, they were all pronounced not guilty, by a jury of their countrymen. In the autumn of this year, great apprehensions were excited, by large assemblages of the populace, convened by the corresponding society, which still continued its meetings; and on the 26th of October, not less than 40,000 persons assembled in a field at Chalk Farm, near Copenhagen House, for the purpose of voting a number of resolutions, expressive of their views of the measures of government, and a petition, praying that the "bill recently introduced into the house, for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention of popular assemblies, for the purpose of political investigation, might be dismissed with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserved." They further entreated the honourable house to believe, that they felt a "sincere abhorrence of all tumult and violence," and their behaviour on this occasion, which was decent, orderly, and becoming, supported the truth of their assertion.

To the agitations produced by the conflicts of parties, was now to be added another evil still more alarming. A scarcity arising almost to famine prevailed throughout the kingdom, and such was the deplorable situation of the labouring classes, that numbers of them actually perished from want. This scarcity was occasioned, in part at least, by an alarming deficiency in the year's crop, which had suffered extremely by incessant rains, and partly by the waste and increased consumption of a long protracted and unsuccessful war. The

state of the nation from these circumstances, appeared so critical, that it was judged expedient to assemble parliament at an earlier period than usual.

On the 29th of October, the day fixed for the meeting of parliament, an unusual concourse of people assembled in the Park, and as his majesty passed to the house, violent exclamations were heard of—*Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! No War!* and the clamour gradually increasing, stones began to be thrown at the royal carriage, as it proceeded through the streets of Westminster; and from a house in Margaret-street, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On entering the house of peers, his majesty, in some perturbation, addressing the lord-chancellor, said, “My lord, I have been shot at.” But the rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted, for on his return from the house, the king was again assailed in the park, and to such a pitch of audacity did the mob carry their resentment, that one party of them attacked and nearly demolished the state carriage as it returned empty from St. James’s, while another party attempted to stop the private carriage of the king, in which he had seated himself for the purpose of joining his family at the queen’s house, and even to force open the carriage doors. In this last attack, the king, for the moment, seemed to lose his characteristic firmness, and was evidently struck with amazement and consternation; but upon the arrival at so critical a moment of a party of the life-guards, the populace were dispersed, and the king, with great difficulty, and even danger, reached the queen’s house. So gross an outrage as this had never been offered to any monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles I. and the conduct of the mob excited the deep and universal execration of all orders of persons throughout the nation.

A proclamation was immediately issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds to be paid on conviction of any person concerned in this daring and criminal assault; but it is remarkable that no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. A man of the name of Kidd Wake, by trade a journeyman printer, was indeed found to have been amongst the hissing and disturbers of the king’s peace, of which crime he was convicted, and sentenced to five years’ solitary confinement in the penitentiary-house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory; but no other person was brought to punishment, though three others, all in obscure

situations in life, were apprehended, and underwent repeated examinations.

The spirit which had dictated these excesses appeared to his majesty's government to call for an extension of the treason and sedition laws, and two bills were in consequence brought into parliament, the former "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts;"* and the latter "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."† The restrictions imposed by these bills upon the free constitution of the country, subjected them to the most vigorous opposition both in and out of parliament, but neither the eloquence

* This bill which was introduced into the upper house by Lord Grenville, and which in consequence obtained the name of the "Grenville Act," consisted of two parts; the first made a very momentous change in the law, and an extension in the punishment for the crime of treason: it declared the commission of any offence, by deed or by words, spoken, written or printed, or shewn in any other open manner, or in any way *tending* to the imprisonment, deposition, or death of the king, or his heirs and successors, a conspiracy to levy war, in order to overawe the parliament, and to effect a change of counsels; or to instigate any foreigner or stranger, by force to invade any of the king's dominions; to be high treason, during the king's natural life, and till the end of the next session of parliament after the demise of the crown. The second part extended the crime, and aggravated the punishment of sedition: to excite dislike and hatred to the person of the king, or to the persons of his heirs and successors, or to the government and constitution of this realm, as by law established, by deed, by advised speech, or by words written or printed, subjected the offender for the first offence to the pains and penalties incurred by the commission of a high misdemeanor, and for the second, to the usual punishments prescribed by law, or to transportation for seven years, at the discretion of the court.

† The law introduced into the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 10th of November, and called the "Pitt Act," enacted that all assemblies exceeding fifty in number, and not already recognised by law, if convened for addressing the king or parliament, with the view, or on the pretext of considering grievances, or procuring an alteration in the church or state, should be declared unlawful, and liable to dispersion by a magistrate, after reading a proclamation for that purpose, unless the assembly were collected by a public advertisement, signed by seven resident householders, and a true copy of it, subscribed by them, were left with the publisher, who, under a penalty of fifty pounds, must deliver it to any justice of the peace by whom it should be demanded. It further provided, that disobedience for more than one hour to the magistrates' order to disperse should subject any individual of a number above twelve, to the punishment of death; and even an assembly held by regular advertisement, in the same manner, and with the same risk to the disobedient, might be dispersed, if any measures, which, in the judgment of a magistrate, should be thought subversive of the constitution, or tending to excite the people to hatred, or dislike, or contempt of the royal family, or of the parliament, were proposed. And for the purpose of suppressing certain political lectures, any person opening a house for political discussions, without a license, incurred a penalty of one hundred pounds.

of the advocates of public liberty in the senate, or the voice of 400,000 petitioners in various parts of the country, could prevail, for in the month of December, both these bills passed into laws.

Amidst these stormy discussions, the senate was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn. It appeared, from the information laid before a committee of the house appointed to inquire into this subject, that the principal failure in the late harvest had been in the crop of wheat, and a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was in consequence ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings per quarter on that from America; and five shillings per quarter on Indian corn. Bills were also introduced and passed the two houses of parliament for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain; and for facilitating the cultivation of waste lands; and a considerable number of inclosure bills passed the house in the course of this session of parliament.

To these consultations succeeded others respecting the military and naval force of the kingdom: and on the 4th of November, Lord Arden moved that one hundred and ten thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1796; and Mr. Windham, on the same occasion, proposed that two hundred and seven thousand men should be employed in the land service. These motions being carried, Mr. Pitt brought forward, on the 7th of December, a proposal to negotiate a loan of eighteen millions, and stated the sum of twenty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds to be the estimated expenses of the approaching year.

His majesty, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the present session of parliament, had observed, "That the distraction and anarchy which had so long prevailed in France had now led to a crisis, of which it was impossible to see the issue; but that should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and afford a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for a general peace on just and suitable terms should not fail to be met on his part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect." This declaration on the part of his majesty was followed by a message delivered to the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of December, announcing "the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the

relations of peace and amity, and expressive of a readiness on the part of the British government to meet any proposal for negociation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace." And on the following day Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply, thanking his majesty for his most gracious communication. This address gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment, altogether disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negociation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat : where then could be the objection to declaring, that she would treat with France ? " It is," said Mr. Sheridan, " a vulgar, and indeed, the most vulgar of opinions, to suppose that it is disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace. The experience of history proves the reverse ; and were peace now proposed on reasonable terms by his majesty's ministers, it would not be possible for the French government to refuse their assent." To this reasoning ministers observed, that it was highly proper and expedient, that the executive government should be left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

The year 1796 was ushered in by the birth of a princess, at present heiress to the Prince of Wales, and who appears likely to give to England a female reign. This princess was born on the 7th of January, and baptized Charlotte, in compliment to her august grandmother, the queen of these realms. (30.)

After the recess of parliament, Mr. Grey moved, on the 15th of February, an address to the king, praying him to communicate to the executive government of France, his readiness to meet any disposition to negociate a general peace. This motion was resisted by the ministry on the same grounds as the amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion, previously moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of February, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his annual attempt to effect the abolition of the Slave Trade. This motion was supported by the eloquence of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and a number of other members on both sides of the house ; but it was opposed with equal vehemence by Sir William Younger, Mr. Dundas, and General Tarleton, and ulti-

(30.) This princess is since dead, in consequence of which the Duke of York is the presumptive successor to the Prince Regent.

mately lost, to the great chagrin and disappointment of every friend to humanity and justice.

During this session of parliament, a circumstance of a very unusual nature occurred : on the 18th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward a proposition, for a second loan to the amount of seven millions and a half, in order to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper, constituting the unfunded debt. This measure, which was considered as resulting from a profuse and uncalled for expenditure of the public money, by which a sum amounting to forty-three millions sterling had been required by ministers, in the short period of fourteen months, had to encounter a very animated opposition, but the motion of the premier ultimately prevailed, and the resolutions were carried by a large majority.

Early in the month of May, motions were made in the two houses of parliament, for the appointment of committees of finance, to ascertain how far the public expense had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament, but these motions were negatived, in both houses, by majorities that might have been thought sufficient to repress any further parliamentary attempt to interfere with the appropriation of the public revenue.

On the tenth of the same month an address to the king was moved in both houses—in the upper house, by the Earl of Guildford, and in the lower house by Mr. Fox. This address declared, “that the duty incumbent on parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country was then subjected, had arisen from the misconduct of the king’s ministers, and was likely to exist and increase as long as the same principles, which had hitherto guided these ministers, should continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.” In introducing this address, which was of great length, and cogency, Mr. Fox enlarged much on that most fatal, as he called it, of all the innumerable errors of ministers, their rushing into a ruinous and unnecessary war, instead of mediating between France and the allied powers. “Had they,” said he, “counselled his majesty to accept the grateful office of mediator, it would have added lustre to the national character, and placed Britain in the exalted situation of arbitress of the world. That was the period when Great Britain might have interfered with advantage, with decision, and with effect. Her seasonable interposition would have produced the peace of Europe. But from the refusal of our good offices, the natural conclusion was, that, although England saw the growing discord, and

had the means of preventing it, she thought proper to become an accessory in the designs formed against France." Mr. Fox then, adverting to the immediate and specific causes of the war, remarked, that from the moment Lord Gower was recalled,* there was no way left to make any regular application to the French government, and how could we expect the redress of any grievances from a government of which we did not acknowledge the existence? In allusion to the celebrated publication of Mr. Burke, on the French revolution—that splendid effusion of genius, and of imagination, Mr. Fox said, that the ministry and the nation had been dazzled with the brilliancy of a fatal constellation, from which death and distraction had issued, and the world had been desolated. This it was which had induced ministers to run headlong into the ruinous abyss of war and carnage. For his own part, he had, from the commencement of the contest, advised the recognition of the new government of France, as the first and most essential step to be taken in order to effect the restoration of peace: and of the necessity of this measure it now appeared that his majesty's ministers were at length convinced, though he feared that the men who had shewn themselves so incompetent to conduct with success, the war, in which they had plunged the nation, would be found no less inadequate to the conclusion of a safe and honourable peace.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, insisted that his majesty could not have interposed his mediation without incurring the hazard of involving himself in a war with that power which should have refused his terms. He again expatiated on the danger arising to all Europe, from the revolutionary decree of the 19th of November,† and the insult offered to this country in particular, in the encouragement given to the seditious and treasonable addresses presented to the convention, by whom the bearers of them were cherished, applauded, and caressed; and while the negotiations were yet pending, war was actually declared by France: that country, therefore, and not England, was the aggressor. This nation had no alternative; and after a war of more than three years—a war approved and sanctioned by that house, by repeated votes and declarations—a war justifiable on every principle of morality, and essential to the

* By the treaty of commerce and navigation entered into between Great Britain and France, and signed at Versailles, on the 26th of September, 1786, "the recall or sending home of the respective ambassadors or ministers," is deemed equivalent to a declaration of war." See second article in that treaty, page 139 of this volume.

† See a copy of the Decree of Fraternity, in the 133d page of this volume.



ITALY
with the
ALPINE FRONTIER.

British Miles.
0 20 40 60 80 100

Longitude East from Greenwich.

very existence of our constitution, would the house now acknowledge themselves in a delusion? Would they submit to the humiliating degradation of falsely arraigning themselves, and of passing on their own acts a sentence of condemnation? It was a war of which the necessity and policy were manifest: and if the country should at any time suffer a disastrous reverse of fortune, he would exhort them not to yield to a temporary pressure; but on the contrary, to redouble their efforts, in order to surmount their difficulties, and finally to obtain safe and honourable conditions of peace. Nor, on the other hand, if success were gained, should the prospect of obtaining more and further advantages be relinquished, by a premature readiness to make peace. These arguments were deemed conclusive, and the motions of both Mr. Fox and Lord Guildford were lost by prodigious majorities.

The public business being now concluded, his majesty terminated the session of parliament on the 19th of May with a speech from the throne, expressive of the highest approbation of "the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness, which had appeared in all the proceedings, since their first meeting in that place;" and on the following day a proclamation was issued for the dissolution of parliament.

CHAPTER XXII.

Italian Campaign of 1796: General Bonaparte appointed Commander-in-chief—Opening of the Campaign—Success of the French Army—Sardinia detached from the Coalition—Italy over-run by the Conqueror—The Pope and the King of Naples sue for an Armistice—Its Conditions—The Command of the Austrian Army conferred on Marshal Wurmser on the Resignation of General Beaulieu—The Marshal after successive defeats shut up in Mantua—Close of the Campaign. Campaign in Germany: The French Armies under the command of Generals Moreau and Jourdan penetrate into Germany—Arrested in their victorious Career by the Arch-Duke Charles—Jourdan's Army panic-struck retreats in Disorder—The memorable Retreat of Moreau—Germany freed from the Presence of the Invaders—Extinction of the War in La Vendee, and Execution of the Insurgent Chiefs—Colonial Conquests of Great Britain—Evacuation of Corsica—Naval Campaign of 1796.

THE war on the continent had hitherto been chiefly confined either to the dominions of France, or to the territories in her immediate vicinity: But hostilities were now fated to take a more extensive range, and the unoffending inhabitants of the Alps and the Tyrolese mountains, as well as those on the banks of the Danube and the Po, were doomed to experience all the

horrors of a conflict arising out of a revolution that had taken place in the capital of France.

The command of the troops of the King of Sardinia was still intrusted to General Colli, an officer supposed to be admirably calculated for the management of a defensive system, while the emperor confided the direction of his forces to Baron Beaulieu, an able and enterprising officer, and whose military reputation had outlived his success.

The directory, on the other hand, instead of selecting one of its victorious chiefs, had, under the guidance of Carnot, "the organizer of victory," placed *Napoleon Bonaparte*, a general untried and almost unknown, at the head of the army.*—

* This extraordinary character, the hero, as he may be styled, of the French Revolution, and whose name and achievements will descend from the annals of our own times to the remotest posterity, was born at Ajaccio, on the 15th of August 1769, (31.) and was the son of Charles Bonaparte and Letitia Raniolini, his wife. His father, who was a native of Tuscany, was bred to the civil law at Rome, and took part with General Paoli, whose friendship he enjoyed, in the ever memorable struggle made by a band of brave islanders against the tyrannical efforts of Louis XV. The advice of an uncle, who was a canon, detained him in Corsica, and it was afterwards owing to his intimacy with M. de Marbeuf, commander of that island, that he was appointed the king's attorney at Ajaccio, and that he represented the noblesse in the deputation of the three orders sent in 1773 to Louis XV. The elder Bonaparte died at Montpellier, whither he had gone for the re-establishment of his health, leaving four sons and three daughters, all of tender years. After the father's death, M. de Marbeuf, the friend and protector of the family, placed the second son, Napoleon, at the college of Autun, and afterwards at the military academy of Brienne: the education which was given there, was of a nature to form superior men in more than one department, and it was especially a preparation for the profession of arms. Born in the midst of a republican contest in his native land, it was his destiny to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice was engaged in a struggle, which opened a wide and almost boundless field for the military adventurer; and there was something in his manners and habits, that fitted him for the situation to which he seems to have been destined. Instead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually intent on military studies, and from the lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he always carried in his pocket, he learned, at an early age, to copy the manners, and emulate the actions of antiquity. We accordingly find him, while yet at school, presenting himself as a candidate for a commission in the artillery, in consequence of which he became a lieutenant in the French army, and served for two or three years in the regiment of La Fere.—In 1790, General Paoli repaired to France, where he was honoured with a civic crown, and there embraced the son of his old friend; and soon

(31.) It is said in the "Biographie Moderne," a work of considerable authority, (title Napoleon) that this great Captain was born on the 5th of February 1768, prior to the annexation of Corsica to France; and not at the period here mentioned, and which has generally been considered as that of his birth. By representing himself to have been born in 1769, he became entitled to the privileges of a French citizen; Corsica having then become a part of France.

Born in Corsica, and educated at the *ecole militaire*, in France, this aspiring youth had already exhibited the promise of great talents, but he had acquired little practical knowledge, and was chiefly indebted to the patronage of Barras, and his own zeal at Toulon, for the attainment of so elevated a station, before he had attained the twenty-sixth year of his age.

Having arrived at the head-quarters of his army, early in the spring, Bonaparte, who spared no pains to render himself popular with his army, prepared to take the field, the moment that the disappearance of the snow permitted the march of his troops.

The Piedmontese were posted on the declivity of the Alps so as to extend from the Col de Tendi to Cairo in the province of Acqui, while their imperial allies occupied the heights of Savona, Sassello, Musano, Campo-Fredo, the Bochetta, the vallies of the Trebia and the Serevia, including within their intrenchments the two roads leading from Genoa to the Milanese.

The French army, inferior in point of numbers, was en-

after they met again in Corsica, where Bonaparte, now a captain, was elected lieutenant-colonel of a corps of Corsican national guards.

Though he declined to take any part in the annexation of Corsica to the crown of England, his intimacy with Paschal Paoli rendered him suspected, but he eluded the arrest ordered against him by Lacombe St. Michel, one of the commissioners of the convention, by passing over into France, and taking up his residence in the neighbourhood of Toulon.—There a spacious field presented itself for the exercise of his talents.—Toulon, recently surrendered to the English arms, was at that time besieged by the republican troops, and Bonaparte was pointed out to Barras, the conventional deputy, as a young officer of extraordinary skill and enterprize. In this service, he soon attracted the notice of Dugommier, the commander-in-chief, who one day said to the representatives:—"Let this young man fix your attention; if you do not advance him, I will answer for it, that he will contrive to advance himself." On the conquest of Toulon, Bonaparte, with a small armament, made an attack upon Ajaccio, but he was repulsed by Captain Masseria; he afterwards repaired to Paris, where he obtained the military command of that city, under his friend Barras, and by his masterly disposition of the troops in the insurrection of Vendemiaire, contributed essentially to restore the public tranquillity, and to secure the triumph of the representatives over the sections of the metropolis. While he held this command he formed a matrimonial alliance with Madame Beauharnois, and soon after received from the directory the elevated appointment of commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy. The appointment of so young a general to a command of such vast importance, could not fail to excite general observation, but he alone remained unmoved amidst the universal surprise, and in answer to some remarks made upon his youth, he calmly replied:—"In six months, I shall be an old general, or I shall be in my grave." Here the biographer may pause, as the future history of Napoleon will be read in the history of Europe, and stands closely interwoven with those astonishing events, which it is the object of this work to record.

camped all the way from Nice to the neighboured of Final ; the head-quarters were established at Allenga, the advanced posts extended to Voltri, between Savona and Genoa, while Ormea, on the other side of the mountains, was in their possession. (32.)

Hostilities were commenced on the 9th of April, 1796, on the part of the Imperialists, who feeling confident in their superior strength, attacked the enemy at Voltri, with a body of ten thousand men. This first operation proving successful, the Austrians advanced rapidly, in the hope of cutting off the retreat of the French troops ; but Bonaparte, foreseeing this sanguine pursuit, detached a body of troops under General Massena, who, taking advantage of the night, gained the rear of the Austrian army. Unapprised of this movement, General Beaulieu began the attack at break of day next morning, and the contest was continued with various success, until the division under Massena appeared on the left flank and rear of the Austrian army.—Astonished at this unexpected manœuvre, and thrown into the utmost disorder, the Austrians fled from the field with the loss of three thousand five hundred men, of whom two thousand were made prisoners. The French troops, inspired with confidence by their recent victory, and urged to the pursuit by the enterprising spirit of their commander, pushed forward to the banks of the Bormida, while the Austrians continued their retreat till they attained the vicinity of Millesimo. At this place a general engagement was fought on the 17th of April, and the generals Massena and La Harpe passing the Bormida, surrounded the left wing of the Austrian army, on which a great slaughter ensued, and General Provera, with his brave division, was obliged to surrender, with a loss to the Austrian army of eight thousand prisoners and thirty-two pieces of cannon.

Nothing short of some gallant and even desperate enterprise, could now rescue the character of Beaulieu from disgrace, and stop the progress of Bonaparte, who, like a portentous comet, already appalled every beholder, and seemed to threaten not the Imperialists only, but all Italy with destruction. Accordingly, on the following day, General Beau-

(32.) The army under Beaulieu, at the commencement of the campaign, amounted to about 35,000 men. The Sardinians under Colli, were 22,000 in number. The rest of the Piedmontese army, about 25,000 strong, was in garrison or formed corps of observation. The French did not amount to more than 42,000 men, with only 60 pieces of cannon, while those of the combined forces, were estimated at 200.—*Histoire Critique, &c. des campagnes de Bonaparte, par Jomini, vol. 1. p. 12.*

lieu surprised the French while reposing in full security, on the banks of the Bormida, and carried the village of Dego by the point of the bayonet: Massena, who attempted to stop the progress of the enemy, was repulsed; Causse, at the head of the 90th demi-brigade, proved still more unfortunate, for he fell pierced with wounds, but he perished like a hero, and with his last breath uttered an ardent wish for the prosperity of his country. This success was of short duration, for Bonaparte, by one of those prompt and well combined movements, which had already distinguished his tactics, obliged the Austrians to abandon Dego, and the French cavalry being sent in pursuit, completed their disorder.

The Piedmontese and Sardinian army retreated with precipitation, and being successively driven from the posts of Ceva, Mondovi, and Cherasco, sought refuge in Turin. The French thus became masters of the course of the Tanaro, encamped in the midst of the plain of Piedmont, and prepared to besiege its metropolis; while their youthful leader inflamed the minds of his soldiery, by a speech pronounced at the head of his army, in the style and manner of the generals of antiquity.*

* This oration, so strongly characteristic of the French general, was in the following words:—

“Soldiers,” said Bonaparte, “in the course of fourteen days, you have gained six victories, taken twenty-two stand of colours, fifty pieces of canon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have already seized fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed and wounded more than ten thousand men.

“You have as yet, however, only fought for sterile rocks, illustrated indeed by your valour, but useless to your country. Yet you already equal the victorious armies of Holland and the Rhine: destitute of all, you have acquired every thing; you have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without pontoons, made forced marches without shoes, and watched all night under arms without brandy, and sometimes even without bread. Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, are alone capable of suffering such privations as these.

“But, soldiers! notwithstanding two vanquished armies flee before you, it is needless to dissemble that you have achieved nothing, since Turin and Milan are not yet yours, and the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under the feet of your enemies.

“You were bereft even of necessities at the commencement of the campaign, and now you enjoy plenty; the magazines taken from your enemies are numerous; the heavy artillery is arrived, and your country has a right to expect important events. Will you realize her hopes? The greatest obstacles are doubtless overcome, but you have still battles to win, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage is subdued? Who would prefer to return again to the summits of the Appenines and the Alps, patiently to listen to the reproaches of a soldiery composed of slaves? No; there are none such among the conquerors of Montenote, Millesimo, Dego, and Mendovi.

“All burn to extend the glory of the French people; all are desirous to humble those haughty sovereigns who dared to menace us with chains; all wish to dictate a glorious peace, calculated to indemnify

Notwithstanding Turin was well fortified, and its citadel might have impeded the career of a victorious enemy, and thus protracted the fate of Italy, yet the aged king, despairing of being succoured by the Austrians, and uncertain of the attachment of his own subjects, determined to avoid the horrors of a bombardment. He accordingly sent orders to General Colli, to enter into a negotiation for a truce, and the hard conditions annexed to this favour, announced the fallen fortunes of the monarch, who surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chateau Dauphin, as the pledges of his good faith; relinquished Savoy, in the county of Nice, for ever; and consented to the immediate demolition of the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier.

The aristocracy of Venice, which, thinking itself hitherto little interested in the war, had manifested a decided partiality to the house of Austria, now perceived the necessity of bending before the genius of the Gallic democracy: and in pursuance of this policy, the Count de Provence, eldest brother of the late King of France, and now styled Louis XVIII. was ordered to withdraw from the Venetian territory. In vain did this exiled prince assert his privilege as a Venetian nobleman, the mandate was imperative, and after quitting the city of Verona, he wandered about the other states of Europe for some months, and at last found an asylum at Mitau, in Courland, under the protection of the court of St. Petersburg.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he would not allow any respite to his troops. Marching along the southern bank of the Po, he reached Placentia early on the 7th of May, and in the course of the same day effected his passage at that place. Apprized of the approach of the Aus-

our country for the immense sacrifices it has made; all are eager to be able, on returning to their native villages, to exclaim with pride 'I also belonged to the victorious army of Italy!'

"Friends! I promise you this conquest; but it is on the express condition that you respect the people whom you are about to deliver from bondage, and avoid all thoughts of pillage, only dreamed of by those vile wretches set on by our enemies: without this, you will not be the liberators, but the scourgers of enfranchised nations; you will not be an honour to the French, for they will disavow you; your victories, your courage, your successes, the very blood of your brethren shed in battle, will all be lost, and your honour and glory gone for ever.

"Nations of Italy! the army approaches on purpose to burst your fetters. France is the friend of every people: approach our standards with confidence. Your religion, your property, and your customs, shall all be respected. We will carry on the war like generous enemies, for we have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude."

trians, who moved along the northern bank of the same river, Bonaparte encountered the van-guard of their army at Fombio, and compelled them to retreat.—Another body coming up to the assistance of the first was intercepted and repulsed by General La Harpe, who fell during the combat. General Berthier, arriving in the interval, pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession ; and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the republicans had now entered, were compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on the condition of paying ten millions of livres, and yielding up a certain number of the most valuable paintings in the world to adorn the national museum now forming at Paris.

Well aware that his conquest would never be consolidated till he had totally vanquished the Austrian army, and seized on all their Italian possessions, Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi, on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. On the approach of the French, the imperialists abandoned that place with so much precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge. They contrived however to bring up a number of cannon, and to establish formidable batteries, by means of which they obtained a cross fire that rendered the passage hazardous in the extreme, and it was the opinion of the best French engineers that it ought not to be attempted. But no consideration could resist the impetuosity either of the soldiers or their leaders ; for on the 10th of May, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had already proceeded six hundred feet, which was exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape shot, that the foremost ranks were completely swept away, and the troops, who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace, with bent heads and extended bayonets, were first staggered, and then began to hesitate, as to their further progress. At this critical moment, the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and Dallemagne, starting from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte in person, seizing a standard, placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the French troops rushed past their generals with resistless impetuosity, amidst the cries of—" Long live the republic !" In a moment, the fate of the day was decided ; the Austrian line was broken ; their death-spreading batteries seized—and the imperial troops stood petrified with astonishment at the successful madness of the enterprize. " Of all the actions in which the troops under my command have been engaged,"

said Bonaparte in his despatches to the directory, "none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi."

Bonaparte having thus defeated the principal army of the imperialists, after taking Pavia, proceeded to Milan, and before the end of May, subdued the principal part of Lombardy.—Amazed at the extent and rapidity of his own conquests, and still acting upon the maxim, that nothing is done, while any thing remains undone, Bonaparte, in a proclamation, dated Milan, 1st Prairial, addressed the army under his command, in the terms of triumph and of excitation :—"Soldiers !" he exclaimed, "you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the heights of the Appenines : you have overthrown and dispersed all that dared to oppose your march : Milan is yours : and the republican standard is displayed throughout all Lombardy. Yes, Soldiers, you have done much ; but still more remains for you to do. Shall posterity reproach you with having found a Capua in Lombardy ? To re-establish the capital ; to replace there the statues of those heroes who have rendered it immortal ; to arouse the Roman people, entranced in so many ages of slavery ; this will be the first fruit of your victories, it will be an epoch for the admiration of posterity !"

In the mean time, the dispersion of the Austrian army afforded Bonaparte all the leisure he required to carry on his various enterprizes against the respective states of Italy ; and some insurrectionary movements in different parts were repressed with the most vigorous severity. On the 28th of June, a detachment of French troops took possession of Leghorn, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English ; the whole of whose property found in that city was confiscated to the use of the republic. The factory however had the address to remove the greater part of their effects to the Isle of Elba, to which humble station the conqueror himself was, after a lapse of years, and strange vicissitudes of fortune, doomed to be removed from the dazzling height of imperial splendour.

The main army of the French, during these operations, entered the territory of the ecclesiastical states, and took possession of the cities of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Alarmed in the highest degree at the advance of an enemy, now become formidable to all Italy, both the Pope and the King of Naples sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian majesty, on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army ; but the pope, whose tardy acquiescence had endangered the existence of the papal see, was obliged not merely to cede to the French the towns already in

their possession, but to add to their number the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic, together with a contribution of twenty-one millions of francs by instalments, and a *present* of one hundred pictures, statues, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges of the arts, from the galleries at Rome, to adorn the museums of France.

At this period, all Italy seemed to be heaving from its political basis. The government of Naples, to which such favourable conditions of peace had been recently granted, was sunk to the lowest pitch of imbecility and depravity.—The power of papal Rome, once so extensive, tottered to its fall; and Lombardy, divided among a number of petty despots, caught the strong contagion of the revolutionary spirit, and aspired to the rank and dignity of a free and independent nation. The whole country south of the Po, Genoa excepted, now in possession of the French, appointed delegates to the number of one hundred, to meet in convention at the city of Modena; the ducal government being previously dissolved, and the Duke of Modena himself having abandoned his territory, and virtually abdicated his sovereignty. The convention met on the 16th of October, 1796, and immediately decreed, that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara—the new federation taking, from its geographical situation, the name of the Cispadane republic; and with the approbation of the French general, the moving spring of this Italian revolution, a delegation was sent to Milan, styled by analogy the Transpadane republic, for the purpose of establishing between the two states the bonds of political union and fraternity. In return, the administrators of the political government of Milan were permitted to send deputies to the general congress, now removed to Reggio, and which, about the close of the year, resolved themselves into a republic, one and indivisible, on the model of France.

Having detached the sovereign of Naples, and his holiness the pope, from the coalition of princes, Bonaparte marched in pursuit of Beaulieu to Borghetta, the approaches to which place he found defended by four thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred horse; but the assailants having forced the redoubts, the Austrians crossed the bridge, and cut down one of the arches. On this an ineffectual attempt was made by the French to re-establish the communication, and an awful pause ensued; but at length a column of grenadiers, led by General Gardanne, jumped into the river, and with the water up to their chins, and their muskets elevated above their heads,

forded the river, to the astonishment of the enemy, who recollecting the column of Lodi, immediately gave way.

The court of Vienna, alarmed at these disasters, strained every nerve to assemble a new army in Carinthia and the Tyrol; while the directory, dazzled with the achievements of the hero of Italy, and as yet unsuspecting of being supplanted by the enterprising Corsican, proclaimed and celebrated a festival in honour of his victories.

General Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand the army of the enemy, flushed as it was with uninterrupted success, and acting upon a new system of tactics, under the direction of a general, "whose mistress was glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," resigned the command of his army, which was conferred on Field-marshal Wurmser, a warrior in the eightieth year of his age, but who, like a veteran hero of the present day, combined all the energy and ardour of youth with the experience of age. Having collected the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthened them with large reinforcements, Marshal Wurmser crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Sala and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and to evacuate their posts with considerable loss. Bonaparte seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and the banks of the Adige, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. He then collected his forces near the village of Castiglione, between the lake of Garda and the city of Mantua; Marshal Wurmser having likewise taken a position in the same vicinity. On the 5th of August, the two armies came in conflict, and the battle was continued for several successive days, but victory at length declared in favour of the French general; and Marshal Wurmser, after evacuating Roveredo and Trent, narrowly escaped being cut off at Bassano, and was at length obliged, on the 27th of August, to take refuge in Mantua. On this Bonaparte resumed his former position on the Adige, and after having manifested his sanguinary disposition, by punishing an insurrection of the inhabitants of Dego with all the horrors that could be inflicted by fire and sword, sat down once more before Mantua.

The emperor, alarmed at the loss of Lombardy and the Milanese, and deeply affected at the fate of the brave and unfortunate Wurmser, endeavoured to retrieve the disasters of the Italian campaign by assembling another army, at the head of which was placed Alvinzi, a member of the aulic council. Fortune was at first favourable to the new general, who defeated a detachment of the enemy, while Bonaparte deemed it

necessary to abandon Bassano, Vicenza, Trent, and Roveredo, and to concentrate his forces along the Adige, and the borders of the lake of Garda. The field-marshal now expected to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrol, and raise the blockade of Mantua, at the head of fifty thousand men; but his progress was intercepted by Bonaparte, who suddenly appeared in order of battle, with his left commanded by Vau-bois, his right by Massena, and his centre by Augereau. Having ordered the two last generals to advance, on the 15th of November, the out-posts of the Austrians were immediately driven in; but an obstinate resistance was experienced at Arcole, a position equally strengthened by nature and art. It was in vain that some of the principal French officers placed themselves at the head of the columns, and braved all the fury of the enemy; for the generals Verdier, Vernes, and Lasnes, were wounded and obliged to retire, while Augereau, who had advanced with a stand of colours in his hand, was forced to withdraw from the storm of grape-shot with which he and his followers were assailed. The commander-in-chief, unable to restrain his own natural impetuosity, repaired with his staff to the front of Augereau's division, and advancing at the head of the grenadiers, ordered them to charge; he however had scarcely proceeded thirty steps, when the incessant fire of the Austrians broke down the bridge, and forced Bonaparte into a morass, whence he was with some difficulty rescued. The battle was renewed the next day, and night alone forced the combatants to separate, before victory had declared on either side.

On the third morning, a combined attack was concerted and executed, by Massena on the left, and Augereau in front, while the garrison of Porto-Legnano, supported by a considerable train of artillery, received orders to make a diversion in the rear. The column that attacked the bridge was however once more repulsed, and fell back in disorder towards Ronco; but on receiving a reinforcement, the battle was again renewed, and the Austrians, seeing their left about to be turned, abandoned the field, and retired towards Vicenza.

In the mean time, the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidowich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello-Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Bonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered a body of troops under General Massena to repass the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Arisio, on the 22d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta,

after losing about six thousand men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards.

Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history, in the course of which all the resources of modern war were exhibited and displayed on a grand scale, and countries won and abandoned, not as heretofore, after a contest of a few hours, but in consequence of a succession of memorable battles.

But what chiefly fixed the attention of Europe, was the astonishing success of the French general, who placing himself at the head of an inferior body of troops, had rushed down from the mountains like a torrent upon Italy, overcoming every obstacle, and overwhelming all opposition. Three armies and four generals defeated, one after the other; a multitude of princes courting the favour of the conqueror, by presents of statues, pictures, and gold; a vanquished monarch abandoning the coalition of kings, and resigning his principal fortresses; these were some of the wonders of this eventful period, which for a time, obtained for the military talents of the republican chief the admiration of mankind.

A plan no less daring and extraordinary than that of the Italian campaign, was projected by Carnot, for the French armies in Germany. An overwhelming force was directed to penetrate into the circle of Suabia, to seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance; to march through the passes of Bregentz; and after scaling the Rhetian Alps, to enter the Tyrol; and while one body of troops, following the course of the Ram, reached the Adige, and communicated with the army of Italy; another was to traverse the vallies of the Inn, and extending itself to the borders of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Passau, was to threaten the German capital.

The conduct of Pichegru having become suspicious, the command of the French armies on the Rhine was conferred on Jourdan and Moreau. On the 24th of June, the republican troops took the field, and after crossing the Rhine, and carrying the enemy's posts, seized and occupied the fortress and village of Kehl. Having secured this important position, Moreau re-established the bridge across the Rhine, and on the arrival of his artillery attacked and carried the enemy's camp at Wilstedt. Three battles won successively at Renchen, Rastadt, and Etlingen, threw all Germany into dismay, and not only enabled the invaders to gain possession of the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Mannheim, Philipsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The engagement at Etlingen, where the Archduke Charles, a gallant and popular prince, now placed at the head of the Austrian army,

contended against Moreau in person, was long and obstinate, and when at length the Austrians were forced to retire, it was rather before the enthusiasm than the superior skill of their adversaries. Jourdan in the mean time, crossing the Lahn, the Maine, and the Necker, took possession of Frankfort, seized on Aschaffenburg and Wurtzburg, and rendered the whole of Franconia, the birth place of the ancient Franks, subject to their descendants. The armies of the Sambre, the Maese, and the Rhine, were soon enabled to co-operate with, and assist each other. Moreau, seizing upon Stutgard, obliged the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Baden, and all the princes of Suabia, to purchase peace, at the price of enormous subsidies to the republic ; on which the invading armies advanced towards the centre of Germany, along both sides of the Danube ; the one traversing the rich provinces of Franconia ; and the other taking the route of Upper Suabia, a country already wasted by the miseries of war. In the pursuit of this victorious career, Moreau forced the Elector of Bavaria to sue for peace ; while Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingoldstadt, and Amberg, menaced Austria on the right, as well as Bohemia in his front.

The retreat of the imperial forces in Germany, was contemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Bonaparte in Italy ; but their strength, though overpowered, was not wholly broken, and it was reserved for the unsubdued resolution of the cabinet of Vienna, and the masterly skill of the brother of the sovereign, once more to arrest the hand of disaster, and to turn the tide of misfortune. Another cause of the impending reverses of the French army, was the cruel exactions imposed upon the unoffending inhabitants of Germany by the invaders. The Archduke Charles, having received considerable supplies, determined to throw himself between the invaders and Ratisbon ; but before the arrival of his highness, the army of Wartenslaben had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights before Amberg. On the 22d of August, the archduke arrived in person, and after defeating the enemy under Bernadotte, drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan, finding his left wing and rear thus exposed to a superior force, was driven by the impetuosity of the Austrian army, and the indignation of the peasantry, as far as Wurtzburg ; here they were again overtaken, and being once more defeated, they were seized with a panic and immediately disbanded.

The disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, placed that of the Rhine and the Moselle, in the most critical position, for all the conquests of Moreau were

now become useless in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, as well as a multitude of skirmishes, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat, which may be justly compared with that of a great warrior of antiquity, more especially as Xenophon conducted the Greeks through the territories of a cowardly and effeminate people, while Moreau traversed a country inhabited by one of the most warlike nations in the universe.

Instead of appearing disconcerted by the recent successes of the archduke, the French general actually crossed the Danube, as if with an intention to succour his defeated colleague; but this movement was merely calculated to collect his detachments, and concentrate his strength. After having completely deceived the Austrians relative to the rout he intended to take, Moreau crossed the Lech, on the 11th of September, and gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued, he attacked General Latour in his camp between Biberrach and Buchau, and after a long and bloody action, fought on the 1st of October, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would have entirely destroyed his army had it not been for the gallant resistance on the part of the emigrants under the Prince de Conde, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage.

He now divided his army into two bodies, and marched suddenly through Munderkingen, Neudlingen, and Belengen, to attack the generals Nauendorff and Petrasch, who were forced to abandon their respective positions: so terrible was this commander, even in the moment of retreat, that he took no less than seven thousand prisoners in these different actions. Having at length opened a communication with the forest towns, forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through the Val-d'Enfer (the valley of hell) the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, with his centre, he employed his two wings against the numerous detachments, led on by the generals Latour, Petrasch, and Nauendorff. The French army having resumed its march, the main body encamped in the neighbourhood of Fribourg on the 12th, and waited for the arrival of the rest of the troops; the moment a junction had been effected, the Archduke Charles assaulted, and with some difficulty carried the village of Kendringen; next day he attacked part of the ene-

my stationed at Nymbourg, but after an action that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, he was obliged to desist from his enterprise, having experienced considerable loss in consequence of the spirited resistance of General Dessaix.

Moreau now abandoned the Brisgaw, and at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, marched towards the banks of the Rhine; and dividing his army into two bodies, Dessaix repassed that river at Brisach, while he himself directed his course towards Huningen, continually followed and harassed by the enemy. On his arrival at Schliengen he assumed an excellent position, and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Austrians, determined to wait the event of a battle. He was accordingly attacked along the whole of his line, but the enemy were repulsed on every side. However, Moreau moved his camp on the night of the engagement, and having passed the Rhine at Huningen without any molestation on the part of the enemy, returned to Strasburg, on the 26th of October, the point whence he set out, after one of the most memorable expeditions recorded in history.

The Archduke Charles, by a singular union of gallantry, talents, and good fortune, had thus liberated Germany from the yoke of France; and the surrender of the fortress of Kehl, and the intrenched position at Corne, after an obstinate but fruitless resistance, freed the whole of the Austrian dominions on the eastern side of the Rhine from the presence of the invaders.

In the course of the present year the insurgents in La Vendee were entirely overcome, and the contest in those devoted departments was brought to a final close. Stofflet being desirous to place himself at the head of a formidable party, left his haunts, where he had long remained in security, and on the return of spring, repaired from place to place, for the purpose of stimulating the lukewarm loyalty of a people, heretofore burning with zeal for the sovereign. One of these excursions proved fatal to him. Having repaired to the village of Langreniere, with only a single domestic, and a couple of aide-de-camps, two republican officers, Lontil, and Liegard, were informed by the inhabitants, who had now become weary of the war, of his arrival. They accordingly hastened thither at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry, and having secured all the avenues, suddenly entered the apartment, and seized on the person of Stofflet, a chief, who in the course of two years had fought no less than one hundred and fifty actions, in more than a hundred of

which he had proved victorious. He was executed at Angers, on the 23d of February, and died with an heroic constancy.

But as the Vendean war could never be considered as finished while Charette survived, he was incessantly pursued by the cavalry of Hoche, and on the 23d of March the adjutant-general of his army came up with him at Chabottier in Poitou. Although harassed with unceasing fatigue, and wounded both in the head and hand, he had still strength sufficient to escape into a wood, supported by two of his faithful followers, who determined to share his fate, and actually fell dead in succession at his feet, covered with wounds. On this Travot ran up, seized the chief, and conducted him to Nantz, dressed in a short green vest and pantaloons, disfigured by blood, with his arm in a scarf, and his countenance pale, sickly and dejected. He however beheld the preparations for his execution with an undaunted eye. He not only surveyed the soldiers drawn up to inflict upon him the punishment of death, without shrinking, but even refused to have a bandage tide across his face, and actually gave the signal for his own death. On the fall of these chiefs all the insurgent departments readily submitted, and Hoche, who at Quiberon had acquired celebrity as a warrior, was now hailed with the appellation of pacificator of La Vendee.

Undismayed by the conquests of the French in Europe, the English persevered in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter unknown in any former period of the war. The mortality that had occurred among our troops in the West Indies, and the alarming accounts that were received of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hughes, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A naval force, with several regiments on board, was therefore prepared to act against the West Indian colonies of Holland; and very early in the year, Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, were obliged to surrender to the summons of the British commanders.(33.) A disembarkation was next effected on St. Lucia; and the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of

(33.) It is said, that from the 1st of January, 1793, to the 1st of April, 1796, no fewer than 54,000 British troops were sent to the West Indies.* The French force probably did not amount to one fourth of this number. We have thus some data by which to estimate the merit of the British victories in that quarter.

* Stephen's History of the wars of the French Revolution. Vol. II. p. 99.

the strongest positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under General Moore. Morne Nortuna was next invested and taken; so that no choice was left to the French but to capitulate, and two thousand French soldiers were made prisoners, the insurgent negroes being all disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under General Knox, to St. Vincents, undertaken on the 25th of May, was no less successful, where the French surrendered to the number of seven hundred; the dispersion of the Caribbs immediately followed, and peace was soon after restored to the settlement. An attack was afterwards made on Grenada, which succeeded with little blood-shed. A body of seven thousand troops arrived early in the spring at the Mole in St. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Toussaint with his negro army, and Regaud at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a stretch of three hundred miles of coast.

Determined not to suffer the loss of the Cape of Good Hope, without a struggle to regain that important settlement, the Dutch government fitted out an expedition consisting of two sail of the line, three smaller ships of war, and three armed vessels, which sailing from Holland about the middle of the year 1796, anchored on the 2d of August in the Bay Saldannah. Just at the critical moment when General Craig, with his small army was marching down to the coast, to meet the invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon-shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-admiral Engelbartus Lucas knowing that resistance must be unavailing, obeyed the summons, and on the 17th of August surrendered his whole fleet without firing a shot.

The victories of France in Italy, the fame of Bonaparte among his countrymen, the intractable spirit of the inhabitants, and the arrival of a body of French under General Cazette, to co-operate with internal revolt, rendered the possession of Corsica no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders easily captured the garrison and city. Fiorenzo, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were retaken on the 20th of October, and considerable spoils fell

into the hands of the victors on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and on the final evacuation of the island. But the island of Elba, which had been seized some months before by a detachment of our countrymen from Corsica, was still retained and formed an useful arsenal, and a convenient station on the Tuscan coast.

The republican government of France perceiving a crisis in the situation of Ireland, more favourable to the success of an invasion than any which had occurred since the French revolution, seized that occasion to strike a blow of no common importance. Fifteen thousand chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest on the 15th of December; intended to act on their arrival with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organized for insurrection by chiefs of talents and intrepidity. Every thing being prepared, Admiral Villaret Joyeuse set sail from Brest, with eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, while the general embarked with his staff on board the frigate *La Fraternite*. The wind at first was favourable; but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour, when a storm arose which dispersed the fleet, and separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after weathering a dangerous cruize, and being chased by two British vessels. Of the whole fleet, only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under Admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry Bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather, and obliged to return again to France, without effecting a landing. In this disastrous expedition, the French lost not less than three ships of the line, and three frigates, from the adverse elements, but they had the singularly good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys, the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after their departure.

During the course of this year, the remaining commerce of France, was harassed and diminished by the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers. On the 22d of August, Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, the *Pomona*, *Artois*, *Galatea*, and *Anson*, gallantly attacked a French squadron, consisting of one ship of forty-four guns, two of forty, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty guns, with two armed vessels, not far from the *Saintes*, and after dispersing their convoy, captured the *Etoile*, of thirty guns.

In the Mediterranean, Captain Nelson, on board the *Agamemnon*, accompanied by the *Meleagar*, *Diadem*, and *Pete-*

rell, performed a brilliant exploit at Loana, on the 25th of April, having boarded and cut out four French store-ships by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire batteries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musquetry. This indefatigable officer also took possession, during the month of May, of several vessels laden with cannon and ordnance stores destined for the siege of Mantua, in the neighbourhood of Oneglia, fearlessly boarding the enemy amidst the fire of three eighteen-pounders stationed on shore, and a fourth mounted in a gun-boat.

Towards the autumn, Admiral Duncan blockaded the Texel, to prevent the sailing of the Dutch fleet, and on the 13th of October, captured a frigate and a sloop of war belonging to that nation. Captain Williams, of the Unicorn of thirty-two guns, and Captain Martin of the Santa Margarita, a ship of equal force, pursued and took two heavy frigates of forty and thirty-six guns, called the Thames and Tribune: the Dryad of thirty-six guns, also obtained possession of the Proserpine of thirty, twenty-six of which were eighteen-pounders, after a chase of eight hours, and a gallant action of forty-five minutes.

Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore, carrying thirty-two guns, also distinguished himself by the capture of the Mahonesa, a Spanish frigate of thirty-four guns, near Gibraltar: he soon after forced the Vestale, a French ship, which carried the same number of guns as his own, to strike; she, however, escaped next morning into Cadiz, and was reclaimed in vain.

But one of the most gallant actions during the whole war was fought by Captain Trollope, in the Glatton of fifty-four guns; she had been formerly an Indiaman, and now carried carronades of a large calibre. Having, on the 16th of July, fallen in with six frigates, accompanied by a brig and a cutter, off Helvoet, this brave commander, undismayed either by the number or the force of the enemy, bore down upon and came up with them late in the evening; and, notwithstanding he was surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee-quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern, so incessant and severe was the fire of his battery, that the adversaries deemed it prudent to desist and retire. (34.)

Amidst these successes, the navy of Great Britain did not lose a single ship of any force; while, on the contrary, upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy

(34.) This is another of those extraordinary accounts of British valour, to give credit to which requires a degree of pious faith in British supremacy, unusual in America.

were either detained or captured in the course of this year, among which were five line-of-battle ships, nine of forty-four guns, and three of forty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Foreign History : Differences between France and America—Holland declared a Republic—The Conspiracy of Floreal—Further Insurrections in France—State of the French Finances—Insurrection in the South—Daring Attempt of the Jacobins to turn the Arms of the French Soldiery against the existing Government—State of the Gallican Church—Synod of the Constitutional Bishops—Abolition of the National Church in Holland—Establishment of the National Institute—English Manufactures excluded from the Ports of the Continent—Death of Catharine II. of Russia.

THE new government of France under the directory, had scarcely commenced its operations, when a difference arose between that country and America, originating in the treaty of amity and commerce, recently executed between Great Britain, and the United States. This treaty was affirmed to discover a disposition altogether inimical to France, and the provisions of it to be wholly incompatible with the faintest idea of neutrality. By the treaty of 1778, still in force, the United States guaranteed to France the possession of their West India Colonies; but by the treaty of 1794, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to those islands from America should be treated as illegal commerce. (35.) The directory, however, considered it prudent to abstain from actual hostilities, but they regarded the Americans in the light of secret enemies, and made such depredations on their trade under various pretences as almost amounted to a commercial war;

(35.) We have here another of gross blunders, which are so frequently to be met with in English books, on the subject of American concerns. If it were actually believed in England that the American government was so regardless of its own dignity, as to suffer such a stipulation as this to form part of a treaty, it can excite no wonder that they subsequently attempted to destroy the remnant of American commerce, by means of their Orders in Council. The only article of the treaty of 1794, which could give any colour to the assertion in the text, is the XVIIIth, which declared that whenever provisions or other articles, not generally contraband, became so according to the laws of nations, the same should not be confiscated, but the owners thereof should be speedily and completely indemnified. No stipulation or agreement whatever, with regard to the French West India islands, is to be found in the treaty. The French decree of July 1796, subsequently alluded to, was, it should be remembered, preceded by many gross violations of neutral rights, on the part of the English government, and its allies.

and a directorial arret was issued on the 3d of July, 1796, expressly enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from the English. Thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral nations were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of war, under the designation of Berlin and Milan decrees, and British Orders in Council. Towards the close of the summer, Mr. Monroe, the American Ambassador at Paris, was recalled from his embassy, to the great additional dissatisfaction of the French government, who refused to receive his successor, Mr. Pinkney, in the same capacity; and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified to the American government on the 23d of November, that the directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. Such was the situation of the foreign relations of the United States in the spring of 1797, when General Washington resigned his government; (36.) and, retiring to his paternal estate, on the banks of the Potowmac, again resumed, after an illustrious display of public virtues and talents, the character and station of a private citizen.

After long and stormy discussions between the contending parties in Holland, a national convention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, met at the Hague on the first of March, 1796, and formed a constitution on the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government, was to declare war against England, which had already seized on the principal part of their colonial possessions in both the eastern and western hemisphere.

Although the public tranquillity remained undisturbed at Paris, many of the provinces of France exhibited at this period, scenes of the most dreadful disorder. The jacobins, who boasted that the directory was of their formation, and who had hitherto filled the principal places under government, were enraged at witnessing the return of moderate and humane principles, and they manifested their hostility by disturbing the public tranquillity, and exercising their power where they still remained in office, in the most cruel and oppressive manner towards their fellow-citizens. Against this sanguinary faction, whose boldness increased in proportion to the resistance they encountered; the existing government found it necessary to declare decided hostilities, and laws were enacted

(36.) It would have been more strictly correct to have said that the period for which General Washington was elected, having expired, he signified his resolution of not again accepting the office of President.

to punish with death, seditious assemblies, that had for their object either the re-establishment of royalty, of which indeed there were few, or assemblages of groupes that sought to destroy the present form of government, and to substitute in its stead the democratic constitution of 1793, which was in effect the government of Robespierre.

The jacobins, against whom these laws were principally directed, and whose places of assembly had been shut up by order of the government, were at length wrought up to purposes of vengeance, and for six weeks rumours prevailed of projected insurrections, that would, if accomplished, have once more deluged the country with blood, and revived all the horrors of the early stages of the revolution : and on the night of the 9th of May, considerable bodies of cavalry were stationed by government in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg and the Thuilleries ; while the Pont Neuf was strongly guarded and prepared against sudden surprise. On the morning of the 10th, the guard of the directory, and of the legislative body, was tripled, the streets were patrolled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg closed against the populace. On the same day, the council of five hundred received a message from the executive directory, informing them, that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day ; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the executive directory, the members of the two councils, the field-officers, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre ; that the government, informed of the place where the conspirators had assembled, had seized their persons, and they added with regret, that Drouet, one of the council, was of their number. Among the persons arrested with Drouet was Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the national convention, and a professed atheist. The others were Chasles and Ricard, both members of the convention, and well known terrorists ; Babeuf, once the associate of Marat, giving himself the title of " Gracchus Babeuf, the tribune of the people ;" Rosignol, an ex-general of La Vendee, and Julien, the confidential agent of Robespierre. To these desperate characters were added several others of inferior note, and their mad enterprise, which had for its ostensible object the re-establishment of a government of terror, to be administered by the conspirators, was less a project of revolution than of extermination ; and one idea published in the papers of the traitors, that of engaging the people to commit such crimes as would make it impossible for them to retrograde, seems worthy of the infernal regions. The trial of the conspirators, from some cause, not very satisfactorily explained,

was delayed for a considerable time ; and in the mean while Drouet had the good fortune to effect his escape, but Babeuf and several of his associates were at length tried by the high criminal court at Vendome, from whom they received sentence of death, and their execution followed immediately afterwards. Other insurrections and disturbances in various parts of the country followed on the discovery of this plot, which was popularly styled the conspiracy of Floreal, but they were all quickly suppressed, and the authority of the new government, was, as is usually the case, more firmly established by these abortive attempts at its subversion. The jacobins and royalists throughout France, joined in exclaiming against the tyranny of the directory, and the former represent this plot as a sanguinary contrivance, fabricated to intimidate and to destroy some of the most ardent friends of public liberty, and the best friends of their country.

The insurgents of Floreal were no sooner despatched, than the directory determined to submit to the operation of the law the sanguinary perpetrators of the massacres of September, 1792 ; and a tribunal was accordingly established for that purpose, which entered upon its functions on the 26th of May, in the present year. Of the great mass of criminals brought to trial, some were executed and others imprisoned, but a large majority of them were acquitted, principally on the ground, that they had been instigated to the commission of their crimes by others, who possessed sufficient influence to screen themselves from the punishment due to their atrocious enormities. The trial of the insurgents of Vendemiaire took place before the same tribunal, and an equal degree of clemency was extended towards these offenders, at the head of which stood General Miranda, who, notwithstanding a sentence of banishment had been passed upon him, was suffered to remain in tranquillity at Paris.

The directory having, as they imagined, taken the necessary precautions against any further popular commotions, directed their attention to the subject of finance. The rapid decline of the credit of the assignats, had rendered that species of paper altogether useless ; and as gold and silver, which will never circulate freely with depreciated paper, had withdrawn themselves from the intercourses of trade, it was judged expedient to employ some other means to replace the debased currency. To this end, a law passed on the 25th of March, to sell the remainder of the national domains at the estimate which was made in 1790, and which was at the rate of about twenty-two years' purchase ; for which property the nation was to receive in payment a new paper fabrication, under the name of man-

ats, to be issued to the amount of four hundred millions of livres; of which part was destined to withdraw the assignats from circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, and the public lands remaining unsold, were to be mortgaged for the remainder. Notwithstanding this security, the mandat, at its birth, lost one fourth of its value, nor did the depreciation stop here, for in a very few months, it sunk so low as not to maintain a currency of above one fifth of the price affixed upon it by the national treasury. In the midst of these difficulties, the committee of finance now presented a report containing a general statement of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that the expenditure during the last year, amounted to one thousand millions of livres; and that the ordinary annual revenue amounted to barely five hundred millions. To make up this enormous deficiency various resources were pointed out, but the principal expedient was to be found in the sale of the church lands, in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands.

Marseilles, so often during the revolution the scene of political discords, presented at this period, a spectacle of horror and dismay. The jacobins, taking advantage of the period for the annual election of magistrates, collected bands of assassins, who ran about the streets with their necks and arms bare, armed with sabres, stilettos, and clubs, exclaiming "Long live the Mountain!" "Long live the constitution of 1796!" and having divided themselves into different bodies, they took possession of the halls where the sections assembled, overthrew the urns which contained the ballots of the citizens, drove the presidents and secretaries of the assemblies from their places, and killed those who made resistance. These dreadful excesses were speedily suppressed, and the elections which had taken place during their existence, were of course annulled. About the same time, and chiefly in the southern districts of the republic, the public tranquillity was frequently disturbed by the partizans of royalty, and by fanatics, who under the designation of societies of the sun, and societies of Jesus, retaliated with great severity on the agents of terrorism, by whom, in the days of revolutionary government, they had been severely persecuted and oppressed.

The jacobins, defeated at Marseilles, soon after made another attempt to subvert the government at Paris, more violent, and more extravagant, than the insurrection headed by Babeuf. The camp of Grenille, a plain on the south side of the Seine, between Paris and the hills of Meudon, still contained numbers whom the jacobin leaders considered as their

adherents ; and emboldened by the assurance of these soldiers, whom they had gained over to their party, they formed the desperate determination to attack the government, with the assistance of the camp. These desperadoes, to the number of five or six hundred, accordingly assembled at a tavern, at the village of Vaugirard ; and their intention of visiting the camp was no longer a secret to the government, they entered it at midnight, amidst cries of “ Long live the constitution of 1793 ! ” “ Down with the councils ! ” “ Down with the five Tyrants ! ” Having thus proclaimed their purpose, they invited the soldiers to fraternize, to get rid of their chiefs, and to march under the banners of freedom, to glory and to empire. The act of rebellion, being now complete, a party of troops, appointed to that duty by the government, did not delay to execute the punishment due to the temerity of the insurgents ; and the most forward of them were immediately put to the sword or shot ; while the remainder, confounded and dismayed by this novel species of fraternity, fled in all directions. Numbers made their escape, but one hundred and thirty-two of them were taken prisoners, and soon after tried by a military commission. Of this number, the majority were released ; but the rest having been for the most part members of the revolutionary committees, were condemned to death or banished, according to the characters they had formerly maintained. At the head of this preposterous conspiracy, were three ex-representatives of the people, and three discarded generals, all of whom were executed, and it was generally supposed that Drouet himself was of the number of the insurgents.

The directory, acting upon a more tolerant and enlightened system of policy than their predecessors in power, judged it expedient to annul the unjust and sanguinary decree, directed not merely against the ecclesiastical officers of the Gallican church, but also against the civil and political rights of the clergy ; and though a detailed account of the persecutions suffered by this body, in the early periods of the revolution, would form a new martyrology, yet it may not be improper in this place to take a brief retrospect of the most prominent of the rigorous enactments to which they became subject, under the successive governments of the constituent assembly, and the national convention :—The former of these assemblies having declared, that the estates of the clergy were the property of the nation, and that the ministers of the church were the servants of the state, equally with the civil functionaries, decreed on the 22d of July, 1790—“ That the bishops, and newly elected vicars, should take an oath to watch over the

people entrusted to their care—to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king—and to support with all their influence the constitution decreed by the assembly, and accepted by the sovereign.” This oath was afterwards extended to ecclesiastics of every description; to professors of seminaries and colleges; to chaplains of hospitals and prisons; and to all who were concerned in the duties of public instruction. Hence arose the distinction between constitutional and non-juring priests, the latter of whom, regarding the interference of the state with the concerns of the church, as a sacrilegious violation of religion, chose rather to resign the functions, than to yield obedience to a secular power in things spiritual; while the constitutional priests, less scrupulous, found no difficulty in taking the prescribed oath. Such of the clergy as refused to take the oath, and who were a very numerous body, were immediately deprived of their offices, and their places were filled up with the constitutional priests, who were not less numerous. The inhabitants of some of the western departments of France warmly espousing the interests of the non-juring clergy, that part of the kingdom soon became the resort of the discontented, and to this cause, more perhaps than to any other, may be traced the intestine war, which so long raged with almost inextinguishable fury in La Vendee. The assembly, no longer satisfied with depriving the clergy of their livings, passed a still more rigorous decree against this body, in the month of May, 1792, which decree the king refused to sanction by his authority, and this refusal is recorded as one of the leading causes of the abolition of monarchy in France—an event which took place on the 10th of August following.

On the 14th of August, in the same year, it was decreed that every Frenchman receiving pension or salary from the state, should be held to have abdicated his office, if he did not within a week from the publication of the law, take an oath “to maintain *liberty* and *equality*, or to die in their defence:” this decree was followed by another on the 26th of the same month, directing that all priests who had refused the constitutional oath, or after having taken had retracted it, should depart forthwith from the French territory on pain of imprisonment; and by another law, passed on the 17th of September, all such emigrants were prohibited from residing in any country at war with the French republic.

The convention, on succeeding the legislative body, were too much occupied in the first months of their session, to pursue this system of persecution; but on the 23d of April, 1793, they found leisure to decree, that all ecclesiastics, regular and secular, who had not taken the oath to maintain liberty and

equality, should be banished to Guiana, not to return on pain of death ; and this penalty was extended to all those priests, whom six citizens of the same canton should accuse of *incivism*—a crime which, as it never was defined, might be fixed upon any ecclesiastic, who should be so unfortunate as to incur the hostility of six of his parishoners. This was followed by a law, confirming the punishment of death against all banished priests who should venture to return to their country—against all who should evade the law by continuing in France—against all who should give them shelter—and even against those aged and infirm persons of the clerical orders who had been cast into prison, because they were unable to banish themselves. These tyrannical edicts, the forming of which had been preceded by numberless arrests and imprisonments, were proclaimed on the mangled bodies of the unfortunate victims, who, in various parts of the republic, tell a sacrifice to the savage and inhuman fury of the party, known in France by the name of *Septembriseurs*, or men of the second of September. The success of the conspiracy of the 31st of May, in the year 1793, completed, as we have already seen, the overthrow of all religion in France, and every form of christianity was swallowed up in the cheerless gulf of atheism. After the fall of Robespierre, the convention became less hostile to religion, and while they declared that the republic protected no exclusive mode of worship ; nor allowed salaries to any of its ministers ; they decreed penalties against such as should disturb the people in the exercise of their religion, and authorized the different communes to make use of the churches, requiring only from the ministers of religion, a declaration before the municipality, of their submission to the laws. Thus encouraged, the non-juring priests resumed the exercise of their functions, and an attempt made by the council of five hundred to revive the law for the banishment of refractory priests, was rejected by the council of elders.

Although the persecutions against the priesthood had not altogether ceased, a few constitutional bishops assembled in a kind of synod, in the spring of the year 1795, to examine the state of the desolated French church, and to take measures for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of public worship. Lamenting the persecutions to which the church had been subject during the reign of terror, and which they considered as the most violent that had ever been directed against its holy institutions, they beheld as they stated, in the final separation which had taken place between the church and the state, the means of destroying those abuses and evils to which this incorporation had given rise ; and they

regarded the present æra of the revolution, as affording a favourable opportunity for restoring religion to its original purity, delivered from political influence, and having no other relation with government, but the reciprocal interchange of submission, fidelity, and attachment, for justice, safety, and protection. And for the purpose of preventing the introduction of innovations into the church, and maintaining the union of their religion, this assembly published a provisional code, or declaration of faith, founded upon the maxims which had hitherto been adopted by the Gallican church. By this declaration, the pope was admitted to be the visible head of the church; and the whole of the doctrines taught by the apostolic and Roman church, defined by the œcumenical councils, as explained by Bosseut, were adopted as the standard of catholic belief. In the government of the church, the authority of episcopacy was the corner stone, as being of divine origin, and the bond of union among the different churches, as the supremacy of the holy see, was the common centre of catholicism; and as the hierarchy was declared to be recognized by divine right, independent or congregational assemblies were expressly condemned.

The synod next proceeded to the examination of the clergy, who had in various ways fallen off from the faith during the storm of revolutionary persecution. The marriage of priests, and the laws respecting divorce, were subjects of their severest reprehension; and the crime of *laicism*, which they defined to be the usurpation of the priestly office by the unordained, bore in their estimation the double character of error and sacrilege. In a second epistle, published about the end of the year, these constitutional bishops avowed that the government of the Christian church is spiritual—that its distinguishing characteristic is charity—that the obedience it demands is conformable to reason—that it was committed to all the apostles, and resides in the body of bishops, and that though the Bishop of Rome holds the first place in the community, his claim to the title of universal bishop is without foundation.

In all the controversies that took place between the conformists and non-conformists, who were now called dissenters; the government very wisely abstained from taking any part, but apprehending that these feuds might endanger the public tranquillity, the executive power issued an order for the dispersion of a second synod assembled at Versailles, in the month of March, in the year 1796.

It was not in France alone, that religious establishments sunk in the vortex of revolution. The Dutch republic, with a censurable precipitancy, without waiting for the sanction of

a constitutional law, abolished their protestant national church, and decreed that henceforth the state should defray the expense of no form of public worship, nor pay salaries to any of its ministers, except indemnities to such as might suffer by the present reform.

Under the auspices of the directory, a grand literary and scientific association, bearing the appellation of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE, was at this period formed in France. The first public meeting of this learned body was held in the great hall of the Louvre, on the 4th of April, 1796, when the president of the directory, in the presence of the ambassadors and ministers of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Tuscany, and Holland, with a vast assemblage of spectators, delivered a speech, in which he declared it to be the steadfast purpose of government to revive the drooping arts, and to shield both learning and liberty from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy.

Although every power in Europe had felt in a greater or a less degree the force of the French arms, or the diplomatic influence of the republic; England had hitherto, except in the unfortunate campaigns under the Duke of York, and the accumulation of her public debt, suffered comparatively little inconvenience from the war. Various had been the plans of annoyance against this country projected by the French government, but all had hitherto been delayed, or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, till it was at length suggested, that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage, was to attack her commerce, by shutting out her manufactures from every port in Europe subject to French control, or under French influence. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much dispatch as the jarring interests of the continental powers would allow, and British manufactures soon found no legal entrance into any port on the Continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic, with the exception only of the ports of the Hans Towns, of Portugal and of Russia.

Towards the close of the present year, the confederacy against France lost another of its members, in the person of Catharine II. Empress of Russia, who on the evening of the 6th of November was numbered amongst the dead. This extraordinary woman terminated a life of sixty-seven years, and a reign of forty-four, in a fit of apoplexy, attended with an extravasation of blood, and was found on the morning preceding her death in an almost lifeless state, stretched on the floor of her private closet, speechless and insensible.*

* The character of this princess will be best collected from the records of her eventful life. The means by which she ascended the

The events of the present year though of a chequered character, sufficiently proved that the contest which had now for five years raged in Europe, and desolated some of its fairest provinces, was drawing to a crisis. Already had the coalition formed against Republican France, exhibited striking symptoms of decay. Some of the powers originally united in the confederacy had withdrawn from the contest, and sunk into a state of neutrality, while others had actually gone over to the ranks of the enemy; and Austria, which alone remained to sustain the contest on the Continent, had suffered so extensively in her military means during the past campaign, that it required very little political sagacity to foresee that the emperor must avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to follow the example placed before him by sovereigns of inferior constancy.

throne are too well known; they are written in blood; and bear that hideous character by which the voice of God and nature has designated the most flagrant of human offences. Yet if ambition prompted her crimes, it must in candour be allowed, that wanton cruelty was not one of her vices. Unfortunately for the world, ambition in sovereigns is commonly a most fruitful source of misery to subjects, and the blood which was shed by Catherine, during a reign of almost uninterrupted warfare, to extend her dominions, already too extensive, bears a most decided testimony to the natural or habitual depravity of her heart.—To accomplish her ends, she seldom hesitated about the means, and her conduct towards Poland, and more especially towards the unfortunate king of that country, will leave upon her memory an indelible stain.—Yet though her authority was absolute and despotic, as that of her predecessors had been, she usually employed her authority in domestic concerns for the benefit of her subjects; in this pursuit she civilized her people; reduced their laws to a regular system; and accomplished many of the improvements begun by her illustrious predecessor, Peter the Great. She cultivated philosophy without suffering it to restrain her passions or check her irregular propensities; and her thirst of amorous gratifications was as strong as her lust of power, but it was much less pernicious to society. Upon the whole, though she was unquestionably a very immoral woman, and a sanguinary sovereign, yet her memory will long be cherished by the Russians as one of the best of their princes. In her throne she was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Paul, whose character will be collected from the future pages of this history.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Campaign of 1797: Attempts to raise the siege of Mantua frustrated—Signal defeat of the Austrian army—Fall of Mantua—Entrance of the French into the Ecclesiastical States—Correspondence between his holiness the Pope and General Bonaparte—Treaty of Tolentino—War carried into the Hereditary States of Austria—Critical situation of the French Army—Correspondence between the French Commander and the Archduke—The Emperor accepts the proposal to negotiate—Suspension of Arms—Treaty of Leoben—Campaign on the Rhine—Conquest of the Venetian Territory by the French—Subversion of the Governments of Venice and Genoa—Peace of Campo Formio—Bonaparte returns to Paris—Retrospect of the military movements of the six years' War—Charts.

THE imposing events of the last campaign had fixed the attention of all Europe upon the plains of Italy; and while the French Republic rang with the fame of her youthful chief-tain, the house of Austria was unremitting in her exertions to strengthen her army in Italy, the command of which was still retained by the unfortunate, but by no means disgraced Alvinzi. Accordingly at the commencement of the year 1797, that general was enabled to take the field, at the head of fifty thousand well appointed troops, and a formidable train of artillery, by means of which he did not despair of being able to chase the republicans beyond the Alps, and to circumscribe the dominions of France, within the limits prescribed to them by nature.

General Alvinzi having formed the determination to raise the blockade of Mantua, by a rapid march through Castello Nuovo, and Vallegio, attacked and carried the French position on the 7th January; the imperial commander then suddenly passed the Brenta, stormed the town of Cortona, which had been fortified with great care, and obliged a body of troops, under the command of Joubert, to fall back upon Rivoli. Bonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, was no sooner apprized of this new and unexpected irruption, than he repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made such judicious dispositions, that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprized and defeated.

In the mean time, the village of San Martino was repeatedly seized and retaken by both armies, and the event of these operations still remained doubtful, when General Joubert, whose horse had been killed under him, rallying some battalions of infantry, which had given way, overtook the Austrians in the neighbourhood of Rivoli; while Berthier making a charge with the cavalry, obliged them to retreat with precipitation to the heights of Cortona.

On the 14th of the same month, four thousand troops, which had been posted between the Adige and the lake of Garda, to cut off the retreat of the French, towards Verona and Peschiera, were constrained to lay down their arms; but notwithstanding these adverse events, General Provera, who had advanced with the left wing of the Austrians, found means to pierce the division commanded by Augereau, and, having crossed the Adige at Anguiari, forced General Guieux to retreat. He then advanced towards Mantua, and although pursued by Augereau, summoned General Miolis, who commanded the army that invested that fortress, to surrender. Receiving no answer but from the mouth of the cannon of the French batteries, and finding it impossible to raise the blockade, he made an ineffectual attack, during the same night, on the post called the Favorita, in which he was assisted by a vigorous sally on the part of the Field-Marshal Wurmser, but the garrison being obliged to retire, and Provera finding it impossible to enter the city, he and his troops were under the painful necessity of surrendering to the besiegers. While one wing of Alvinzi's army was thus obliged to capitulate, the general himself fled with the greatest precipitation, and was pursued by Massena and Joubert, who after overtaking him and defeating him at Carpenedo and Ariso, seized on Bassano and Trent, obtained possession of all his artillery, and obliged this commander, who had within this very month commenced the campaign so brilliantly, to fly across the mountains, at the head of a few fugitives. The result of these sanguinary battles, which continued for four successive days, was stated by the directory to be twenty thousand Austrians taken prisoners, among whom were three generals, and all the battalions of the Vienna volunteers, six thousand of the enemy killed or wounded, fifty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stand of colours taken. All the enemy's baggage seized, with a regiment of huzzars, and the whole of the convoy of grain and oxen, which it was the intention of the Austrians to throw into Mantua. As the directory predicted in the same communication, the capture of the important fortress of Mantua, (an event which followed on the 2d of February,) crowned the labours of the army of Italy. The gallant, but unfortunate Wurmser had made frequent sallies, with various success; but at length, this siege, which is said to have cost the French twenty-two and the Austrians no less than twenty-four thousand men, was terminated by famine rather than by the sword, for on the entrance of the French army into the city, they found that the horses of the troopers had been wholly devoured

by such of the garrison as survived the numerous conflicts without the walls.

Immediately on the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte published a proclamation to his army, in which he stated, that they "had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field pieces, and two thousand large cannon; that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them, had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole, campaign; while thirty millions of livres had been sent to the minister of finance, for the increase of the public treasure:" and after glancing at their achievements against the Kings and princes of Italy, he declared it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and requested them to recollect "that it was liberty they were about to present to the Hungarians, whose sovereign had disgraced himself by submitting to be in the pay, and at the disposal of England."

In the mean time, the papal see, which had relied with the most implicit confidence on the success of the Austrians, was menaced with sudden ruin; for Bonaparte, on the day preceding the capture of Mantua, had published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perfidy, he declared the armistice to be at an end, recalled the French minister from Rome, and threatened all those who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. Offers of security and protection were, however, held out to the peasantry, and even the priesthood was invited to persevere in its pious labours; but it was intimated to the latter, "that it must act in strict conformity with the precepts of the gospel, and not intermeddle in secular affairs."

These denunciations were not uttered in vain; for General Victor, in the course of the very next day, entered the town of Imola, and beheld the pontifical army intrenched along the banks of the Setria, with the left wing at Caffiano, the centre at Faenza, and the right at Lugo. At six o'clock on the succeeding morning his advanced guard arrived in presence of the enemy, who were defended by numerous redoubts, and a formidable train of artillery; but their chief reliance was placed in the sacred promises of the sovereign Pontiff.

The invaders immediately marched against Faenza, and finding that the fugitives had shut the gates, that the alarm-bell was rung, and that a furious multitude appeared ready

to defend the ramparts, they assaulted the city, on the 3d of February, and ascended its walls by means of scaling ladders.

The papal army, scarcely broken, immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna, and took refuge on the summits of the Appennines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber; the towns of Cesena, Forli, and Ravenna, on this submitted in succession. The whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the triumph of the three-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of the Loretto; while the votive offerings of kings, popes, and emperors, became the prey of an unbelieving soldiery.

Having thus subdued all the ecclesiastical provinces situated between the Adriatic sea and the Apenines, several French columns were detached into the mountains, in pursuit of the pontifical troops; and in the course of a few days Macerata, a town within forty leagues of Rome, had become the headquarters of the republican army. In the mean time the most alarming commotions prevailed in that capital; and when the French general arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness; apprehensive lest he should march to the seat of government, at length determined to negotiate. He accordingly dispatched four plenipotentiaries, consisting of two ecclesiastics and two laymen,* with a letter to Bonaparte† written with his own hand, in

* Cardinal Mathei, monsignor Galeppi, the Duke Louis Braschi, his nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massinio.

† "POPE PIUS VI.

"Dear son, health and apostolic benediction.

"Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the cardinal Mathei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Don Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers, to concert, promise, and subscribe, such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

"PIUS, P. P. VI."

"Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797,

"the 22d year of our pontificate."

"Bonaparte, General in chief of the army of Italy, to his Holiness the Pope.
Head-quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th year.

"Most holy father,

"I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

which he promised to subscribe to any reasonable conditions he might be inclined to impose. The victorious Corsican was doubtless flattered by the compliments of a venerable pontiff, whom he had been taught to consider as the head of that religion in the tenets of which he had been educated, and in his reply expressed his perfect esteem and veneration for his holiness; yet, notwithstanding the mutual compliments that passed upon this occasion, the conditions exacted from Pius VI. by the treaty of Tolentino, executed on the 20th of February, were by no means calculated to give satisfaction to the court of Rome. By this treaty his holiness was now obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin, to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statutes, pictures, and treasure, stipulated in the former convention; and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expenses of the war.

The recent and brilliant successes of the Archduke Charles against the conqueror of Fleurus had impressed all Germany with the most favourable opinion of his genius and valour; and the court of Vienna already imagined that this young hero was destined to restore their wonted superiority to the Imperial arms in Lombardy. His highness was nearly of the same age as the French general; both of them testified a similar passion for glory, and an equal contempt of danger; but the former had to combat against troops accustomed to vanquish, while the latter had to lead those troops against an army principally composed of newly raised battalions. It was not without great difficulty, that Francis II. was enabled to recruit his army; for the Hungarian levies had nearly all perished in the plains of Italy, and a large portion of the youth of Vienna had either been taken prisoners, or cut off by the sword of the enemy. A great and last effort was however

“The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself in being able to contribute to your personal safety.

“I entreat your holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemy’s of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

“Europe knows the pacific inclinations, and the virtues of your holiness. The French republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

“I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

“Your most obedient servant,

“BONAPARTE.”

made, and to a considerable body of recruits were added several divisions of that victorious army, at the head of which the archduke had combated during the preceding year in Suabia and Franconia. Such formidable preparations determined the directory to send a number of the battalions cantoned on the frontiers of the Rhine into Italy, to encounter the very same warriors with whom they had before fought in the midst of the Black Forest.

The Austrians, on their arrival, were formed into an army as before, between the Tagliamento and the Piava; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river and the left border of the Arisio, were prepared to oppose their progress.

Three grand movements were now ordered to take place, in consequence of which General Massena advanced to Feltri, on the 24th of February, while General Serrurier crossed the Piava in front of the village of Vidore, and General Guieux, who commanded the right wing, proceeded as far as Sacile along the great road from Vicenza, to Palma la Nuova. The enemy, already obliged to act on the defensive, retired at their approach; having crossed the Tagliamento, and cut down the bridges behind them, they threw up intrenchments which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado, and prepared to dispute the passage of that river.

While Massena, with his division, was employed in the pursuit of one part of the imperial forces amidst the fastnesses which separate the dominions of Venice from the Tyrol; the left of the French army, under Joubert, Delmas, and Barraguay-D'Hilliers, was ordered to penetrate along the Adige into Carinthia, and thus create a diversion in favour of the main body.

In the mean time, the commander-in-chief appeared on the banks of the Tagliamento, the deep and impetuous current of which would, at any other period, have presented a most formidable barrier; but the diminished stream could then be easily forded, in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, he immediately ordered General Guieux to cross at one of the fords, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's intrenchments, while the troops which had arrived from the Rhine should execute the same operation in a different quarter.

On the 16th of March, Duphoz at the head of one division, and Murat in presence of another, precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry was repeatedly, but in-

effectually, charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received without flinching, on the points of their bayonets ; but it was principally to the murderous fire of their artillery that the republicans were indebted to this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape-shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The Imperialists, however, still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death ; but no sooner had General Guieux penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the archduke had established his head-quarters, than they fell into disorder, and fled towards the mountains, abandoning a large portion of artillery and baggage, the towns of Palma la Nuova, Civita di Friuli, Udina, Gemma, and all the Venetian territory, as far as the confines of Upper Carinthia and Carniola, to the mercy of the enemy.

In the mean time General Joubert had penetrated to the banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians ; and after a long and bloody action, during which he took four thousand prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neu-mark, with an intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat towards Bolsana. A second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon after at Trames ; however, General Laudohn, who was well acquainted with this mountainous region, contrived for some time to arrest the progress of the invaders, at a pass of the Eisach ; but at length the light infantry were fortunate enough to scale a precipice, whence they rolled immense masses of rock on the opposing column, and their centre being pierced, and one of their flanks turned, nearly at the same time, the whole of the artillery, which consisted of eight pieces, with fifteen hundred soldiers, fell into the power of the republicans. After this, the invaders took possession of Brixen, in which were found immense magazines.

On the other hand, the division under Massena, pursuing the centre of the retreating army, seized on the fort of Chiusa, forced the bridge of Carasola, and at length reached Tarvis, a town built on the summit of a mountain ; while Bernadotte, at the head of a body of grenadiers, took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul. The capture of this city rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea. Gorits submitted, without making the least resistance ; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic appertaining to the emperor, followed its example ; and, while scaling the Norick Alps, still covered with snow, Bonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared that the French armies

were fighting for peace, and that they would not fail to extend protection to the peaceable Tyroleans.

In the mean time the archduke, who had retired to Clagenfurt, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops, on the 26th, against Massena, who commanded one of them; in consequence of a phenomenon not unusual in a mountainous country, a battle was literally fought upon this occasion above the clouds, and the Austrians were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills covered with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, the same general fell in with a detachment of the Imperialists already alluded to; and, after a slight engagement, seized on all the heavy artillery, and nearly the whole of the baggage, belonging to the army of his highness. But the career of success did not stop here; for the whole of the French army being now put in motion, arrived on the 30th of March, in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia, where the commander-in-chief of the Austrians had established his headquarters previous to his retreat along the banks of the Muer.

Notwithstanding Bonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was critical and alarming. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the house of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the vallies, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose patriarchal manners were as yet undebased by tyranny, while they were still protected by their poverty from the miseries of fiscal oppression. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded, like Moreau, or nearly cut off, like Jourdan; all these considerations operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary for his own glory, and even for the preservation of his army, to affect the language of moderation. The French general accordingly addressed a letter to his rival, in which, after lamenting the miseries of a war which had already desolated Europe during six years, he inquired whether he was desirous to merit the title of "the benefactor of mankind, and the saviour of Germany?" by accepting overtures of peace.

The archduke, in his answer, assured General Bonaparte of "his distinguished consideration and esteem," but he exhibited no symptoms of eagerness to comply with his invitation;

on the contrary, he stated "that he was not intrusted with any power on the part of his imperial majesty to treat, and that he could not enter into any negotiation whatsoever."

Thinking, by the tenor of this reply, that his highness, now encamped with his troops along the summits of the Norick Alps, was averse from peace, the French General again put his army in motion on the 2d of April, and the advanced posts of the enemy were attacked, and attempted to be carried by the bayonet : on this the commander-in-chief of the imperialists pushed forward eight battalions of the grenadiers who had taken fort Kehl ; and although the light infantry had gained all the rocks to the right and left of the Austrians, and the other troops assailed them at the same time in front, yet they continued to maintain the position until night, when they retired, leaving Newmark and Judenburg in possession of the assailants.

The invaders had now traversed the southern chain of the Alps ; and Bonaparte, who had by this time arrived within thirty-five leagues of Vienna, threatened to cross the northern range, and plant the three-coloured standard in the capital of the emperor. The emperor, listening at length to the voice of his people, resolved to treat about the conditions of peace ; and Bonaparte, who had now learned that the senate of Venice was encouraging an insurrection among the Italians in his rear, that the inhabitants of the Tyrol had risen in a mass, that General Laudohn had retaken Botsen and Brixen, and that Moreau and Hoche had not yet passed the Rhine for the purpose of marching along the eastern extremity of Bavaria to his assistance, readily complied with the invitation. Lieutenant-general the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-general Morveldt, the imperial plenipotentiaries, accordingly repaired to his headquarters at Leoben, on the 9th, and after a short interview presented a note in the name of Francis II. to which Bonaparte returned a suitable answer. A suspension of arms for nine days immediately followed ; and on the 18th of April, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at the Castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, which has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio.

The campaign on the Rhine, though by no means destitute of important events, was so much eclipsed by the military transactions on the side of Italy, as to attract but little attention. The directory, acting upon the principle of never suffering an unfortunate general to remain at the head of their armies, had removed Jourdan from his command, and confided the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, to General Hoche.

Early in the spring, this general passed the Rhine at Mulheim, and attacked the Austrian intrenchments on the banks of the Lahn, with considerable success, pursuing the Austrian army under the command of General Werneck, to the gates of Frankfort. In the mean time General Moreau, that celebrated chief, who had acquired a greater portion of public confidence by his military retreat, than he could have obtained from an uniform succession of victories, passed the Rhine in the vicinity of Strasburg, but not without a formidable resistance from the Austrian artillery. On obtaining the German bank of that river, which had so often during the contest been defiled with blood, a fierce and bloody conflict ensued, in which the Austrians were in the end repulsed, and the Fort of Kehl (still lying in ruins) with the Austrian park of artillery, and several thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the republicans. The Austrian army, on this discomfiture, retreated with precipitation towards the Danube; and at the moment when Moreau was preparing to achieve new triumphs, he received a courier from Bonaparte, announcing the signature of the preliminary treaty of peace, near Leoben.

While the army under General Bonaparte were engaged in the defiles of Styria, and had left behind them their principal military establishments in Italy, where a small number of battalions alone remained, the aristocracy of Venice, acting upon the supposition "that it appertained to the lion of St. Mark, to verify the proverb, that Italy was destined to become the tomb of the French," exhibited the most hostile indications. Taking advantage of passion week, they armed forty thousand peasants, to which were added ten regiments of Sclavonians, with a view to interrupt the communications between the French army and their resources. To this cause of complaint they added, according to a proclamation issued by the French general, from Palma Nuova, on the 13th of May, additional provocation, by assassinating all the republicans in Verona, several officers in Padua, and murdering two hundred French soldiers, by the poniard, in the neighbourhood of Mantua. Irritated to the highest degree by these repeated and decisive acts of hostility, the French general hastened to avail himself of the overwhelming force placed at his disposal by the treaty of Leoben; and accordingly Augereau, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, marched into Venice, and seizing on the arsenal and forts, demanded at the same time the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, accused of having instigated their countrymen to the assassination of the French soldiery. In a few days, a democratical municipality was installed; the islands in the Adriatic

were subdued by the navy that had hitherto protected them ; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country.

In Genoa also the nobles were friendly to the Austrian cause, but the people were attached to the French interests, and desirous of a popular government. Bonaparte, in consequence, soon after the revolution of Venice, established a democratical government in Genoa ; but as the nobles had never shown an active hostility, and made no material resistance to the change, they escaped exactions.

Meanwhile the negociation between the French republic, and his majesty the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, proceeded, and on the 17th of October, 1797, the definitive treaty was signed on the part of the two governments, at Campo Formio, near Udina. By this treaty, the emperor “renounced for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the Austrian Netherlands ;” and consented that the French republic should possess in full sovereignty the ci-devant Venetian Islands of the Levant—viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and the other islands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vonizza, and in general all the Venetian establishments in Albania. And “the French republic, consented that the emperor should possess in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian Canals, and the countries lying between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor, and the Adriatic sea ;” his Majesty the Emperor, acknowledging “the Cisalpine republic, founded on the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, as an independent power, which republic composed the ci-devant Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, the Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.” This treaty was immediately promulgated, but fourteen secret articles, highly important in their nature, were for a time concealed. By one of these it was agreed on the part of the emperor, to use his influence, “that the French republic should, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Nette, above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from whence that river falls into

the Rhine, to its source near Bruch." His imperial majesty also agreed to use his good offices, to obtain for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; while on the other hand the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria, the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria: and the fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Mannheim, Konigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the imperial troops in the course of twenty days.

Bonaparte, having thus "conquered a continental peace," returned to Paris, on the 20th of November, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people, and received with every possible mark of consideration by the government. But many of the Italians, and not a few of the French, were disgusted with the fate of Venice, where the people instead of being freed from the dominion of an arbitrary government, merely transferred their servitude by a change of masters. And all Europe beheld with wonder and astonishment, the emperor secretly sacrificing the interests of Germany to his own security, and openly stipulating for indemnities from the dominions of an ally which had been devoted to destruction in consequence of its attachment to the common cause.

The close of the first revolutionary war on the Continent, calls for a short retrospect of the operations of the armies, and the annexed charts of the scene of operations in France, Holland, Germany and Italy, will afford the requisite facilities for tracing those movements, which in their result fixed for the present the new limits of the continental powers.

The campaign of 1792, was opened by the armies of France, then fighting under a limited monarchy, and their first operations being directed against the Austrian Netherlands, they possessed themselves without any formidable resistance, of Courtray, Ypres, Menin, and some other places of minor importance; but these conquests were of short duration, for the allied armies under the Duke of Brunswick, penetrating into the interior of France, took possession of Longwy, Verdun, and Stenay, and interposed between the French army and their capital. France now became a republic, and her inhabitants, animated to the highest degree of martial enthusiasm, poured immense levies into the field, which rolling back the tide of victory, obliged the allies to surrender back Longwy and Verdun, and to retire in the most deplorable state of famine and dysentery, into Austrian Flanders, while the French General Dumouriez, continuing to advance as the enemy receded, took possession of Spire, Worms and even of Frank:

fort; and after an arduous struggle on the heights of Gemmep, laid the foundation of the conquest of the Netherlands.

In the early part of the year 1793, the French republic having declared herself at war with the King of England, and the Stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, the campaign was opened by an irruption into Holland, and the fortress of Williamstadt was besieged by the republicans, who soon after found it necessary to retreat to Conde before the successful armies of their adversaries, under General Clairfayt and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to the latter of whom the fortress of Valenciennes speedily surrendered. The fortune of war, no longer propitious to the allies, forsook his royal highness in his unsuccessful attack upon Dunkirk, which proved decisive of the campaign in that quarter, and the French having now again become the assailants, seized upon the important stations of Werwick and Furnes. On the Rhine, the campaign terminated in the allies retreating across that river, while on the side of Spain and Italy, the war was prosecuted with various success.

The allies in the mean time had relaxed no efforts to arrest the hand of disaster, and the campaign of 1794, opened with a force on the part of England, Austria, and Holland, amounting to one hundred and eighty-seven thousand efficient troops. The French force collected on the frontier was found altogether inadequate to oppose an army of such vast magnitude, and it was not till the allies had advanced into the heart of France, and again possessed themselves of a number of her bulwarks, that the troops of the enemy, swelled as their numbers were, by the levy-en-masse, could arrest the victorious career of the invaders. The victory of Fleurus, however, was one of those decisive events, which so frequently in the course of the war, had served to revive the shattered hopes of the republicans, and the combined forces now again retreating in all directions, left the cities of Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Brussels and Namur, without protection. The Duke of York, participating in the unexpected disasters of the campaign, retreated from Tournay to Renaix, through Brussels into Holland, and after sustaining with unshaken constancy, all the disasters of an unsuccessful campaign in a northern climate, and during a rigorous winter, placed the shattered remains of his dispirited army on the right side of the river Waal, while the persevering enemy favoured by the elements, passed with facility over the ice-bound rivers of the United Provinces.

The campaign of 1795, less prolific in important events than those of the preceding years, opened, by the French taking possession of Luxembourg, Dusseldorff and Manheim,

but as if it had been determined that the result of every campaign on the German and French frontier should be at variance with its commencement, the French were afterwards obliged to raise the siege of Mentz and Manheim, the latter of which was retaken by the imperialists, whose ardour seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties of their situation, and who sustained the war with untarnished glory, although abandoned by Prussia, Spain and Tuscany, and no longer supported on the Continent by British co-operation. On the other hand, in Italy, so soon to become the principal theatre of hostilities, success still attended the arms of France, and the possession of Pietre, Loana, Finale and Vado, acquired during the present campaign, opened the barriers of the Alps, and exposed the Italian states to the future incursions of the republicans.

During the campaign of 1796, General Bonaparte, now appointed to the command of the army of Italy, by a series of the most brilliant successes, advanced from the plains of Piedmont to the gates of Mantua, while the French armies on the German frontier under Generals Monroe and Jourdan, having advanced from the Rhine to the Danube, were arrested in their progress of victory, and compelled by the Archduke Charles to seek safety with diminished numbers on the western side of the Rhine. 11

In the campaign of 1797, Bonaparte, pursuing his victorious career, triumphed over the archduke in Italy, and penetrating through the defiles of the Tyrol into Styria, advanced to within sixty-eight miles of the capital of the German empire; here the preliminary articles of peace were signed, on the 18th of April, 1797, and the sword which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and which for six successive years, had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently restored to the peaceful scabbard.

In the midst of these military events on the Continent, the power of Great Britain was felt in the distant regions of Asia and America, and the colonial possessions of her enemies, both in the east and the west, were made to acknowledge her sway; while her natural bulwark, the ocean, at once secured her native dominions from the attacks of her enemies, extended the range of her commercial greatness, and administered to her naval renown.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Naval Campaign of 1797: Battle of Cape St. Vincent—Battle of Camperdown—Capture of Trinidad—Unsuccessful attack on Porto Rico—Failure of an attempt to capture the Island of Teneriffe—Descent on the Coast of Wales—The Invaders made Prisoners of War.

THE operations of the confederated powers during the present war, were doomed to misfortune, and the disasters which attended the combined armies of Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain on the Continent, were not more signal than those which awaited the combined navies of France, Spain, and Holland, on the ocean.

The Spanish monarch, so recently the ally, had now become the enemy of England; and the French republic having at their disposal the navy of Spain, as well as that of Holland, proposed to their confederates, that the greatest part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year 1797, to Brest, where being joined by the French ships of war in that port, they should afterwards form a junction with the Dutch fleet, and that this armada, then swelled to upwards of seventy sail of the line, should bear down upon England, and having humbled the lofty pretensions of her naval power, should lay the foundation for her future subjugation. This design soon became too obvious to be concealed from the British ministry, and in order to frustrate its execution a fleet under Sir John Jervis, was appointed to blockade the port of Cadiz, while Admiral Duncan was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch the movements of the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

Sir John Jervis having received intelligence on the 13th of February, from Captain Foote, of the *Niger*, stationed off Carthagena, that the fleet under Admiral Don Joseph de Cor-

dova, was at sea, immediately set sail in quest of it.* At the dawn of the succeeding day the enemy was descried off

* SPANISH FLEET.

This Fleet Comprehended one Ship called Santissima Trinidad, commanded by Admiral Don Cordova, of 136 guns.

	Guns.
Six of	112
Two of	84
Eighteen of	74
Exclusive of Twelve Frigates of	34
<i>Ships' Names</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Santissima Trinidad	136
Conception	112
Conde de Regia	112
<i>Salvador del Mundo</i>	112
Name unknown	112
<i>San Josef</i>	112
Name unknown	112
<i>San Nicolas</i>	84
Name unknown	84
Oriente	74
Gloriose	74
Atlante	74
Conquistador	74
Soberano	74
<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Firme	74
Pelazo	74
San Genaro	74
San Idelphonso	74
San Juan Nepomucino	74
San Francisco de Paula	74
<i>San Ysidoro</i>	74
San Antonio	74
San Paulo	74
San Firmin	74
Neptuna	74
Bahama	74
Name unknown	74

The four ships printed in *Italics*, were taken.

Total—2308

BRITISH FLEET.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Victory	100	{ Sir John Jervis, K. B. 1st Capt. R. Calder. 2d Capt. G. Grey.
Brittannia	100	{ Vice Adm. Thompson. Capt. T. Foley.
Barfleur	98	{ Vice-Admiral W. Wal- dergrave. Capt. J. R. Dacres.
Prince George	98	{ Rear-Admiral W. Par- ker. Capt. J. Irvin.
Blenheim	90	—T. L. Frederick.
Namur	90	—J. H. Whitshed.
Captain	74	{ Commodore H. Nelson. Capt. R. W. Miller.
Irresistable	74	—G. Martin.
Egmont	74	—J. Sutton.
Culloden	74	—T. Towbridge.
Orion	74	—Sir J. Saumarez.
Colossus	74	—G. Murray.
Excellent	74	—C. Collingwood.
Goliath	74	{ —Sir C. H. Knowles, Bart.
Diadem	64	—G. H. Towry.

Total—1232

Exclusive of Seven Frigates, of various rates.

Cape St. Vincent, but as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock, that a signal from a British frigate announced the enemy's fleet to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line. The gallant British commander, though his squadron consisted of no more than fifteen ships, resolved to bring them to action, and at half past eleven o'clock formed in the most complete order of sailing in two lines. "By carrying a press of sail, the British squadron was so fortunate as to prevent the two divisions of the enemy's fleet from connecting, and to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. Such a moment was not to be lost, and confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men under his command, the gallant Admiral, judging that the honour of his majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprize, felt himself justifiable in departing from the regular system; and passing through the enemy's fleet, in a line, formed with the utmost celerity, he attacked, and thereby separated one third from the main body; after a partial cannonade which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ships of the line were captured by the British, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening."* (37.)

This brilliant victory, which acquired for the British Admiral, the appropriate title of Earl St. Vincent, was obtained with but little loss; for only one single seaman happened to be killed on board the ship carrying the Admiral's flag; and although Commodore Nelson, in the Captain, of seventy-

* London Gazette Extraordinary, March 3d, 1797.

(37.) No French or Spanish account, has, we believe, been published of this engagement. The English writers differ among themselves, as to the force of the Spanish fleet. In his official letter, Admiral Jervis stated the force opposed to him, to have consisted of 25 sail, but the list annexed to his despatch, contained 4 of 112 guns, 1 of 84, and 19 of 74 guns, making only 24 in all. The proneness of some of the English writers, to exaggerate the event of their naval combats, has led them to increase the number of Spanish vessels to twenty-seven, and the force of the Admiral's flag ship to 136 guns. It should be remembered, that in consequence of the superior skill of the English officers in manœuvring, only one third of the Spanish fleet was engaged against the whole of the British. Notwithstanding this inferiority of force, they appear to have fought with great bravery, for we find that two of the English ships, the Captain and Culloden, were rendered unserviceable. The Spanish fleet also, was "ill equipped, and indifferently manned, and in no respect fit for action; their flag ship had not more than 60 or 80 seamen on board, the rest consisted of impressed landmen or soldiers of the new levies." *New Annual Register*, 1797, p. 249.

four guns, distinguished himself greatly upon that occasion, by boarding the *San Nicholas* and *San Josef* in succession, yet he only lost one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines. Much to the credit of the commander in chief, to whom the *Salvador del Mundo* struck, only a few English ships were engaged in the contest. The slain and wounded in the Spanish ships, amounted to about twelve hundred, including amongst the former, Commodore Don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen, while the loss of the British did not exceed one fourth part of that number. Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation on the arrival of intelligence of this well-timed victory. The fleet was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred a patent of an Earldom, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, on the Admiral in chief; Vice-admiral Thompson, and Rear-admiral Parker, were created baronets; Commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; Captain R. Calder was knighted; and gold medals and chains were presented to all the commanders.

The French, indignant at the succours afforded by this country to the insurgents of La Vendee, determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, and the directory gave orders to embark a body of troops on board the Dutch fleet in the Texel, to execute this plan of invasion. On the first intelligence of these preparations, which took place early in the year, and formed part of a combined plan of operations, the board of Admiralty sent a powerful squadron to the North Sea, as has been already intimated, under the command of Admiral Duncan, to intercept the enemy. But it was not till the month of October, and not till the British Admiral had returned to Yarmouth to refit, that the Dutch fleet put to sea. On this the English commander, who had received the most early and accurate information of the enemy's movements, suddenly returned to his former station.

The command of the enemy's fleet, which consisted of twenty-six sail, including frigates, had been confided to Admiral De Winter, an amphibious warrior, who had distinguished himself on another element, under General Pichegru.—No sooner had De Winter quitted the Texel, than Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron of observation at the mouth of that river, gave notice of his approach, and on the 11th of October, Admiral Duncan gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch ships were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward.

Admiral Duncan, whose fleet, like that of his gallant compeer, St. Vincent, consisted of fifteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, finding there was no time to be lost, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which the British squadron placed itself between the enemy and the land, whither they were fast approaching. The admiral's signal being obeyed with promptitude, Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear, in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The *Venerable* soon got through the enemy's line, and a close action was begun on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch Admirals ship were observed to go by the board; she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner, but being overpressed by numbers, her colours were struck, and Admiral De Winter was brought on board the *Venerable*; soon after the ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag, was also dismasted, and surrendered to Vice-Admiral Onslow;* and these, with three of sixty-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two vessels of inferior force, were taken possession of by the English. In the early part of the action, Rear-admiral story, who commanded the centre division of the Dutch fleet, fled for the Texel in the *States-general* of seventy-four guns, with part of his division, and afterwards made a merit of having saved part of the fleet.

This action was gallantly contested by the principal part of the enemy's fleet, proved one of the most brilliant and decisive engagements recorded in our naval annals. (38.) The British

* London Gazette Extraordinary, October 16th, 1797.

(38.) The victory of Camperdown has always been considered, by the British annalists, as one of the brightest ornaments of their naval history. Admiral Duncan, for his services on the occasion, was created a Viscount, with a pension of about fifteen thousand dollars a year: different honours were showered upon the other officers, and the whole fleet received the thanks of both houses of Parliament. They must therefore have been considered by the Government, as having performed a very brilliant exploit. Let us see how far this supposition is borne out by the facts. We find it stated, in the text,* that the Dutch fleet consisted of 27 sail, and the English only of 15. So far there appears to have been a prodigious superiority of force on the part of the former. On referring however to the list of vessels in the two squadrons, in page 380, we find that the English consisted of 16 sail, besides two frigates and six smaller vessels, making, together, 24 sail. Another English writer states, that Admiral Duncan sailed from Yarmouth in quest of the Dutch fleet, "with 16 sail of the line, and 3 frigates," and "got sight of Admiral Trollope's squadron on the 11th."† Now Admiral Trol-

* P. 375.

† New Annual Register, 1797.

squadron suffered much in their masts, yards and rigging, and many of the ships lost a number of men, but in no proportion to the loss of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the admiral's flags, was beyond all description, and did not amount to less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board each ship. The total loss of the British amounted to one hundred and ninety-one killed, and five hundred and sixty wounded, while the loss of the enemy must have exceeded double that number.*

The votes of both houses of parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the captains were gratified by medals; the veneral admiral was rewarded by the king with the dignity of Viscount Camperdown, and a pension of three

lope was in the Russel, of 74 guns, in company probably with several others. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that the British force consisted of at least 20 sail of the line, besides frigates. According to the English statements† the Dutch fleet was composed of only 4 sail of the line, 5 vessels of 68 guns, 2 of 64, and 4 of 56, exclusive of frigates; which from their inferior weight of metal, are little calculated for general engagements. The disproportion appears therefore to have been on the other side. Admitting however the list in the text of the comparative force of the two fleets, to be correct, it will be found that the British consisted of 14 sail of the line, and two of 50 guns, besides frigates. The actual number of guns, therefore, mounted in the British fleet, (excluding frigates and smaller vessels, and supposing that each ship carried ten more guns than she is rated) was 1226; while the Dutch fleet (excluding also the smaller vessels from the computation) carried only 988, making a difference in favour of the former, of 238 guns; which it must be remembered were of heavier metal. If therefore the whole Dutch fleet had been engaged, it would have been with a great inferiority of force. We find, however, that Admiral Story, in one of the 74 gun ships, disobeyed the orders of Admiral Winter, and with several others of his division, ran for the Texel, "at the very commencement of the action."§ Admiral Winter was then left, with probably no more than two thirds of his original forces, to engage an English fleet, carrying at least one third more guns. In spite of these untoward circumstances, the action was maintained by the Dutch with great obstinacy, and their vessels were only surrendered to an overpowering superiority of numbers. Such was "the brilliant and memorable victory of Camperdown."

† P. 377.

§ New Annual Register, 1797.

* *List and Disposition of the Dutch Fleet, on the 11th of October, 1797.*

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
VAN Vice-admiral Reynjjes.	1 Cerberus	Captain Jacobson	68	450
	2 Delft	Captain Verdoorn	56	375
	3 Jupiter	{ Vice-adm. Reyntjes }	74	550
		{ Rear-adm. Meuses }		
	4 Alkmaar	Captain Kraft	56	360
	5 Haerlem	Captain Wiggerts	68	450
	6 Munnikkendam.	Captain Lancaster	44	270
	7 Heldin	{ Captain Dumisnidle }	32	230
		{ L'Estrille }		
	8 Daphne (Brig)	Lieutenant Fredericks	18	98

thousand pounds per annum ; while Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and the Captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret.

In the interval between the memorable engagements of St. Vincent and Camperdown, Cadiz was twice bombarded by Rear-admiral Nelson acting under the command of Lord St. Vincent. On the first occasion, on the 23d of June ; and on the 5th of July, and by these operations considerable injury was inflicted upon that city, but without in any way advancing the objects of the war.

In the month of February in the present year, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to an expedition consisting of six sail of the line, and a number of troops, fitted out at Port-royal, in Martinico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby and Admiral Harvey. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, who had a squadron of four ships of the line, and one frigate lying at anchor in the gulf of Paria, set fire to their ships, and one line of battle ship only escaping the conflagration, fell into the hands of the victors ; the governor and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

Encouraged by this easy conquest, the same commanders made an attempt in the month of April on the large and important island of Porto Rico. But this island being found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, the enterprise totally

CENTRE. Ad. De Winter Van Rossem, Commander-in-chief.	9	<i>Wassenaer</i>	Captain Holland	64	450
	10	Batavier	Captain Sonters	56	350
	11	<i>Vryheid</i> (<i>the Liberty !</i>)	Admiral De Winter	74	550
	12	States-general		74	550
	13	Leyden	Captain Musquetier	68	450
	14	Mars	Captain Kolff	44	400
	15	Waaksaamheid	Captain Nicrop	24	150
	16	Minerva	Captain Eilbracht	24	150
	17	Galatea (brig)	Lieutenant Rivery	18	98
	18	Atalanta do.	Lieutenant Plets	18	98
REAR. Rear-adm. Bloys.	19	<i>Admiral Devries</i>	Captain Zegers	68	450
	20	<i>Hercules</i>	Captain Van Rysort	64	450
	21	Brutus	Rear-adm. Bloys	74	550
	22	Breschemer	Captain Hinxtt	56	350
	23	<i>Gelykheid</i> (<i>the Equality !</i>)	Captain Ruyson	68	450
	24	<i>Ambuscade</i>		32	270
	25	Ajax (Brig)	Lieutenant Arkenbout	18	98
	26	Haasje (adv. boat)	Lieutenant Hartenfeld	6	35
Total—				1266	8682

The eleven printed in *Italics* were captured.

failed, and was attended with a loss to the assailants of upwards of two hundred men.

An attack made upon the isle of Teneriffe, by a squadron of seven ships of war, commanded by Commodore, now Admiral Nelson, and a force of one thousand marines, under Captain Trowbridge, was still more unfortunate. On the 15th of July, the British expedition arrived before the port of Santa Cruz, and having effected a landing, took possession of the town, but they learnt, when too late, that the force under their command, was utterly unequal either to carry the fort of Santa Cruz, or to contend with the military force of the island, now assembled to oppose them. Preparing therefore for a retreat, they had the misfortune to learn that the violence of the surge on the beach had stoven their boats, and reduced them to a mere wreck. In this situation they were summoned by the Spanish commander to surrender; but this the gallant Trowbridge disdainfully rejected, adding "that while he had a man left alive he would not capitulate." On which the Spaniard, well disposed to be

Disposition of the English Fleet, in the order of Battle, on the 11th of October, 1797.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
<i>Larboard or Lee Division.</i> <i>Richard Onslow, Esq. Vice</i> <i>Admiral of the Red.</i>	1 Russel	Captain Trollope	74	590
	2 Director	Captain Bligh	64	491
	3 Montagu	Captain Knight	74	590
	4 Veteran	Captain Gregory	64	491
	5 Monarch	{ Vice-adm. Onslow }	74	599
	6 Powerful	{ Captain O'Drury }	74	590
	7 Monmouth	Captain Walker	64	491
	8 Agincourt	Captain Williamson	64	491
Repeaters—Beaulieu Frigate.—Cutters, Rose, King George, Active, Diligent—Speculator Lugger,				
<i>Starboard, or Weather Division.</i> <i>Adam Duncan, Esq. Ad. of the Blue,</i> <i>Commander-in-chief.</i>	9 Triumph	Captain Effington	74	640
	10 Venerable	{ Admiral Duncan }	74	593
	11 Ardent	{ Captain Fairfax }	64	491
	12 Bedford	Captain Burgess	64	491
	13 Lancaster	Captain Sir T. Byard	74	590
	14 Belliqueux	Captain Wells	64	491
	15 Adamant	Captain Inglis	64	491
	16 Isis	Captain Hotham	50	343
Repeaters—Circe Frigate. Martin Sloop.				
			1066	8315
The two Frigates			68	500
Total—			1134	8815

freed from the presence of such unwelcome visitors, sent a polite message to the Captain, to say, that for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood, facilities would be afforded to himself and his followers to return to their ships ; and as soon as the capitulation to this effect was signed, the enemy very generously furnished them with supplies of wine and biscuits. The loss of lives in this ill-advised attempt, was equal to that sustained in the battle of Cape St. Vincent ; forty-four privates were killed, one hundred and five wounded, ninety-seven drowned, and five unaccounted for ; Captain Richard Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, and six lieutenants lost their lives ; Captain Thompson of the *Leander*, Captain Freemantle of the *Seahorse*, a lieutenant and a midshipman were wounded, and Rear-admiral Nelson lost his arm.

Great Britain being now the only country either at war with, or formidable to the French republic, the directory, after conquering so many kings, menaced the independence of the British empire, by ordering troops to be assembled on the coasts of the channel, under the designation of “ the army of England ;” while, as if to add some weight to their impotent resolves, they declared that “ the conqueror of Italy” was appointed to its command. In the early part of this year, and before “ the conqueror” had terminated his career in Italy, a most extraordinary and ridiculous prelude to this farce of invasion, was performed on the coast of Wales, by an expedition fitted out at the port of Brest. On the 22d of February, that part of the coast of Devonshire, which lies at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, was surprised by the appearance of an enemy’s force, which, entering the small port of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant vessels, and made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy all the ships in the harbour. This invading squadron, which consisted of two frigates, and two sloops, next steered its course for the bay of Cardigan, in Wales, where on the 23d of February, they disembarked about fifteen hundred criminals, attired as French troops, and provided with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field pieces. On receiving information of this event, the Welch peasantry, animated by the gentry of the country, flew to arms—not the arms of war, but of husbandry, and each man providing himself with a scythe, a sickle, or a pitchfork, marched forth to meet the invader. In the mean time Lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a local force consisting of from six to seven hundred militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry, and the French commander perceiving his situation to be desperate, despatched a letter the

day following to his lordship,* and about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, surrendered himself and his followers prisoners of war. To add to the disaster of this extraordinary enterprise, the two frigates that accompanied the expedition, were captured on their return to Brest, and the whole expedition, proved as unfortunate in the execution, as it was unaccountable in the design.

CHAPTER II.

British History: Opening of the new Parliament—Earl Fitzwilliam's Protest—Lord Malmesbury's first Negotiation—Its progress and failure—Debate on the Negotiation—Preparations against Invasion—Ominous Aspect of Public Affairs at the Commencement of the Year 1797—Stoppage of the Bank—Mutiny in the Fleets—Concessions to the Seamen—Suppression of the Mutiny—Trial and Execution of Richard Parker and his principal associates—Motions in Parliament on the State of Ireland—For the Dismissal of Ministers—For Parliamentary Reform—Prorogation of Parliament—Death of Mr. Burke—Marriage of the Princess Royal.

THE war which had so long raged in Europe, was still prosecuted between Great Britain and France with undiminished energy, but the governors of both countries began to find it necessary to remove the impression, that the contest was as interminable in its duration, as it was indefinite in its objects, and with this view his majesty, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the new parliament on the 6th of October, 1796, declared, "That he had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negotiation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed." For this purpose, his majesty would "immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers

"Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th year of the Republic.

* "SIR,

"The circumstances under which the body of French troops commanded by me were landed at this place, render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage.

"The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender.

"If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

"Health and respect,

"TATE, Chef de brigade."

"To the officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops."

to treat for this object, and it was his anxious wish that the negociation might lead to the restoration of general peace. But it was evident that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to the negociation, as a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose with increased activity and energy an enemy who had openly professed a design to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms."

On the propriety of entering upon a negociation with republican France, some difference of opinion existed between ministers and their supporters; and Mr. Burke, in inculcating hostility against revolutionary France, adhered to his original opinion, that the restoration of monarchy and the ancient orders, under certain modifications, ought to be the sole and avowed purpose of the war; that no peace could be secure until that object was effected; and that we must either conquer the revolution or the revolution would conquer us. These sentiments were adopted by Earl Fitzwilliam, and after opposing the address on the king's speech, on this ground, he entered on the journals of the house of Lords a very elaborate protest, assigning no less than ten distinct reasons for refusing to concur in an address of approbation on his majesty's speech announcing the opening of a negociation for peace with the French republic.

In the month of March in the present year, the English cabinet had commissioned Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador to the Helvetic States, to apply to M. Barthelemi, who was then engaged in diplomatic agencies at Basle, to inquire if the government of France was disposed to enter into a negociation with his majesty and his allies? To which M. Barthelemi was instructed to answer, "that the executive government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honourable, and solid peace, but an indispensable condition of any treaty entered into for that purpose was the retention of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic."* This reply, expressing a decided resolution not to surrender the Austrian Netherlands to the Emperor of Germany, displayed in the opinion of the British ministry, a temper so remote from any disposition for peace, that the correspondence between the two ministers ceased, and both parties proceeded to open the campaign. And it was not till the 6th of September in the same year, that

* By an act of the French convention, passed on the 30th of September, 1795, all the countries which the house of Austria had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, previous to the war, were incorporated with the republic of France. (See page 296.)

Lord Grenville addressed a note to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador in London, requesting that he would transmit through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration expressive of "his Britannic Majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honourable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss with the government there all the measures most proper to produce so desirable an end;" to which the directory replied, "that the executive government would not receive or answer any overture from the enemies of the French republic, transmitted through any intermediate channel; but that if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris."

In compliance with the requisition of the French government, passports were applied for and obtained, and Sir James Harris, the negociator, who had been lately called to the peerage, under the title of Lord Malmesbury, being nominated by his sovereign, "plenipotentiary to the French republic," repaired to Paris on the 22d of October. Two days after his arrival, the negotiations were opened by a memorial from his lordship, containing a proposition for reciprocal restitution. "Great Britain," says the memorial, "from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France; from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable," but it is added, "she is willing to restore her own conquests in lieu of the acquisitions which France has won from her allies, as a basis for a treaty, and she therefore proposes a general principle of reciprocal restitution." To this memorial the executive directory replied—"that considering the British ambassador to be the agent of Great Britain only, and not understanding him to have a commission to act for the allied powers, they could not now enter into the concerns of other states, which could tend only to multiply the combinations, and increase the difficulties of the negociation;" but they nevertheless declared, "that as soon as Lord Malmesbury should exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs, sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part, to subscribe to whatever should be concluded in their names, the executive directory would hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which should be submitted to them, and that the difficulties should be removed as far as might be con-

sistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic." To these observations they added an opinion, that the British government was insincere in its overture—that its object was "to prevent by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing the odium of a refusal to negotiate a peace, upon the republic." The British minister, disdaining to reply "to the offensive and injurious insinuations," thrown out by the directory, stated in reply, that he had not been commissioned to enter into a separate treaty, but that Great Britain proposed to make common cause with her allies. The directory rejoined, that in a question of reciprocal restitution, the chief object of consideration was the relative condition of the respective parties; that of the original confederates, some were become the friends of France, and others observed a strict neutrality; that the remaining allies of Great Britain were weakened by their losses, and the desertion of their associates; and that France could not in a negotiation for terms, forget the circumstances in which she was placed.

Having thus admitted the principle of compensation, M. de la Croix, the French negociator, in a note to Lord Malmesbury, dated the 27th of November, again requested him to point out expressly and without delay the objects of reciprocal compensations which he had to propose. But it now appeared that his lordship was totally unfurnished with any plan or *projet* of peace, and as he was again obliged to consult his court, the negotiation was suspended till the 17th of December; on which day his lordship submitted, in two formal and confidential memorials, the terms on which a treaty might be concluded, on the basis of mutual compensation; these terms he stated to be, that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the Emperor of Germany, or in Italy, and that Great Britain should render back all her acquisitions gained from France in the East and West Indies; that Russia and Portugal should be included in the treaty; that no obstacle would be interposed on the part of his Britannic Majesty, against Spain becoming a party to the negotiation; and that in case Holland was reinstated in all respects, in the same political situation in which she stood before the war; the colonial possessions captured by Great Britain might be restored, and the *status ante bellum*, with respect to territorial possessions, re-established in her favour; but if, on the contrary, Holland should remain a republic, "their Britannic and Imperial majesties would be obliged to seek in

territorial acquisitions, those compensations, and that security, which such a state of things would render indispensable."

At the time these memorials were delivered by Lord Malmesbury to M. de la Croix, a long, and very animated conversation took place between the negociators, in the course of which the French minister inquired, whether in placing the memorials before the directory, "he was to state the disuniting Belgium from France, as a *sine qua non* from which his majesty would not depart?" To which Lord Malmesbury replied, that "it most certainly was a *sine qua non* from which his majesty would not depart: and that any proposal which would have the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and less to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect." "M. de la Croix," continues Lord Malmesbury in his report of this memorable conversation, "repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked if it would admit of no modification?" "I replied, if France could in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view, that the Netherlands must not be France, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration. M. de la Croix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully; he repeatedly said, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands, was one that could not be overcome."

This assertion was shortly verified; for two days after the conversation, Lord Malmesbury received a letter from M. de la Croix, consisting of a literal copy of an arret of the directory, requiring his lordship, "to give in to him, officially, within four and twenty hours, his *ultimatum*, signed by himself." To which Lord Malmesbury replied, that to demand an *ultimatum*, in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers had communicated to each other their respective pretensions, was to shut the door against all negociations," but "he repeated that he was ready to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any *contre-projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the executive directory." The directory rejoined in a note of the 19th of December, that they "would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bound the republic; and as Lord Malmesbury announced at every communication, that he was in want of the opinion of his court, from which it resulted, that he acted a part merely passive in the negociation, his presence at Paris was rendered useless, and he was required "to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with

all the persons who had accompanied and followed him ; and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic ; but that if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the executive directory was ready to follow the negociations, according to the basis laid down in the present note by the reciprocal channel of couriers."

Lord Malmesbury hesitated not to reply that he was preparing to quit Paris on the morrow, and demanded the necessary passports for himself and his suite. On the 20th he quitted the French capital and repaired to England ; and thus terminated the first negotiation for peace between Great Britain and the republic of France.

The British ministry, professing to consider the abrupt conclusion of these overtures as arising totally from France, published a manifesto, on the 27th of December, enlarging upon the pacific dispositions of the British government, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the enemy. This manifesto being laid before parliament, ministers assumed the declaration as a text, and animated the indignant resentment of parliament, and of the country against the arrogant pretensions of the enemy.

On this occasion Mr. Pitt addressed the house in that style of splendid amplification, which his oratory was wont to assume, when his object was to strike the fancy, or to rouse the passions : After a brilliant exordium, in which he lamented the failure of the attempt to restore the relations of peace ; he proceeded to take a review of the circumstances that preceded and attended the late negociations, and insisted that their rupture was wholly imputable to the government of France. The enemy demanded not as an *ultimatum*, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations to pass a constitutional decree, declaring, that these should not be alienated from the republic. But this perverse and monstrous claim, in virtue of which, territories acquired by force of arms, were annexed to a state during the continuance of the war, in which such acquisitions were made, could never be supposed to supersede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the several nations in Europe. Yet this had been the pretension to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they held out as a preliminary of negociation to the King of Great Britain, and his allies. And not content with setting up this claim to abrogate treaties previously concluded, they had offered a studied insult to his majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit

Paris, and proposing that the negociation should be carried on by means of couriers. "The question then," said Mr. Pitt, "is not, how much will you give for peace; but how much disgrace will you suffer at the outset? how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary? In these circumstances, then are we to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name, and of the British character? or are we by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to yield to what they may require, and to submit to whatever they may impose? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's councils which would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house that would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier."

Mr. Fox, in reply, maintained that the whole amount of the minister's splendid oration, was to admit that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented in expense, both in men and in money, and that we had done nothing; that in fact the enemy instead of being humbled and ruined, as had been so often and so confidently foretold, had now become more unreasonable and dictatorial in their pretensions than ever. "Previous to the commencement of this fatal contest," said Mr. Fox, "with what earnestness did I labour to persuade this house of the propriety of sending an ambassador to Paris; who might certainly have treated with every prospect of success; but those efforts were wholly unavailing. And when it is asserted that Lord Malmesbury was dismissed in a way altogether unprecedented, the right honourable gentleman must surely have forgotten the manner in which M. Chauvelin was sent from this country. The *sine qua non*, with respect to Belgium, was evidently the cause of the abrupt, though perhaps not the unexpected issue of Lord Malmesbury's negotiation. But are we likely by the expenditure of a hundred thousand more lives, and a hundred millions more money to effect the recovery of Belgium by force of arms from the French? Will the minister declare, in plain terms, that the war is continued and peace indefinitely removed, upon that hopeless contingency? And after all, was the imperial court a party to this demand? No; it was a *sine qua non*, made in a matter which primarily concerned the Emperor, but to which he had never formally assented; and which we did not know whether he himself would insist upon." Mr. Fox concluded a most luminous and masterly speech, by proposing an address to the throne, recommending "that his majesty's faithful commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of his majes-

ty's ministers, who had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negotiations." This amendment was negatived by a large majority, there appearing for the original motion two hundred and twelve; and for the amended address, only thirty-six voices. The same fate awaited a similar motion made in the House of Lords, by Lord Oxford.

On the 18th of October the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration, that part of his majesty's speech which alluded to the preparations making by the enemy to invade these kingdoms. In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the premier declared to be more formidable than had ever existed at any former period of our history, he proposed first, a levy of fifteen thousand men, from the different parishes, for the sea service, and for recruiting the regular regiments of the line: his second proposal was to raise a supplementary militia, to consist of sixty thousand men; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered and completely trained, so as to be ready to serve their country, in a moment of danger; and his third military project was to raise a force of twenty thousand irregular cavalry—every person who kept ten horses to provide one horse and one horseman, those who kept more than ten horses, to provide in the same proportion, and those who kept fewer to form themselves into classes, and decide who at the common expense should provide the horse and the horseman. These several propositions having received the sanction of the three estates of parliament, passed into laws early in the session, but the plan for raising the irregular cavalry force being found difficult of application, the measure was superseded in a great degree by the numerous volunteer corps of yeomanry cavalry, which pressed forward in the service of their country. During this session a bill was introduced by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia force in Scotland, which passed into an act without parliamentary opposition, but which was so much resisted in that part of the kingdom where it was meant to operate, that it could only be carried into effect, in the first instance, at the point of the bayonet.

On the motion of Mr. Windham, one hundred and ninety five thousand men were voted for the land service, for the year 1797, and soon afterwards one hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines for the navy. In the early part of December, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual financial statement, from which it appeared, that eighteen millions would be wanted, by way of loan, exclusive of five millions and a half of exchequer bills, and about thirteen millions

and a half of victualling, transport, and naval bills. This loan was followed by a second, during the same session of parliament, amounting to eighteen millions, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and including a vote of credit for three millions to be remitted to the emperor.

At no period in the history of Great Britain, had the aspect of public affairs assumed a more gloomy and dispirited complexion, than at the commencement of the year 1797. An unsuccessful attempt had just been made to put an end to a war distressing beyond all example; national credit seemed to totter to its fall; rebellion was ready to burst out in the sister island; and while foreign invasion threatened the British shores, the defenders of Britain upon her favourite element, refused to obey orders issued for her defence, and threatened to turn their mutinous arms against their native country.

The rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm amongst many of the proprietors of the public funds; and under this impression, sums to a great amount were sold out of the stocks, and vested in other securities. In the course of the war, the bank had advanced immense sums to the government, far beyond its usual advances to the public treasury; and as a considerable part of these advances consisted of remittances to foreign powers, especially to the Emperor of Germany, made in coin, and not in notes, the gold and silver in the bank were greatly diminished. The natural consequences of this procedure had been long foreseen by the directors of the bank, and as early as the year 1795, they had expressed to Mr. Pitt their expectations "that he would arrange his finances for the year, in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from the bank."* This remonstrance they repeated on the 8th of October, in the same year, and again reiterated, in the year 1796, but they still continued to afford large accommodation to the Treasury. In the beginning of 1797, the minister requested still further advances, and intimated, at the same time, that a loan amounting to the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, beyond the accommodation to the English treasury, would be wanted for Ireland. On the 9th of February, the governor of the bank informed Mr. Pitt, "that under the present state of the bank's accommodation to Government here, to agree with his request, of making a further advance of one million five hundred thousand pounds, as a loan, to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the bank, and most

* See the correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the bank directors, *New Annual Register*, for 1797.

probably bring the directors to shut up their doors." This correspondence sufficiently shews the idea entertained by the bank directors, of the danger that threatened their establishment ; but besides the remittance of specie, and the advances made to government, another cause powerfully co-operated to produce the alarming derangement in the affairs of the national bank : the dread of invasion, which at this time, pervaded every part of the kingdom, had induced the capitalists, as well as the more opulent farmers and traders, at a distance from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of the country bankers, with whom they had been accustomed to deposit it ; and the run upon the provincial banking houses soon extended to the capital. On Monday the 20th of February, an unusual demand was made by the holders of notes, upon the Bank of England for specie, and this run, which increased on the 21st, became so rapid and urgent on the four following days as to excite the most serious alarm at the bank, and to oblige the directors to submit their situation to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 26th, government found it necessary to interfere, and on that day, an order of the privy council was issued, prohibiting the directors of the bank from "issuing any cash in payment till the sense of parliament should be taken."

The consideration of this momentous subject was brought with as little delay as possible before the two houses of parliament, and the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees, to ascertain the assets of the bank. These committees failed not to prosecute their inquiry with all imaginable vigour ; and the public apprehension was materially allayed by their reports, delivered early in the month of March, and from which it appeared, that on the 25th of February, the last day of paying gold and silver at the bank, the amount of the demands upon the company was 13,770,390*l.* ; that their assets, exclusive of the permanent debt due from government, amounted to the sum of 17,597,280*l.* ; so that there remained a surplus of 3,826,890*l.* to which must be added the sum of 11,686,800*l.* three per cent. stock lent at different times to government on parliamentary security ; which being estimated at fifty per cent. agreeable to the actual price at that time, of the three per cent. consols, the whole of the capital vested in the corporation of the bank, after the payment of all demands, amounted to the enormous sum of 9,627,000*l.* On these reports, Mr. Pitt grounded a bill enabling the bank to issue notes in payment of demands upon them, instead of cash, agreeable to the late order of council to that effect, and a clause of the utmost importance was introduced into the act

for preventing any person from being held to bail who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt, though this law, by leaving the creditor the option of demanding cash in payment instead of notes, did not actually constitute them a legal tender. From this time, the circulation of gold coin almost wholly ceased, and notes from twenty shillings and upwards, became the general circulating medium.

Several animated debates took place in the two houses of parliament, respecting the embarrassing situation of the affairs of the bank; and the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grey, respectively moved a series of resolutions, condemning in the strongest terms, the minister's intercourse and concerns with the bank, and attributing the embarrassments of the company to his negligence and prodigality; but the proposed votes of censure were rejected by large majorities.

It happened, by a singular coincidence, that in the same year, and about the same period of the year, that the bank of England was driven to the necessity of suspending its cash payments; the national bank of Vienna was obliged to have recourse to a similar expedient; and his imperial majesty found it necessary to issue an order, directing, that from the 5th of April, 1797, these notes should be received at their full value, as ready cash, in all payments of trade and of revenue.

No sooner had the alarm created by the stoppage of cash payments at the bank begun to subside, than an occasion of still greater apprehension presented itself in the spirit of mutiny and disaffection, which at this moment broke out among the fleet at Spithead. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed respecting the pay and provisions of the sailors, and in the month of February in this year, several anonymous letters were received by Lord Howe, from the fleet, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining an increase of the seamen's pay, and an improvement in the quality and quantity of their provisions; at the same time a correspondence was going on by letter between the crews of the different ships, and a committee of delegates was appointed to obtain a redress of grievances. These proceedings were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was not till the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport made a signal to prepare for sea, that they began to be suspected amongst the superior officers of the fleet. Instead of weighing anchor, as the signal imported, the seamen of the admiral's ship all ran up the shrouds, and saluted the crews of the adjoining ships with three cheers, which being instantly answered in the same manner by the other ships, it became manifest that the spirit of disobedience had become general. The next step of the delegates was to

assemble in council in the cabin of the admiral's ship, and to place the officers in custody to prevent them from going on shore. Here a petition to the admiral was drawn up, and presented on the spot, accompanied with an intimation that till the prayer of the petition for an increase of wages, and a regulation in the ratio of provisions took place, they should not quit their present station "unless the enemy was known to be at sea."

On the 18th a committee of the admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, repaired to Portsmouth, with a view to induce the refractory seamen to resume the duty they owed to their country, and on the 23d, the admiral returned to his ship, and after hoisting his flag, informed the crew that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances accompanied by his majesty's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberations, these offers were cheerfully accepted and every man hastened to return to his duty.—It was now supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed; but contrary to the general expectation and hope of the country, when on the 7th of May, Lord Bridport made the signal to put to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey. This second mutiny arose, it appeared, from a groundless apprehension on the part of the seamen, that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A meeting of the delegates was again convened, to be held on board the *London*, but Vice-admiral Colpoys having determined to prevent the illegal assembly from being held on board his ship, ordered the marines to fire upon the boats as they approached, and five seamen were killed in the skirmish that ensued. The crew of the *London*, irritated by this resistance on the part of the admiral, now turned their guns towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water, unless the commander submitted, and Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were both taken into custody by their crew, and confined for several hours in separate cabins. In this state of mutiny, the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived from the admiralty with plenary powers to settle all differences, and as his lordship was the bearer of the act of parliament which had passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance of pay to the seamen, and also of his majesty's proclamation of pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy.

The public saw with infinite satisfaction the extinction of this dangerous spirit of disaffection; but their pleasure was speedily turned into fresh alarm and consternation, by a new

mutiny in another quarter, which for boldness and extent is without a parallel in the naval history of Britain.

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commitment
The North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, imitating the dangerous conduct of the crews at Spithead, but greatly exceeding them in the extent of their demands, chose delegates from every ship, and appointed a seaman of the name of Richard Parker, a bold and enterprising man, as their president. The demands of these mutineers comprehended a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour—a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay—a more equal distribution of prize-money, and a general abatement of the rigours of discipline. On the 23d of May, the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the Sandwich, and the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, hoisted in its stead. To the daily conferences of this mutinous usurpation, each man of war sent two delegates, and besides these there was a committee of twelve in every ship, who determined not only all affairs relating to the internal management of the vessel, but instructed their delegates, and decided upon their merits. And as if it had been determined to give *eclat* to their proceedings, the delegates, with the rebel admiral at their head, were allowed to come on shore daily, and after holding their meetings, to parade the streets and ramparts with music and flags. Such a rallying point of sedition could not long be tolerated, and the arrival of Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey at Sheerness, put an end to these audacious processions.

The mutiny had now risen to the most alarming height, and as it was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature would be granted, some of the most desperate of their number suggested the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, alleging that a redress of grievances, as it was their primary, so it should be their ultimate object. Notwithstanding this disagreement, the crews of the respective ships still continued to prosecute their designs, and for the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames by refusing a passage either up or down the river to the London trade, and to supply their present wants they took from a vessel three hundred sacks of flour, which they distributed throughout the fleet. On the 4th of June, the whole fleet at the Nore celebrated his majesty's birth-day by a royal salute; and on the 6th they were joined by the Agamemnon, Leopard, Ardent and Isis men of war, and the Ranger sloop who had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in the Yarmouth Roads. This accession of

strength, swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping under the command of a set of common sailors, in a state of insubordination, formed a singular and awful spectacle.

Government in the mean time were not inattentive to the obligations imposed upon them by the perilous situation of the country, and a proclamation was issued offering his majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of parliament, the former for more effectually restraining the intercourse from the shore with the ships in a state of mutiny, and the latter for punishing with the utmost severity of the law any person or persons who should attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices; but the master-stroke of policy was to be found in the removal of all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames and the neighbouring coast, by which any large ship that should attempt to sail away would be exposed to the most imminent danger of running a-ground; while furnaces and red hot balls were kept in readiness at Sheerness to repel any attack that might be made on that place by the mutineers.

The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through the Earl of Northesk, "The Seaman's Friend," as he was called, and who on the 6th of June was rowed on board the Monmouth at the instance of the delegates, where he found the convention in the state cabin, consisting of sixty delegates, with *Admiral Parker* placed at their head. To his lordship they communicated the terms, on which alone they would give up the ships, and requested that he would submit them to the king, and return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours; intimating that the whole *must* be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. These terms, which were in substance the same as those stated above, were accompanied by a note from Parker, in the following words:—

" *Sandwich, June 6, 3 p. m.*

" *To Captain Lord Northesk,*

" You are hereby authorized and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

R. PARKER, PRESIDENT."

These terms, which were submitted the next day to the king in council, were rejected, and the intelligence of their refusal was communicated by Captain Knight, of the *Inflexible*. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations

were making to enforce obedience to the laws, from the works at Sheerness, but the defection of several of the ships, on the 9th, with other symptoms of disunion amongst the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary. On the 10th, several of the mutinous ships, being reduced to great exigencies for want of fresh provisions and water, struck the red flag. On the 12th, all but seven of the ships hoisted the union flag, to signify their wish to return to obedience; and on the following morning, five out of the seven remaining vessels ran away from the mutinous ships, and sought protection under the guns of the fort of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain, and after a fruitless attempt to obtain a general pardon, the crew of the *Sandwich* steered that ship on the following morning into Sheerness, where *Admiral* Parker was arrested by a picquet-guard of soldiers, along with a person of the name of Davies, who had acted as a captain under him, with about thirty other delegates, and were all committed to the black-hole in the garrison. One of the delegates, of the name of Wallace, more desperate than the rest, being determined neither to out-live his power, nor to submit to the ignominy of a public execution, shot himself dead on the appearance of the soldiers. Thus all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased, and the public mind recovered its former composure, by the entire extinction of this alarming revolt.

The trial of Parker commenced on the 22d of June, on board the *Neptune*, of Greenhithe, before a court martial, consisting of captains of the navy, of which Sir T. Paisley was president. The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny, committed on board his majesty's fleet, at the Nore; of disobedience of orders; and of contempt of the authority of his officers. The facts being clearly established, Parker was called upon for his defence on the fourth day of his trial: after commenting upon the evidence with considerable ability, he solemnly declared that he had no hand in the commencement of the mutiny; but that two days after it had broken out, he saw that a violent spirit had spread among the men, and he then embarked in the cause, for the purpose of checking the violence of their proceedings; and he was fully satisfied, that if he had not taken an active part, the mutiny which had ended so unfortunately, would have been attended with consequences still more dreadful. The court, after some deliberation, adjudged the prisoner to death; on which, with astonishing composure, he addressed them as follows:—

“I bow to your sentence with all due submission, being convinced I have acted under the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows

the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and, that those brave men who have acted with me, will receive a general pardon; I am satisfied they will all then return to their duty with alacrity."

On the 30th of June, Parker was executed on board the *Sandwich*, and met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and many of the ring-leaders were executed; while some of the minor offenders atoned for their crime by undergoing a public whipping; and all those on whom sentence of death had been pronounced, without being carried into effect, experienced the royal clemency, after the splendid naval victory obtained by Admiral Duncan.

The distracted state of Ireland at this period, engaged a considerable share of public attention, both in parliament and in the country. Ever since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, the discontents had continued to increase, and at the present moment several parishes, baronies, and even counties, were declared to be out of the king's peace. Impressed with the gloomy considerations which such a state of things naturally suggested, the Earl of Moira, on the 21st of March, moved in the house of Lords for an address to his majesty, praying, "that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remove the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the most serious alarm for that country, and for the dearest interests of Britain." His lordship conceived the present motion to relate to a matter of common concern and mutual interest, upon which both countries had a right to stand forward; and to prove the influence of the British cabinet over the councils of Ireland, if that could be a matter of doubt, he adverted to the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, at a period when all Ireland applauded the wisdom of his measures—when that country afforded the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to the empire. Lord Grenville, in reply, insisted that the present motion could not be adopted without tearing assunder every bond of union, and breaking the solemn contract subsisting between the two countries. Instead of remedying discontents, the motion now submitted to the house would increase them, and induce the Irish to imagine that their own legislature was regardless of their welfare. Earl Fitzwilliam could never concede to the noble secretary, that this country ought not to give an opinion upon the public situation of Ireland. Such interference for the purpose of averting evils from both, was as proper as the right was clear; and if ever it was expedient to exercise that

right, it was at this period of awful portent, when storms and tempests impended over the country, and when the legislature was called upon by their duty, to exert every effort of human wisdom to avert the danger which threatened the empire. The Earl of Liverpool, contended that the evils complained of, if they had really any existence, ought to be remedied by the Irish parliament; not by the British legislature, whose interference was calculated to aggravate, not to remove discontent. The Marquis of Lansdowne, held that ministers were prosecuting a system in Ireland, that would in its consequences, shake the British empire to its centre. "Give," said the noble marquis, "the people of Ireland their rights, and you will require neither fleets nor armies to protect them." This debate, which was highly interesting and animated, terminated in the motion being negatived by a majority of seventy to twenty voices; and a similar motion made two days afterwards in the house of commons, by Mr. Fox, and seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, shared a similar fate.

Notwithstanding the existence of the acts recently passed, to the prejudice of popular assemblies, the inhabitants of Westminster, and of several other cities and populous districts, assembled in the spring of the present year, and numerous petitions were voted at these meetings, praying for the removal of ministers. Encouraged by this indication of public feeling, which it is proper to observe, was by no means general, the Earl of Suffolk, moved in the house of lords, on the 27th of March, "that an address might be presented to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils the first lord of the treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country." This motion was followed on the 19th of May, by another in the commons, moved by Mr. Alderman Combe, for an address to the king, "beseeching his majesty to dismiss from his councils his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace."

In favour of these addresses, it was urged that ministers had plunged the country into an unnecessary war, which had added one hundred and thirty millions to the national debt, and had imposed taxes to the amount of six millions and a half annually; that instead of restoring monarchy in France, they had been compelled to recognize the republic; that instead of weakening the powers, or dismembering the territories of the enemy, they had suffered them to add the Netherlands, Holland, and a great part of Italy to the republic; that they had neglected the proper opportunities of making peace, and that their negotiations for that desirable object had been conducted

with insincerity ; that to their profusion were imputable all the embarrassments that had so lately distressed the national bank, and to their folly and misconduct, all the insubordination that had shewn itself in the navy ; the discontents that prevailed among the people of England ; and the spirit of rebellion which had begun to manifest itself in Ireland ; that their boast of having preserved their country from jacobinical principles was suppositious, but that the evils they had brought upon the country were real, and would be permanent as the government itself ; that in fact, ministers themselves were the most practical jacobins in the country ; that they had banished gold and silver from circulation, and taken up the paper system, at the time France had laid it down ; that they had had recourse to arbitrary measures, military force, and pretended plots, with every article of jacobinism, that had been previously practised in France ; and that it was the virtuous and enlightened juries of 1794, which defeated the Robespierrian system, attempted to be established in this country, by his majesty's ministers."*

It was contended on the other hand, that the country owed to ministers the three greatest blessings that a country could possess—liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity. That under their administration, juries had been invested with the power of judging of the point of law, as well as the matter of fact ; that when Mr. Pitt came into office, the funds were at sixty-four, but, by his financial abilities, they had been raised, before the war broke out, to ninety-eight ; that even during the war, our trade, manufactures, and agriculture had continued to flourish ; that it was impossible for ministers to avoid entering into the war ; that though the success of our allies had not equalled our expectations, yet, as for ourselves, our success as well as our exertions had been unparalleled ; in a word, that we were indebted to the exertions of the present ministers, for arresting the progress of French principles amongst us, for our freedom from those miseries that France had brought upon other countries, and for the internal tranquillity that at present prevailed in our own happy Island."†

The motion for the address was negatived in the house of peers, by a majority of eighty-six to sixteen ; and in the commons, by a majority of two hundred and forty-two to fifty-nine.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Grey made his final motion, relative to a reform in parliament, which he had so frequently, at

* The Marquis of Lansdowne's speech on the 27th of March.

† Lord Grenville's speech in the same debate.

different times, and in various modes, brought under public and parliamentary discussion. He had not, however, yet attempted that great desideratum—a specific plan of reform, at once rational, feasible, and beneficial; but such was the object of the proposition now submitted to the candour and judgment of the house. The honourable gentleman solemnly affirmed, “that he sought not to alter any part of the constitution, but merely to obtain for the people, a full, fair, and free representation in parliament, to which they were incontrovertibly intitled. He proposed, that the county representation should continue upon the same footing as at present, but that the number of county members should be increased from ninety-two, to one hundred and thirteen; the addition to be made to the largest counties, in proportion to their population—for instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each riding, and so in the other counties, where the present representation was not proportioned to the extent of the population. In order to put an end to compromises, counties should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative: the right of elective franchise to be extended to copy-holders, and lease-holders, who were bound to pay a certain annual rent, a certain number of years: the remaining four hundred members to be returned by one description of persons, namely, householders: the poll to be taken throughout the kingdom at one time; and the same person not to be permitted to vote for more than one member: the duration of parliament to be limited to three years. Upon this plan, Mr. Grey said the members would hold their seats, not indeed on the basis of universal suffrage, but of universal representation. The qualification would be so fixed, that no man, however mean, might not hope, by honest industry, and fair exertion, to raise himself to this distinction.” This motion was seconded by Mr. Erskine, opposed by Mr. Pitt, and Lord Hawkesbury, supported by Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, and lost by a majority of two hundred and fifty-eight, to sixty three voices.

The session of parliament now drew to a close, and on the 20th of July, the deliberations of that assembly were concluded in the usual manner, by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty intimated to the two houses of parliament, “that he was again engaged in a negociation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions.”

In the miscellaneous events of the present year, the death of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age stands

recorded—a man whose talents as a parliamentary orator, and a political writer, were of the first order, and whose death took place in the midst of that war against “regicide France,” which his labours both in and out of parliament, had tended so materially to produce and to prolong. The death of Mr. Edmund Burke, occurred at his seat, at Beaconsfield, on Saturday, July the 8th, 1797, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.*

* *Mr. Burke* was born in Dublin, on the 1st of January, 1730, and derived his descent from a respectable family; his father being by profession an attorney, in considerable practice in that city. Having received a liberal education, he repaired to London, early in life, and entered himself in the Temple, where he increased his slender finances, by writing for the Newspapers, and other periodical publications. His first acknowledged literary production was “a vindication of Natural Society,” and his second, an “Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful.” This latter publication gave to his talents the stamp of genius, and during the Rockingham administration he was chosen member of parliament for Windover, in Buckinghamshire, and soon distinguished himself as a decided enemy to American taxation, unattended by representation. In pursuing his parliamentary career he became an ardent supporter of religious toleration, both as it regarded the catholic and protestant dissenter, and when Sir Henry Houghton made his memorable motion in the House of Commons for relieving the dissenters from subscription, and from the penal laws, Mr. Burke, in an energetic oration, exclaimed—“The dissenters enjoy liberty by connivance! and what is liberty by connivance, but a temporary relaxation of slavery?” On the dissolution of parliament which speedily followed, he was chosen member for Malton, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and at the same time was elected along with Mr. Cruger, representative for the city of Bristol, for which latter place he took his seat. Having given offence to many of his constituents at Bristol, by his defence of the trade of Ireland, he declined to offer himself again to their suffrages on the dissolution of parliament, in 1780. On the admission of the Rockingham party into power, Mr. Burke came into office, and was appointed paymaster-general of the forces. This situation he held till the elevation of Lord Shelburne, to the office of premier, when Mr. Burke withdrew from the administration along with his friend Mr. Fox; but on the appointment of the coalition administration, he was again reinstated in his office of paymaster-general. During the existence of this administration, he remained in office; but Mr. Fox’s India Bill soon removed that ministry of discordant materials from power, and placed Mr. Pitt at the head of the treasury. Soon after the breaking out of the French revolution, Mr. Burke published his celebrated “Reflections,” the object of which was to shew that all the measures of the revolutionists tended to anarchy and bloodshed, and that the tremendous event which all Europe had viewed with astonishment, was pregnant with danger to the neighbouring states. On this point Mr. Burke was at issue with his former political connections, and in a debate in the House of Commons, on the new constitution of Canada, he observed, that Mr. Fox and he had often differed, and that there had been no less friendship between them: “but,” added he, “there is something in the cursed French constitution, which envenoms every thing.” Mr. Fox, in an under voice, said: “there is still no less of friendship between us.”—“Yes,” exclaimed Mr. Burke, “there is; I know the price of my conduct; our friendship is at an end.”

During the present year, Charlotte Matilda, the princess royal of England, was married to Frederick William, the here-

Mr. Fox, who had sustained with composure all the attacks of his political adversaries, was greatly agitated by this renunciation of friendship ;

“ This, this was the unkindest cut of all ;”

but soon recovering his self-possession, he replied, in terms full of conciliation, maintaining, however, at the same time, that Mr. Burke's former political principles were utterly at variance with his present views and declarations.

The parliamentary labours of Mr. Burke, now drew towards a close ; and on the termination of the trial of Warren Hastings, in which he had stood forth as one of the principal accusers, he resigned his seat in favour of his only son. This young man, the object of his venerable father's warmest solicitude, was appointed secretary to Lord Fitzwilliam, pending his vice-royalty to Ireland, but his death, on the 2d of August, 1794, put a period to his opening prospects, and inflicted upon his father a shock, from which he never recovered. On the death of his son, the king was pleased to settle upon Mr. Burke and his lady a pension for life. The last effort of his pen, was entitled “ Thoughts on a regicide peace ;” a production that made its appearance when Lord Malmesbury was first sent to France, to negotiate with the directory. Soon after the publication of this book, his health began to decline, but his body only, and not his mind was affected. The lamp of life was consuming fast, but it was not violently extinguished. The week in which he died he conversed freely with his literary and political friends, and dwelt particularly on the French revolution, and on the painful separation from admired friends, which it had occasioned ; he spoke with pleasure of the conscious rectitude of his intentions, and intreated, if he had by an unguarded asperity given offence, that they would pardon his infirmity. The last subjects of his literary attention were “ the inculcations of practical wisdom, guiding to temporal and eternal happiness ;” and during his last illness he frequently declared his thorough belief of the christian religion. He appeared neither to wish nor to dread, but patiently and placidly to await the appointed hour of dissolution, and after a most interesting and tender conversation with his young friend Mr. Nagle, he faintly uttered “ God bless you”—fell back—and breathed his last.

That Mr. Burke, possessed abilities of the first order, will be universally admitted : he had a great compass of mind, a large share of learning, and a never-failing stream of eloquence. He adorned every subject that came under his observation, and enlivened every speech he delivered with the excursions of fancy and the charms of imagery. His quick sensibility, however, rendered his temper irritable ; and his contentions in active politics called that infirmity forth, much more frequently than it would have been produced in calmer situations. His invectives, both in speaking and writing were so bitter and severe, that they seemed to argue a malignity of disposition, though they proceeded only from an ardency of feeling. His political principles were more favourable to the claims of the privileged orders than to popular freedom, and he was a tory in principle when he was a whig in political connexions. In the relations of private life, his conduct was highly meritorious.—An affectionate husband, a tender, judicious, and indulgent father, a sincere friend ; at once fervid and active, a liberal master, and a zealous and bountiful patron. His political conduct in the early and latter periods of his life, was it must be admitted, in direct opposition, but his panegyrists say, that “ he preserved his consistency by varying his means to

ditary prince of Wirtemberg. The ceremony was performed on the 18th of May, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, in presence of the royal family; and a portion of eighty thousand pounds was voted by parliament to his royal highness, with his august bride.

CHAPTER III.

Foreign History—The French Directory announce that their Finances are approaching to a state of Ruin—Reply of the Council of Five Hundred—Royalist Conspiracy—Election of the New Third—Conduct of the Directory censured by the Council of Five Hundred—The two Bodies become decidedly hostile—The Army espouses the Cause of the Directory—The bloodless Revolution of the 18th Fructidor—Pichegru's Conspiracy—Synodical Assembly—The Sect of the Theophilanthropists—Negociation between the French Republic and the United States of America—Death of Frederick William II—Further encroachments made upon the Rights of the Council, and the Elective Franchise of the People—Revolutions in Holland.

No fact can be more capable of demonstration than that all the heroism or public virtue of revolutionary France, is to be found in her military annals; her civil history affords a picture of little but the violent collision of parties; and while faction supplanted faction in contests for power, almost every principle which the revolution was instituted to establish, was forgotten and violated.

The constitution of France, as it existed under the directory, and the two councils, contained in itself so many jarring elements, that it required very little political sagacity to foresee that the different estates must soon be involved in contests, and that another of those struggles for ascendancy, which had so often prevailed in the various stages of the revolution was at hand. In the month of December, 1796, the directory, in a message to the councils, announced, that the public finances were in a state of the utmost derangement, and that unless an effectual remedy were speedily applied, the total ruin of the republic might be anticipated. To this gloomy communication the council of five hundred, which seemed well disposed to absorb all the powers of the directory, coldly replied, "that the alarming and desperate state of the republic existed only in the message; that a severe economy would restore the

secure the unity of his ends, and that when the equipoise of the state vessel was endangered by overloading it on one side, he carried the weight of his powers to the other."—*Dr. Bisset.*

equilibrium of receipt and expenditure ; and that the errors contained in the statement, were equalled only by the imprudence of the directory in making them public." This message was speedily followed by another no less alarming, in which the directory announced a royalist conspiracy, which had for its object to seize upon the city of Paris ; to overturn the government, and by the help of England, to place Louis XVIII. upon the throne of France. The particulars of this conspiracy were laid before the councils on the 4th of February, and the principal conspirators were said to be one Dunan a grocer, and Brothier a priest, assisted by two persons of the name of Lavilleurnoy and Poly. The trial and conviction of the conspirators, by a military tribunal, soon after followed, and sentence of death was passed upon them ; but upon Dunan's making a confession, that their object was to restore the throne, by the help of the two councils, and implicating upwards of two hundred of the members of these bodies in the revolutionary design ; he obtained a free pardon for himself and his associates.

In the mean time, the period approached when one third of the legislative body was to be changed, and on the 5th of March the two councils drew the lots which were to deprive that proportion of members of their seats. On the approach of the election the whole nation was agitated by the efforts of the contending factions ; and a law proposed by the directory was enacted, after violent opposition in the councils, that an oath should be taken by the electors previous to the discharge of their functions, by which they should solemnly engage to defend the republic and the constitution, against the attacks of the royalist party on the one hand, and against the mountain party on the other.*

The elections for the most part were conducted with exemplary moderation, and on the 20th of May, the new third entered upon their public duties, when general Pichegru was appointed president of the council of five hundred, and Barbe Marbois, president of the council of ancients. The day previous to the meeting of the two councils, the directory decided the change of one of their own body, and Le Tourneur having drawn the lot which disrobed him of the directorial purple, his place was supplied by Barthelemi, the successful and enlightened negociator at Basle. On the 18th a decree was pro-

* The oath prescribed was in these terms :—"I promise attachment and fidelity to the republic and the constitution of the third year, and I pledge myself to defend them with all my power against the attacks of royalty and anarchy."

posed by the committee of finance, and passed by the council of five hundred, the object of which was to take the whole power of the purse out of the hands of the directory. The executive and the legislative bodies, were now in a state of open hostility. The conduct of the directory was severely canvassed in the councils, particularly with regard to the management of the colonies, to their treatment of the American States, and to their violation of liberty, by submitting private letters to official inspection. Nor did the conduct of General Bonaparte himself, in his proceedings towards Venice, pass without censure; and it was probably to this circumstance, that the directory was indebted for their ultimate triumph over the councils. At this period the estates and privileges of citizens were restored to the Prince of Conti, and the Dutchess of Orleans, by an almost unanimous vote of the two councils; and a decree for reinstating the relations of emigrants in the undisturbed possession of their property, and another in favour of banished priests were introduced into the council of five hundred, and received the sanction of that assembly. These enactments gave great umbrage to the directory, while the adherents of the conflicting parties, began to form themselves into clubs, and to distinguish themselves by party-coloured dresses. The large concessions made to the emigrants and priests animated the drooping spirits of the loyalists, and when combined with the dissensions which prevailed between the directory and the council of five hundred, gave them the most confident hopes of the near approach of a counter-revolution. Unfortunately for the party in opposition to the directory, the discontent and suspicion excited by their measures, had reached the army; and the French troops in Italy, under Bonaparte, having led the way in addressing the directory, their example was speedily followed by all the other armies of the republic: in these addresses "the defenders of their country," lamented the violation of the constitution, the degradation of the government, the return of the emigrants, and the favoured protection afforded to non-juring priests; and that from the division of Massena concluded in these intelligible words:—"Does the road to Paris present more obstacles than that to Vienne? No! it will be opened to us by the republicans, who have remained faithful to liberty." Matters were now approaching rapidly to a crisis; and though it might be difficult to say how the contest would end, nothing could be more clear than that another great political explosion was at hand. The directory having placed Talleyrand Perigord in the situation of minister for foreign affairs, and being emboldened by the assurances of support, so recently received

from the armies, determined to crush all opposition, by the complete destruction of their opponents. The execution of this duty was confided to General Augereau, a bold and active officer, who had been lately despatched from Italy, by General Bonaparte, under the pretext of conveying to Paris some standards taken from the enemy.

The members of opposition were now awakened to a sense of their danger. Early on the morning of the 18th Fructidor (4th of September, 1797,) the alarm gun was fired by order of the majority of the directory; for Barthelemy, refusing to concur in these violent measures, was put under arrest, while Carnot effected his escape. General Augereau, who had received instructions to surround the hall of the councils with a military force, first repaired to the barracks of the legislative guard, where he assured them that he came only to preserve the constitution, and to save the republic from a conspiracy of royalists. The soldiers with one accord answered this artful address with shouts of "*Vive la Republique!*" and declared their readiness, in contempt of the expostulations of Ramel their commander, to obey his orders and unite in his purpose. Thus reinforced, Augereau entered the hall of the council of five hundred, where he found the chiefs of the opposition engaged in close consultation, and tardily deliberating on the steps to be taken in this emergency. With his own hand, Augereau seized upon General Pichegru, the president of the council, and after ordering the general and eighteen others of the conspirators, as they were called, to be committed to the temple, he dissolved the assembly, and affixed seals to the doors of the hall.

A proclamation was immediately published to calm the minds of the people; and the council of five hundred was summoned to meet at the Odeon, formerly a public theatre.—The next day a committee of public safety, nominated by the directory, having been chosen, Boulay de la Meurthe, the reporter, ascended the tribune, and made a long oration, to prove, "that the measures pursued by the opposition party in the council could have no other object, than the restoration of royalty; that an ordinary tribunal would, without doubt, declare the conspiracy real, and punish the authors;" "but," added the reporter, "let us declare to France, that not a drop of blood shall be shed, and that the scaffold of terror shall not be erected anew." Under this specious pretence of lenity, he proposed the plan of a decree, consisting of forty different articles, by which the late elections, in not fewer than forty-nine departments, were declared null and void; that the persons chosen by the electoral assemblies in these departments

were no longer to occupy seats in the council ; and that the vacancies occasioned by their expulsion, should be filled by the directory ; that the decree in favour of the relations of emigrants was revoked ; and that sixty-five persons, including forty-two members of the council of five hundred, eleven members of the council of ancients, and the two directors, Carnot and Barthelemi, should be *deported* (transported) without trial or examination, to such a place as the directory should ordain !*

The two councils, rendered obedient by their fears, tamely acquiesced in all measures proposed by the five tyrants ; who, to guard against the return of a peril so dreadful, subjected the care of the liberty of the press, for the term of one year, to the inspection of the police ; and the liberty of speech in the councils was confined to the privilege, still *generously* granted, of applauding the wisdom and activity of the executive government !

On the 20th Fructidor, the council of elders, who had during the whole course of these violent proceedings acted the part of mediators between the directory and the council of five hundred, elected Francois de Neufchateau and Antoine

* After a short interval the directors laid before the councils and the public, the confirmatory proofs, such as they were, of the conspiracy.—By far the most remarkable of these was a paper, authenticated by Generals Bonaparte and Berthier, purporting to be minutes of a conversation, held by M. d'Entragues, an agent of Louis XVIII. at Venice, with the Count Montgaillard, an emigrant of distinction, relative to the designs, at all times carrying on, with more or less activity, for effecting a counter-revolution. From this document it appears, that Pichegru, who had at that period, the command of the French army, after objecting to a plan proposed by Montgaillard, for joining his army to that of the Prince of Conde, and marching forthwith to Paris, proposed to put the strong places on the frontier, into the hands of the most confidential officers of Louis, to proclaim the king, to hoist the white standard, and after uniting his army with the forces under Wurmser and Conde, to commence his march to the French capital. This proposal was declined by the Prince of Conde, because as the author of the minutes asserts “ the prince, equally proud and stupid, thought himself sure of effecting the counter-revolution in another way, and would not share the glory of it with the Austrian General ” But the presumption is, if any such plan ever existed, that it was the Austrian General that did not choose to share the hazard of such an enterprize with the prince. Many other papers were also produced which had been transmitted by General Moreau to the directory, containing strong corroborative evidence, that a plot of a very extensive nature was in existence, in which General Pichegru, and many other persons of great eminence, were deeply involved ; but a cloud of mystery too impervious for time itself to penetrate, hung over this transaction, and the directory, whose object it was to confound and not to discriminate, under the pretext of a horrible plot, partly real and partly pretended, contrived to involve all their enemies—jacobins, royalists, and patriots, in one common ruin.

Merlin, to fill the vacancies in the directory, occasioned by the expulsion of Carnot and Barthelemi.

Amidst the din of arms on the frontiers and the civil commotions, which agitated the interior of France at this period, the fathers of the Gallican church, ventured once more to assemble, in order to deliberate on a plan to repair and to cement such parts of the sacred edifice as had been shattered by the rude and savage hand of persecuting power. The past and the present state of the church was submitted to this venerable body. Among other lamentable instances of apostasy were enumerated the marriages of twelve bishops ; twelve others had abdicated their seals ; eight had perished on the scaffold ; one, the Bishop of Dol, assuming a military character, had been shot as a rebel ; and of the emigrant bishops no less than forty had paid the debt of nature in foreign lands.—The first act of this council was the publication of a synodical letter to the pastors and to the faithful, on the means of establishing religious peace ; and another to the bishops and priests resident in France, who had separated from the national communion. It was next proposed that a general oblivion should cover all former dissensions, and that the acknowledged tenets of the catholic church should alone be the prescribed articles of belief.

These proceedings, unmixed as they appear to have been with all political matter, did not fail to excite the jealousy of the directory, who gave great encouragement to a sect of deists recently established under the name of *Theophilanthropists*, and one of the members of the directorial board, La Reveilliere Lepaux, declared himself openly a patron and protector of this community. These religionists rejecting all revelation confined their worship to one Supreme Being, offering in their religious services the wheat ear, and the *bouquet* of flowers to the divinity : and their numbers gradually increased till at length they took possession, by permission of the municipalities, of many of the public churches—occupied, also, at other hours of the day by the catholics.

At this period a spirit of intrigue, extravagance, and corruption pervaded every branch of the directoral government, which was distinguished only by its tyranny, its imbecility, and its rapacity ; and at a conference held in the month of October, 1797, by the American commissioners engaged in accommodating the differences which had so long existed between the two governments, a confidential friend and agent of the minister Talleyrand, had the unblushing confidence to affirm “that the directory were jealous of their own honour ; jealous of the honour of the nation ; and that this honour must be maintained, unless there could be substituted in

place of the reparations demanded, something perhaps more valuable—that was money !”—*Il faut de l'argent : il faut beaucoup de d'argent.*—“There were,” he added, “to the amount of thirty-two millions of Dutch rescriptions, which if the commissioners would engage to take as a security for a loan to the same amount, it would be a great accommodation. There shall,” said he, “be first taken from the loan certain sums for the purpose of making the customary distributions in diplomatic affairs, and these will amount to about one million two hundred thousand livres.”* With such a disgraceful proposal it was impossible to comply, and the negociation in consequence remained wholly suspended.

In the month of November in this year, Frederick-William II. King of Prussia, departed this life after a reign of eleven years. His character may be summed up in one sentence :—He was artful, intriguing, selfish, and inconstant—avaricious of territory, but regardless of true glory. This prince was succeeded by his son Frederick-William III. who was destined to experience all the vicissitudes of regal fortune—in one period of his reign to see his territories torn from him by a military despotism that shook all Europe to its centre, and in another to contribute most essentially to the restoration of the peace of the world by the total overthrow of that overwhelming tyranny.

The election of the new third in the legislative assembly took place in the spring of 1798, and produced a result so unfavourable to the directoral body, that they despatched a message to the council of five hundred complaining of the existence of an anarchical conspiracy to make the primary and electoral assemblies the nursery of future plots, and expressing a hope that the council would not permit men loaded with crimes to sit in the legislature. A committee was in consequence immediately appointed to make a report upon this message, which was brought up on the 7th of May, and by which the partizans of the two great factions, as they were styled, in the report—the anarchists and the royalists, were excluded from the legislature. A decree for annulling the elections in several of the departments immediately followed, and the control of the press was continued for another year. So easy is it, when once the mounds of public liberty are broken down, to follow up the work of encroachment. About the same period Francois Neufchateau retired by lot from the directoral assembly, and Treilhard the negociator was appointed his successor.

* Vide “Official Narrative of the American commissioners.”

In the course of this year a series of revolutions took place in Holland, under French agency, assisted by a portion of the four and twenty thousand troops from that country, which now found quarters in the Batavian republic. To enter into the details of these intrigues, which the Dutch people witnessed with their usual composure, would be uninteresting, and it is sufficient to observe, that all these revolutionary proceedings terminated in the establishment of a republican form of government, cast on the French model.

CHAPTER IV.

Congress at Radstadt—War renewed in Italy—The Pope overcome, and Rome proclaimed a Republic—The French enter Switzerland—Conquer that Country, and change the Federal States into an united Republic—The attention of the French Government turned from the Conquest of England to the Invasion of Egypt—Brilliant Theories—Bonaparte with an Army of Forty Thousand Men, and a Fleet of Three Hundred Sail, embarks at Toulon—Conquest of the Island of Malta—The French Forces re-embark for Egypt—Description of that Country, and its Inhabitants—The French attack and carry the city of Alexandria—Rosetta taken—Battle of Chebreisse—Battle of the Pyramids—The Gates of Cairo opened to the Invaders—Curious Proclamations of the French Chief.

THE conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, afforded well-founded hopes to France, of acquiring a solid and advantageous peace ; but this bright prospect was soon obscured by the disputes which took place in the different estates of her own government, and by the conflicting interests of the German powers. Appearances however, seemed at first to augur a final adjustment of contending claims ; a short respite from war actually took place, and it was presumed, that on the continent of Europe, at least, a state of public tranquillity would succeed a long and bloody strife. This year, teeming with great political events, was accordingly ushered in by the congress of Radstadt, in which it was proposed to discuss, and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire. The emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of King of Hungary and Bohemia, had already acceded to the demands of the directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted.

While this assembly was coldly discussing the terms of a pacification, so intimately connected with the prosperity of the continent, the hierarchy which had governed a considerable

part of Italy, and for ages regulated the creed of a considerable portion of mankind, ceased to exist. The assassination of Duphot, *chef de brigade* in the service of the French republic, served to rekindle that spirit of hostility, which the treaty of Tolentino was supposed to have extinguished. Duphot having repaired to Rome, towards the end of the year 1797, expressly for the purpose of espousing that sister of Bonaparte, who was afterwards married to General Murat, became one of the victims of the commotions which took place on the 28th of December. On that fatal day, a mob consisting of about one hundred persons, assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France, for the purpose of overthrowing the papal tyranny, as they designated the government, and establishing a republic in its stead. Joseph Bonaparte being altogether indisposed to countenance so hopeless a project, dispatched Duphot to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of the ambassador's court; but while the general was engaged in this service he was shot by a Roman fusileer, who discharged the contents of his musket into his body, and afterwards treated his remains with circumstances of savage cruelty. Joseph Bonaparte, after a lapse of fourteen hours, finding that no measures had been taken to avenge the late outrage, or to provide for the future security of his own person, retired into Tuscany.

No sooner were the murder of Duphot, and the retreat of Joseph Bonaparte, made public at Milan, than the people exclaimed—"death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance for our deliverers!" Troops were immediately levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the fate of Rome was truly and confidently predicted, and the late events not only detailed, but so far aggravated, that the odium of the murder of the French general was cast upon the pope and his counsellors. It was perfectly clear, however, from every part of his conduct, that this disastrous event produced the deepest disquietude in the breast of his holiness, and that the only crime of his officers consisted in the remissness of the general who had the command of the Roman troops, and whose duty it unquestionably was, to protect the French ambassador and his suit, from the excesses of the military, and the presence of a lawless mob.

The directory feeling, or affecting to feel, a high degree of indignation at the insult offered to their ambassador, and at the loss of their general, transmitted instructions to General Berthier, to march to the Roman capital. On the 10th of February, 1798, the French army arrived at that place, and

the castle of St. Angelo, containing the pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons.—The inhabitants, freed from restraint by the captivity of their rulers, and encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman *Forum*, and at the instigation of two of the nobles, and an advocate of some reputation, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. All the splendour and magnificence of which the catholic worship is susceptible, were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the supreme disposer of events, for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and while the dome of St. Peter was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were fated soon after to abdicate, presided at a solemn *Te Deum* within the walls of that superb basilic. The deposed pontiff, exiled from his country, was conveyed by order of the directory, first to Brainçon, and afterwards to Valence in France, where the infirmities of age, and the pressure of misfortune, terminated his existence, on the 29th of August, 1799, in the 82d year of his age, and the 24th of his pontificate.

At the moment when the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt, were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, the thirteen federal republics of which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, were now condemned to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility.—The Swiss, attached from habit and interest to monarchical, were decidedly averse to republican France; and some of the cantons, Berne in particular, had not only refused during a considerable interval to recognize the French republic, but had countenanced the assembling of the emigrant army; obliged the French minister to quit Soleure; and notoriously violated the principles of neutrality. Towards the latter end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French directory on the Swiss cantons in general, but for the cause just stated, it was expected that the thunder would spend its rage on Berne; and the Helvetic diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of Colonel de Weiss, was sent on the 14th of January, 1798, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object, the establishment of a democratic government. No sooner did the

French executive learn, that Berne and Friburg had despatched a body of soldiers, and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, than a division of French troops, which had just returned from Italy, was put in motion, and General Menard sent an *aid-de-camp* to the head-quarters at Yverdon, with an intimation, "that the inhabitants of the bailiwick must be permitted to organize a government for themselves ; and in case any violence was offered to them, force would be repelled by force." But this officer and his escort, being probably mistaken for an advanced guard, were either killed or wounded, and the minds of both armies became more inflamed against each other. The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the republic of Leman.

The cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, wisely determining to yield to necessity, restored to their subjects all their rights and franchises, and thus insured the continuance of their fidelity ; but the senates of Berne and Friburg, imagining themselves still able to maintain their ancient tyranny, did not think fit to exhibit an equal degree of condescension. The management of the war being now confided to the French General Brune, he entered the territories of Berne, on the 25th of January, and published a proclamation, containing professions, but too little attended to in the sequel. "Citizens," said the general, "banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories ! The government, of which I am the organ, will guarantee these to you : its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free—France invites, nature commands it : and to enjoy this precious advantage, you have only to express the wish." Some unsuccessful attempts were now made to obtain a truce, but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized without difficulty on that little fortress, while thirteen thousand troops summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French ; but Brune having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer, the avoyer, who perished upon this occasion, took it by assault,—and on the 6th of March, the French army entered Berne.

The French had now exacted a bloody retaliation for the insults offered to themselves ; as well as for the assistance afforded by the aristocracy of Berne to their enemies ; and after displacing the ruling families, changing the nature of the government, and sending the most violent of their opponents

into exile, it was to be hoped, that contented with the treasures of the state, and the military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army, they would have retired. But the directory, actuated by a selfish policy, had determined upon the subjugation of Switzerland. It was accordingly intended to change the government, from the federal into an united republic, which by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be kept in continual dependence.

The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure and Friburg, hoping to obtain an ascendancy in the government, hastened to carry into effect the wishes of the directory by choosing a legislature, and Arau was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations: but the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris and Appenzel, attached to the government of their fathers which had for ages guaranteed their liberty, and secured their happiness, refused to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognize its authority.—Having assembled in arms, and appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne and menaced Zurich; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one great national effort to expel the invaders, they thought proper to retire to the fortresses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug. The French now commanded by General Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them, and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers, trained to the art of war, feigning to retreat, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued; and thus what the aristocratical cantons with all their superior means had been unable to effect was achieved by a hardy peasantry, accustomed to the enjoyment and warmed with the love of liberty.

The career of the French was now for the first time arrested in Switzerland, in consequence of a bloody battle, during which several thousands of them had perished; and this was soon after followed by a treaty, in which although it was agreed to accept the new constitution as a bond of general union, yet an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons, should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from all contribution. In this arrangement Underwalden refused to acquiesce on any conditions whatever. On this the French marched a large body of troops accompanied by artillery into that canton, and after a terrible battle, commenced on the 8th and continued with little intermission to the evening of the 9th of September,

during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rocks to a regular artillery, the gallant mountaineers were overcome; the town of Standtz taken by assault; the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and inveterate soldiery. After this all Switzerland subscribed to the new constitution; Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance offensive and defensive entered into between the French and the Helvetic republics. But even this treaty did not restrain the rapacity of the French directory, who still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions with a most unparadonable severity.

Thus after enjoying the sweets of independence since the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the fortunate issue of a contest with Albert of Austria, laid the foundation of the liberties, and remotely, perhaps, produced the revolutions in England, America, and France; the federate republics of Switzerland were overcome by a foreign enemy, compelled to change the form of their government, and to become in effect tributary to a neighbouring state.

As the subjugation of Great Britain appeared too arduous a task for the French "Army of England," General Bonaparte, its commander, averting his eyes from the north, directed all his attention to the east: and he who dared not to rival the exploits of William the Conqueror, appeared determined to imitate the more splendid achievements of Alexander the Great. This young general, smitten with the love of glory, and imbued with high notions from his early youth, had formed plans of gigantic magnitude, which, trusting to his talents and his good fortune, he deemed himself destined to realize. In addition to these dazzling theories it was doubtless suggested that the loss of the American isles might be supplied by the acquisition of the fertile plains yearly enriched by the waters of the Nile, and that the Delta and the Said would furnish a richer and more certain harvest than colonies the productions of which were acquired by the precarious services and cruel bondage of the sable inhabitants of Africa. But though these commercial speculations might engage the attention of Bonaparte, yet the mind of the conqueror of Italy was chiefly directed to the vast acquisitions and the immense power and revenue drawn by England from the east; and he at length began to consider Egypt but as the fulcrum whence he might stretch an immense lever across the Arabian Gulph to overturn the empire of Britain in Hindostan; nor would pow-

erful allies be wanting in the native princes of the Indian Peninsula, to wage an eternal war against those who had invaded their dominions, and almost annihilated their power.

The directory, eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satiated; and by no means indisposed to the removal of a general in whose presence all their power seemed to be eclipsed, at length consented to this romantic enterprise; and although this project was founded on the spoliation of an ally, the gross injustice of the expedition was lost sight of in the splendid advantages it promised to bestow. Such are the fascinations of ambition, that although the Divan had kept its faith with the French republic inviolate, an armament was fitted out for depriving the Emperor Selim III. of his precarious but acknowledged sovereignty over Egypt, which yielded an annual tribute to his treasury, and supplied his capital with corn. In the mean time the ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of military stores; and while all Europe, during the solemn pause that ensued, was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, Bonaparte, accompanied by a few of his chief warriors, and a multitude of artists and men of learning, hastened from Paris to the borders of the Mediterranean, where he was joined by many thousands of the army of Italy, which he now by a bold metaphorical figure, addressed as "the right wing of the army of England."

All the preparations being now completed, Bonaparte set sail from Toulon on the 20th of May, 1798, with a formidable veteran army, consisting of nearly forty thousand men, besides an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and having Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Brueys, who had proceeded from Corfu nearly at the same time. To this officer, who had served with no higher rank than that of lieutenant in the royal navy, was intrusted the command of the fleet, and he now repaired on board the *Orient*, of one hundred and twenty guns, where he hoisted his flag, and received a general salute. After a passage of eighteen days, this formidable armament, now consisting of about three hundred sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta, and at break of day the next morning, commenced a general landing of troops and artillery upon the coast without encountering any formidable resistance. At the dawn of the succeeding morning, the enemy had encircled the city of Valetta, and on the 12th of June, the French entered the city, and became

masters of the whole island. The Grand Master Hompesch, who had ranked as a sovereign prince, finding the people destitute of the requisite union and constancy to support their independence, quitted the island, and received at his departure the sum of one hundred thousand livres, with an engagement on the part of the invaders, to allow him a pension of three thousand livres a year from the French treasury, no part of which was ever paid. Thus, in the course of a few days, Bonaparte contrived to obtain possession of the whole island of Malta, containing a population of sixty thousand souls, and affording one of the most advantageous stations in the Mediterranean sea ; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after possessing them during a period of nearly three centuries.

Having appointed a provisional government, Bonaparte entrusted the care of his new acquisition to General Vaubois, and again proceeded to sea. After a passage of a week, the armament arrived in sight of Candia, and in the evening of the 30th of June, the fleet anchored in the roads of Alexander.

It may be necessary here to pause in order to take a view of the country and of the people against whom all this force was directed. Egypt is divided into Upper and Lower, the outlines of the former are formed by two ridges of mountains, running along each side of the Nile from Syene to Grand Cairo ; beyond these mountains on each side are deserts, and between them lies a long plain, whose greatest breadth is not more than nine leagues. Lower Egypt includes all the country between Cairo and the Mediterranean on the north and south, and Lybia and the Isthmus of Suez to the east and west, bounded by sandy deserts : it contains slips of land fertile and well cultivated on the borders of the rivers and canals, and between the two branches of the Nile, that tract of land which is called Delta. It abounds in grain of all sorts, but particularly in rice, and as it was formerly the granary of Rome, so it is now the country from which Constantinople draws its principal supplies. Watered by the fertilizing streams of the Nile, the land is never fallow, but yields three harvests annually ; there the traveller incessantly beholds the charming prospect of flowers, fruits and corn ; and spring, summer and autumn, at once present their appropriate treasures and delights. When the French invaded Egypt, they found the government composed of a pacha, or viceroy sent from Constantinople, and twenty-four beys or civil and military officers, who being at the head of the provinces and of the armies, possessed in reality all the power of the government, and the pacha retained his office no longer than while he was subservient to their

designs. The real native Egyptians are the Copts. These people, who profess a species of Christianity, and have a patriarch at Constantinople, carry on an inland trade and are employed chiefly in hatching eggs, and in the art of raising bees, for which the inhabitants of Egypt have been for ages distinguished. The Arabs, who constitute two-thirds of the present inhabitants of Egypt, are of three classes; those who inhabit the banks of the Nile are generally marauders and pirates; but others, possessing various principalities in Upper Egypt, and governed by their shieks, are generous and incapable of disguise; while the Bedouins, a third description of Arabs, wander incessantly over the face of the country, and have no fixed residence. The Mograbians or Western Mahometans, are, next after the Copts and Arabs, the most numerous of the inhabitants of Egypt, and they devote themselves to arms and the different branches of trade. The Turks, the nominal possessors of the country, and once its acknowledged masters, constitute another race of its inhabitants; they formerly occupied the chief posts which are now enjoyed by the Mamelukes, or military slaves. The sword, the bow-string, poison, private execution, or public murder was the fate reserved for a series of tyrants chosen by these Mamelukes in succession, and who in general were not permitted to live more than five or six years; no fewer than forty-seven having appeared during two centuries and a half. These people, to whom is intrusted the care of restraining the Arabs, superintending the collection of the tributes, and electing the beys, in consequence of a singular paradox in natural history, cannot propagate. (39.) And since the revolt of Ali Bey they have in a great measure disowned the authority of the sublime porte.* These, at the period we are now treating of, amounted to eight thousand in number, and constituted the principal military force of Egypt. Their chief weapon consists of a carabine, only thirty inches long, but of so large a calibre as to discharge ten or twelve balls at a time; they are mounted on horses, and from the bow of their saddle hangs a heavy mace, at the belt are suspended two pistols, and to the left thigh is attached a sabre

(39.) This extraordinary assertion has probably arisen from a mistake of Mr. Volney's meaning. His expressions are these, "during five hundred and fifty years that there have been Mamelukes in Egypt, not one of them has left subsisting issue; there does not exist one single family of them in the second generation; *all their children perish in the first or second descent.* Almost the same thing happens to the Turks; and it is observed that they can only secure the continuance of their families by marrying women who are natives, *which the Mamelukes have always disdained.*" — *Travels in Egypt, &c. Vol. I. p. 107.*

* Volney's Egypt, t. i. c. 7.

which they use in the field of battle with inimitable dexterity. Such was the country, and such the people against whom Bonaparte now led his veteran army. Its population amounted indeed to four millions of inhabitants, but they were unacquainted with the art of war as a science, insufficiently provided with artillery, and destitute of military discipline.

No sooner had the French admiral cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, than General Bonaparte hastened to disembark his troops, and to prepare for the attack of the once famous, but now dilapidated city of Alexandria. The summons to surrender sent by the French commander being disregarded, he commenced his attack on the 5th of July, and in a few hours carried by assault, with a loss of only one colonel, and seventy soldiers, killed and wounded, a city that in the sixth century, sustained a siege of fourteen months, and inflicted a loss of twenty-three thousand men upon the besiegers. In order to strike terror into the inhabitants, and to preclude all further resistance, a dreadful slaughter took place among the Mamelukes and the Arabs, after the city had surrendered, but it is urged by General Berthier, in extenuation of this enormity, "that the troops entered Alexandria in express opposition to the orders of their commander."* This once famous city, built by Alexander the Great, three hundred and thirty-two years before the Christian æra, and which in its highest state of splendour, contained four thousand baths, and a population equal to the first cities of Europe, with a library, in which successive kings had collected more than four hundred thousand manuscripts, presented to the disappointed invaders, only a wretched and confused heap of huts rather than houses; the streets unpaved, narrow, noisome and filthy; and the inhabitants stupid, ignorant and barbarous.

Possession having been obtained of Alexandria, General Dessaix, provided with two field pieces, was immediately dispatched towards Cairo. In the mean time Bonaparte issued orders for the fleet to shelter itself from the enemy in the old port of Alexandria, but on sounding the channel, it was found, that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient, and the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage.

The cannon, cavalry, and military stores having all now been disembarked, and the chief command conferred on General Kleber, a flotilla was established in the course of a few days, on the Nile, and the city of Rosetta, situated at the mouth of the western arm of that river, subdued. On the

* Vide "Relation des Campagnes de Bonaparte en Egypte," &c.

7th of July, the main body of the army entered the desert, and after experiencing the most terrible privations, from heat and thirst, arrived at Dementour. Allowing themselves only one day's rest they advanced to Miniet Salame, where intelligence was received, that the beys were encamped in the neighbourhood, and that an armed flotilla had descended the Nile on purpose to attack the invaders. Next morning, the Mamelukes, to the number of four thousand, were discovered near the village of Chebreisse, situated on the left bank of the river. Here two separate and distinct actions immediately took place, the one on the water and the other on the land. Bonaparte in the mean time, having advanced to the support of Kleber, formed his army into five squares, with the cavalry and baggage in the centre. Impelled by their natural impetuosity, the Mamelukes commenced the attack, and were suffered to approach within the reach of grape-shot, when the cannon suddenly opened, and forced the main body of the assailants to retreat; but some bolder than the rest, continued to advance, and met their fate either at the muzzle of the musket or the point of the bayonet. Immediately on this defeat of the land forces, the village of Chebreisse, was carried by assault, and the flotilla belonging to the beys, retired after a desperate action, in which six hundred were killed on the side of the vanquished, and only seventy on that of the victors.

The French troops pursuing their victorious career, advanced through deserted villages, to Ernbabe, where on the 20th of July, they beheld towards the left, those famous pyramids, which had braved the storms of three thousand years, and in front, about six thousand Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, intrenched in the plain. Bonaparte, after making the same dispositions as at Chebreisse, gave orders for a charge, and the Mamelukes, after making an unsuccessful attempt to break the way through a rampart of bayonets, fell back in disorder and left the field of battle in possession of the enemy. General Dugua, availing himself of the retreat of the native troops, advanced against the village, while two divisions under Generals Rampon and Marmont were detached towards the rear, and carried the intrenchments in the face of a masked battery of forty pieces of artillery. A body of Mamelukes and Fellahs, amounting to fifteen hundred, perceiving their retreat cut off by this masterly movement, took post behind a ditch, where they defended themselves with great bravery, but not a single man escaped the fury of the French soldiery, being all either killed by the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Murad Bey, who commanded on this occasion, being forced to retreat, left behind him four hundred camels, his artillery, baggage, and

provisions ; and the victors, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, found all the purses of the vanquished Mamelukes well stored with gold. This decisive victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed, and about thirty wounded, opened the gates of Cairo to the invaders ; the chief inhabitants hastening to the camp of Bonaparte, solicited his protection, while the fortunate chieftain seized on this opportunity to visit the pyramids, and prophesied that his exploits would not be forgotten at the end of forty centuries ;* and in this he was not perhaps mistaken, but it will be rather his exploits in Europe than in Africa, that like the stupendous erections he was now contemplating, will brave the iron-tooth of time.

Bonaparte, with his usual address and plausibility, having conciliated the confidence of the sheiks and the principal families, by proclamations admirably adapted to their prejudices,†

* “ Du haut de ces pyramides, quarante siecles nous contemplent.” From the top of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon us.

† “ You will be told,” says Bonaparte in a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Egypt, after the surrender of Alexandria, “ that I come to destroy your religion. Do not believe it. Be assured that I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I reverence more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. If Egypt be their farm, let them shew the lease that God has given them of it. There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has destroyed them all? What but the injustice and tyranny of the Mamelukes? “ Cadis, sheiks, imans, and tchisbadjees, inform the people that we are the friends of the Mussulmans.”

Another proclamation addressed to his own army on landing, sufficiently shewed that he had studied the Egyptian character, and that he was prepared to go any length, consistent with his main object of ambition and aggrandizement, in accommodating himself to their dispositions and institutions:—“ The people,” says he, “ with whom you are going to establish an intercourse, are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is—‘ There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.’ Do not contradict them. Treat their muftis and imans with respect, as you have done the rabbis and bishops. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe ; you will reconcile yourselves to them by custom.”

It is said, on somewhat doubtful authority, that in a visit to the pyramids of Cheofs, on the 13th of August, in the company of the principal muftis and imans of the city of Grand Cairo, Bonaparte, “ the beloved son of the church,” hesitated not to make use of the following expressions:—“ Glory to Allah! There is no God but God ; Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.” “ The divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope ere long to see and honour his tomb in the holy city : but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes.” “ Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed upon them ; we are come and they have disappeared.” “ Be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet his prophet, who traversed all the celestial mansions in one night. Be the friend of the Franks, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks will recompense you.”

and having organized a provisional government, marched against Mourad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey, taking a contrary direction, fled towards Syria; but on the return of the French general to the capital, the dazzling visions presented to his heated imagination by uninterrupted success, were somewhat obscured on receiving intelligence of the fate that had attended the fleet of Admiral Brueys, in the bay of Aboukir.

CHAPTER V.



Naval Campaign of 1798: Sir Horatio Nelson sent in pursuit of the French Fleet; touches at Malta; proceeds to Alexandria; and returns to Sicily without meeting with the enemy—Sails again to the Coast of Egypt—Battle of the Nile; its Glorious Termination—Influence of that memorable event upon the Courts of Europe—The Porte declares War against France—The King of Naples invades the Roman Republic, suffers a signal defeat, and is driven from his Dominions—The King of Sardinia obliged to Abdicate his Throne—Expedition against Ostend, and its disastrous Result—Minorca captured by the British—St. Domingo evacuated—Goza taken—Summary.

WHILE the French expedition to the east attracted the attention of all Europe, England appeared to be pre-eminently interested in its destination. Positive instructions were in consequence sent out to Earl St. Vincent, then stationed at Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line of battle ships to defeat this armament, whatever might be its destination; and the first lord of the admiralty, in his despatches to the earl, says, "I think it almost unnecessary, to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under Sir Horatio Nelson." This appointment the gallant earl had already anticipated, and a detachment of ten sail of the line was despatched under Captain Trowbridge, to join the rear-admiral, who had previously been despatched to the Mediterranean with a flying squadron. Rear-admiral Nelson, being thus invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, determined to proceed in quest of the enemy.


Steering his course towards Malta, with an intention of attacking the French fleet at Goza, he arrived off that island on the 22d of June, when, to his mortification, he found that the enemy had quitted that place five days before his arrival, taking an eastward direction. Conjecturing, with great plausibility, that Egypt must be the place of their destination, the British admiral sailed for the port of Alexandria, where he

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

August 1st, 1798.

The British Ships approaching the enemy's line are represented thus  with the Capitals A B C &c. referring to their names; and the point of view is from the S.E. part of the Bay.—British ships at their respective stations in the attack are represented thus  and the dotted lines show their respective tracks. A Goliath; B Zedous; C Orion; D Audacious; E Theseus; F Vanguard; G Minotaur; H Bellerophon; I Defence; K Majestic; L Alexander; M Swiftsure; N 74 guns each. N Zeander, 32 guns; O Calloden, 74 guns; P Muirne, 14 guns.



The French Line of Battle Ships are represented thus  1 Le Guerrier, 74 guns, taken and afterwards burnt as unserviceable; 2 Le Conquerant, 74 guns, taken; 3 Le Spartiate, 72 guns, taken; 4 L'Esquillon, 74 guns, taken; 5 Le Peuple Souverain, 74 guns, taken; 6 Le Franklin, 80 guns, taken; 7 L'Orient, 120 guns, burnt; 8 Le Ionian, 80 guns, taken; 9 Le Heureux, 74 guns, taken and afterwards burnt; 10 Le Timoleon, 74 guns, burnt; 11 Le Guillaume Tell, 80 guns, escaped; 12 Le Mercure, 74 guns, taken and afterwards burnt; 13 Le Goneroux, 74 guns, escaped; 14 Le Sirene, 36 guns, sunk; 15 L'Artemise, 40 guns, burnt; 16 La Diane, 44 guns, escaped; 17 La Justice, 44 guns, escaped. The Alert, Infante, and Castor, mortar vessels, of 18 guns each, ran in shore under the castle of Aboukir.



arrived on the 28th, but they had not been seen on the coast of Egypt, nor could any satisfactory information be obtained at that place. Still acting upon his favourite maxim, that "perseverance in the profession will meet its reward," the gallant admiral shaped his course northward for Caramania; thence he returned to Sicily, and after obtaining refreshments and assistance of every kind for his squadron in the bay of Syracuse, sailed once more for Alexandria in quest of the enemy.

On approaching the coast of Egypt, on the first of August, he discovered thirteen sail of line of battle ships, moored in a strong and compact line, in the bay of Aboukir, the head-most vessel being close to the shoals on the N. W. and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned on the S. W. The British admiral, who, from the anxiety of his mind, had scarcely taken either sleep or food for many days, now ordered his dinner to be served, while preparations were making for battle; and when his officers rose from table, and went to their separate stations, he exclaimed—"Before this time to-morrow I shall have gained a Peerage, or Westminster Abbey."*

The advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French; they had thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, carrying eleven hundred and ninety guns, and ten thousand eight hundred and ten men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying in all one thousand and twelve guns, and eight thousand and sixty-eight men. The English ships of the line were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty gun ships, and one three-decker of one hundred and twenty guns; and the enemy's squadron was, in the opinion of the French commissary of the fleet, moored in such a situation, as to bid defiance to a force more than double their own.

The position occupied by the French had been already celebrated in history, as the scene of a famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Mark Antony, near nineteen hundred years ago, which decided the empire of the world. On the present conflict depended the naval superiority of two rival nations, the immediate renewal of the war on the continent of Europe, and the eventual possession of Egypt—perhaps of Hindostan.

The moment Admiral Nelson perceived the position of the French fleet, that intuitive genius with which he was endowed,

* Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, by Clarke and M^rArthur, vol. II. page 77.

displayed itself; and it instantly struck him, that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor. Having explained to his captains his mode of attack, and given them the general instruction, first "to gain the victory—and then to make the best possible use of it;" the engagement commenced at six o'clock in the evening of the first of August. As soon as some of our van ships approached the small island of Bequieres, the Alert French ship began to execute the orders of Admiral Brueys, which were, to stand towards the British ships until nearly within gun shot, and then to manœuvre so as best to draw them towards the outer shoal lying off that island, but the British admiral escaped this decoy, and hauled well round all the danger. On this island of Bequieres the French had established two batteries, but their distance rendered them useless. As our squadron advanced, the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard side of the whole line, full into the bows of our ships; and at twenty-eight minutes past six, P. M. the French hoisted their colours. Captain Foley, who led the British van in the Goliath, had long conceived, that if the enemy were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor were ready for action; acting upon this plan of attack, he darted ahead of the enemy's vanmost ship, *Le Guerrier*, doubled her larboard side, and having poured a destructive fire into the Frenchman, moved on to the *Conquerant*, whom he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts: next followed the *Zealous*, Capt. Hood, which attacked the *Guerrier*, on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her: third proceeded the *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez, and took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships: the *Theseus*, Captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the third ship of the enemy; the *Audacious*, Captain Gould, moved round to the fifth: then advanced the *Vanguard*, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic Captain Berry, and anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colours flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away—that they should be struck, no British admiral considers as a possibility; having veered half a cable, he instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the *Vanguard's* deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the

destructive fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served these guns. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, nobly supported his friend and commander, and anchoring next ahead of the *Vanguard*, took off the fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the French line. The *Défence*, Captain Peyton, took his station, with great judgment, ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the *Franklin* of 80 guns, the sixth ship of the enemy on the starboard bow, which ship bore the flag of Admiral *Blanquet de Chelard*, the second in command.

Thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed as to bear their force upon six of the enemy. The seventh of the French-line was the *Orient*, the admiral's ship, a vessel of immense size, bearing one hundred and twenty guns: this stupendous adversary was undertaken by the *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby; while the *Majestic*, Captain Westcott, who engaged the *Heureux*, the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also at the same time the fire of the *Tonnant*, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action began, and the shades of night began to close in upon them before they reached the scene of action. Captain Trowbridge, in the *Culloden*, took the lead of these ships. As he came on sounding, the increased darkness of the night had greatly increased the difficulties of the navigation; and suddenly, after having found eleven foot water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground, on the tail of the shoal of *Bequieres*, nor could all his own exertions, united to those of Captain Thompson, in the *Leander*, and Captain Hardy, in the *Mutine* brig, both of which came to his assistance, get him off in time to share in the danger and the glory of the action. It was, however, some satisfaction to the mortified spirit of Captain Trowbridge, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which must else, from the course they were holding, have gone considerably further on the reef, and would inevitably have been lost. These ships, after escaping the peril to which they had been exposed, entered the bay, and took their stations, enveloped in darkness, as was the whole fleet, in a manner that is remembered with general admiration. At this juncture the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient*, her lights extinguished, nearly two hundred of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line, towards the lee side of the bay, when the *Swiftsure* which at first mistook her for a ship of the enemy, but was soon undeceived, came up, and taking her station, opened

a steady fire on the quarter of the Franklin, and the bows of the French admiral. At the same instant Captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and anchoring within side of his larboard quarter, raked him, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander*, Captain Thompson, and took her station in such a position as to rake both the Franklin and the *Orient*. The conflict was now carried on in the darkness of the night, and the only light to guide the operations of the fleets was derived from the flashes of their cannon. The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action, and others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain—its extent was the only remaining question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy were taken possession of at half-past eight.

While the battle raged with its utmost fury, the British admiral himself received a wound in the head, from a piece of langridge shot, which cut a large flap of the skin of the forehead from the bone, and which falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. Captain Berry, on whom the command of the ship during the remainder of the action devolved, was standing near his admiral when he received this dreadful wound, and caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound would be mortal: Nelson himself thought so; and on being taken down into the cock-pit, he called his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to Lady Nelson; but the surgeon on examining the wound, pronounced it to be merely superficial, and the gloom which had taken possession of the whole crew under the agonizing apprehension of the loss of their commander, was dissipated and turned into expressions of joy.

The French Admiral Brueys, who sustained the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and had been three times wounded during the present engagement, without quitting his station, now received a shot, which almost cut him in two: still he remained upon the deck, and this hero, so well worthy of a better fate, survived his last wound only a quarter of an hour. Soon after nine o'clock the *Orient* struck her colours and appeared in flames. The fire spread with astonishing rapidity. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be distinctly seen from the towers of Rosetta, a distance of thirty miles. Finding it impossible to extinguish the flames, those who had

escaped death in battle, endeavoured to save themselves by plunging into the sea. About ten o'clock the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was succeeded by a silence not less awful. The firing, as if by common consent, instantly ceased on both sides, and the first sound which broke the portentous stillness, was the dash of the shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been cast by the explosion. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the awful sublimity of this simultaneous pause.—About seventy of the crew of the *Orient* were saved by the English boats, and among the many hundreds who perished were the Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, a brave and intelligent boy, about ten years of age: they were for a time seen in the water, on the wreck of the *Orient's* mast, seeking each other, when the ship blew up, and put an end to their hopes and their fears. The *Orient* had on board money to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

After a lapse of about ten minutes the fire re-commenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock the next morning. It then grew very faint, till about five, when it was again resumed with redoubled fury, but it was on the enemy's part, the resistance, not of hope, but of despair. At day break the *Guillaume Tell*, and the *Genereaux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying, and in the forenoon they cut their cables and stood out to sea, taking along with them two frigates. The *Zealous*, worthy of her name, instantly commenced the pursuit, but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it entirely ceased. As soon as the admiral thought the victory secure, he issued the following order:—"Almighty God having blessed his majesty's arms with victory, the admiral intends returning public thanks for the same, at two o'clock this day, and he recommends every ship doing the same." The vanquished, deprived of the consolations of religion by the wild theories of their governors, had not even this solace in distress, nor could they imagine to what cause to impute the solemn stillness that prevailed through the British fleet, while the thanksgivings of the crews were presented to the giver of all victory. During the action, thousands of the worshippers of the Arabian prophet lined the shores of Egypt, and for three succes-

sive nights, the whole coast and the adjacent country were illuminated in honour of the victory.*

Thus ended an engagement, which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished victories in the naval annals of the world—"Victory," said the hero of the Nile, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene—it was a *Conquest*." The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of one hundred and twenty guns, and the *Timoleon* of seventy four, were burnt; while two eighty gun ships, and seven seventy-fours were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British Admiral, that had he been more amply

* The memorable letter sent by Sir Horatio Nelson to Earl St. Vincent, and which had been begun under the immediate impression of approaching death, and concluded amidst the dreadful scene of devastation which the surrounding ocean continued for days to display, must not be omitted, it was in these words:†

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, August 3, 1798.

MY LORD,

Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms in the late battle by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sun-set on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy were moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay, (of shoals,) flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your Lordship did me the honour to place under my command.—Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure, but that is impossible.

I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your Lordship's pleasure is known.

The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear-ships, are nearly dismantled; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

The support and assistance I have received from captain Berry, cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the *Orient*.

Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

To Admiral, the Earl of St. Vincent,

Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. off Cadiz.

† Vide London Gazette, October 2d, 1798.

provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the harbour would have shared the fate of their ships of the line. This deficiency of frigates he deeply regretted, and in his usual forcible way of expressing himself, said—"Should I die at the present moment, '*Want of frigates*' would be found written on my heart." The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five. Of the French, three thousand one hundred and five, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished!—Constituting a loss, during that glorious, but fatal night, of upwards of five hundred human beings an hour! One British officer of the rank of captain only fell; this was the brave Captain

ENGLISH LINE OF BATTLE.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
1 Culloden,	Captain Trowbridge,	74	590
2 Theseus,	Captain Miller,	74	590
3 Alexander,	Captain Ball,	74	590
4 Vanguard,	{ Rear-admiral Sir H. Nelson, }	74	595
	{ Captain Berry, }		
5 Minotaur,	Captain Louis,	74	640
6 Leander,	Captain Thompson,	50	343
7 Swiftsure,	Captain Hallowell,	74	590
8 Audacious,	Captain Gould,	74	590
9 Defence,	Captain J. Peyton,	74	590
10 Zealous,	Captain Hood,	74	590
11 Orion,	Captain Sir J. Saumarez,	74	590
12 Goliath,	Captain Foley,	74	590
13 Majestic,	Captain Westcott,	74	590
14 Bellerophon,	Captain Darby,	74	590
La Mutine brig, T. M. Hardy.			

FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
1 Le Guerrier,	(taken.)	74	700
2 Le Conquerant,	(taken.)	74	700
3 Le Spartiate,	(taken.)	74	700
4 L'Aquilon,	(taken.)	74	700
5 Le Souverain Peuple,	(taken.)	74	700
6 Le Franklin,	Rear admiral Blanquet, (taken.)	80	800
7 L'Orient,	{ Adm. Brueys, commander in chief, }	120	1010
	{ Captain Casa Bianca, (burnt.) }		
8 Le Tonnant,	(taken.)	80	800
9 L'Heureux,	(taken.)	74	700
10 Le Timoleon,	(burnt.)	74	700
11 Le Mercure,	(taken.)	74	700
12 Le Guillaume Tell,	Rear adm. Villeneuve, (escaped.)	80	800
13 Le Genereux,	(escaped.)	74	700

FRIGATES.

1 Le Diane,	(escaped.)	48	300
2 Le Justice,	(escaped.)	44	300
7 L'Artemise,	(burnt.)	36	250
4 La Serieuse,	(dismasted and sunk.)	36	250

- Wescott, who was killed early in the action, and whose place was supplied with great gallantry and skill by his lieutenant, afterwards appointed Captain Cuthbert.

While the renown of this "conquest" reached every part of the globe, its political effects all over Europe, were instantaneous and surprising. The enemies of France every where recovered from the despondency with which they had been oppressed previous to this glorious event, and an evident re-animation took place in all their councils, which were now occupied in improving an event, that on the admission of Bonaparte himself, proclaimed England sovereign of the ocean.*

The events of the 1st and 2d of August were celebrated throughout England with bonfires and illuminations. His majesty conferred the dignity of Baron of Great Britain with a pension of three thousand a year on the admiral, who was called to the house of peers by the style and dignity of Baron Nelson of the Nile. The grand signior also transmitted a superb diamond chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans, and the King of Naples, at a later period, granted the title of Duke of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish Sultan sent a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed amongst the wounded, and the English nation did themselves the honour to raise by public subscription a much larger sum for the widows and children of those who perished in the action.

Though the sensation of this victory was felt all over Europe, and reached to Hindostan, it was at Radstadt where the effect became the most evident. The deputation of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities, by means of which, no less than forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the impolitic expedition of Bonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition he had there encountered, and the recent disaster of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the Continent unavoidable. At this juncture too, and partly from the same causes, the Turks declared war against France; and Russia, under the government of the emperor Paul, became an efficient member of the new coalition preparing against the French nation.—

* In a letter to the directory, written by Bonaparte from Egypt, immediately after the battle of the Nile, he thus expresses himself:—"The destinies have wished to prove by this event, as by all others, that if they have assigned us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the seas to our rivals."

This alliance was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the King of Naples, who after issuing a declaration of war against the republic on the 22d of November, put his army in motion against the French on the 23d of that month, and on the 29th succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital. But this success was of short duration, for on the 15th of December, the Neapolitan troops sustained a signal defeat at Civita Castellana. This disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome, and such was the hard fate of Ferdinand IV. that on the last day of the year he was obliged to abdicate all his continental dominions, and to take refuge on board an English man of war.

But the fate of Charles Emanuel I. King of Sardinia, was, if possible, still more deplorable. This prince, who had been lately engaged in a contest with the Ligurian republic had become an object of suspicion to the French government, under whose control, he was obliged to subscribe an act of renunciation of his power and authority, to order the Piedmontese army to consider itself as a portion of the French troops, and to surrender the citadel of Turin as a pledge that no resistance whatever should be attempted against the present act, which the unfortunate monarch was compelled to say "emanated purely from his own will!"

At no period of our history, did the natives of the British isles exhibit a greater decree of courage and constancy than at the present. Notwithstanding the increased burthen of taxation and the peculiar pressure of the triple assessed taxes, all ranks and classes of men displayed a laudable degree of vigour and patriotism: even those who doubted the justice and denied the policy of the war, were indignant at the idea of foreign domination; and an armed and united people, although not unconscious of the gigantic power, mocked the empty boasts of an enemy who threatened to invade their shores.

The offensive operations of the kingdom were as usual checquered with a variety of good and bad fortune. During the spring, an expedition was fitted out against maritime Flanders, for the express purpose of blowing up the bason, gates and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which, transport-schuyts, instead of risking a sea voyage, were enabled to keep up an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. An armament accordingly sailed for the purpose, from Margate roads, on the 18th of May, under Captain Popham, with a body of troops, consisting of twelve hundred men, commanded by Major-general Coote. On the arrival of the ex-

pedition before Ostend, the necessary preparations were made for a descent, and while the Wolverine, Asp, and Biter, returned the fire of the batteries, the Hecla and Tartarus bombs threw their shells with so much rapidity and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and the shipping did not escape without damage. On the 19th, a landing was effected to the north-west, without opposition, and as soon as the soldiers had formed, they proceeded to burn several boats, demolish the sluice-gates, and effect a grand explosion, by which it was intended to destroy a great national work, which had cost the states of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had not been completed with a labour of five years. Thus having, as was supposed, rendered the Bruges canal unserviceable, the commander-in-chief attempted about noon to return on board the shipping, but he soon discovered that the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, that the attempt was impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand hills, at a little distance from the beach, and by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning, and all resistance being in vain, they surrendered, after a gallant defence, in the course of which, Major-general Coote himself was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured without effect to obtain an exchange of prisoners, and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the British troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had destroyed; but it was found on inspection, that the damage was but trifling, every thing being restored to its former state in the course of a few weeks.

Early in November, a small squadron was despatched against Minorca, under the command of Admiral Duckworth, and the command of the land forces conferred upon General Stuart, an active and enterprising officer. After a short and feeble resistance, the garrison, consisting of nearly four thousand men, under the command of Don Juan de Quesada, surrendered to the British force, which did not suffer the loss of a single man in the conquest of this important Spanish colony.

On the other hand, the British ministry, finding that no portion of the island of St. Domingo, on which so much blood and treasure had already been lavished, could be retained without immense sacrifices, determined, very wisely, to abandon that conquest. In virtue of this decision, Major-general Maitland agreed with Toussaint L'Ouverture, now comman-

der-in-chief in that colony, where he had formerly been a slave, to leave the island, on condition that the black chief would guarantee the lives and property of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain, and these easy conditions being readily accepted, the British force sailed from the island on the 9th of May.

In another quarter of the globe, the island of Goza surrendered to the British navy, which was this year pre-eminently distinguished by its successful exertions ; thirteen line of battle, and as many forty-gun ships and frigates having been either captured, burnt, or destroyed. On the other hand, the English lost the Ambuscade, mounting thirty-two guns, after a severe action in the bay of Biscay, with the Bayonnaise ; the Jason and La Pique, captured near Brest ; and the Leander, of fifty guns, which struck, reluctantly, to Le Genereux, of seventy-four guns, after a battle of six hours, in which the honour of the British flag suffered no stain.

But the security of the British isles was greatly promoted by the failure of a naval and military expedition, fitted out by the enemy in the port of Brest, and destined to renew the horrors of a civil war in Ireland ; to record the rise, progress, and extinction of which insurrection, will be the business of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

British History : Ministers again express a wish to enter into Negotiations with the French Government—Correspondence on that Subject—The Negotiators assemble at Lisle—Progress of the Negotiation—Its Rupture—Meeting of Parliament—Secession of the Members of Opposition—Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament on the Rupture of the Negotiations—New Measures of Finance : triple Assessment ; voluntary Contributions ; Redemption of the Land Tax—National Defence ; Motion for calling out the Supplementary Militia ; for the encouragement of voluntary Associations ; for more effectually manning the Navy—Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney—The Name of Mr. Fox erased from the Council-Books by his Majesty—Second Estimate of Supplies—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Discussions on the State of Ireland.

IN the interval between the treaty of Leoben, in the spring of 1797, and the treaty of Campo Formio, in the autumn of the same year, the British ministry, finding that the coalition against France was effectually dissolved, again declared themselves actuated by a wish to conclude hostilities, and to give to Europe the enjoyment of a general peace.

Accordingly, on the first of June, 1797, an official note from

Lord Grenville to M. de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, communicated the desire on the part of the British government to negotiate preliminaries, which might be definitively arranged at a future congress. The French government, pursuing their usual policy of negotiating a separate peace with each of their enemies, replied, that the directory "would receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which should be made to it by the court of England," but required, for the purpose of avoiding delay, that the negotiations should be rather for a definitive than for a preliminary treaty. The British government rejoined, that it would depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations, whether preliminary or definitive articles should be signed. The directory, in three days after the date of Lord Grenville's last note, transmitted the necessary passports for a minister, "furnished with full powers from his Britannic Majesty, for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace;" and fixed upon the city of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries.* On the 17th of June, Lord Grenville, in a letter addressed to M. de la Croix, informed him that his majesty had made choice of the same minister to represent him on this, as on a former similar occasion; to which the French minister, in reply, signified "the consent of the directory, that the negotiations should be opened with Lord Malmesbury," intimating, however, at the same time, "that another choice would have appeared to the directory more favourable for the speedy conclusion of peace."

Early in July, Lord Malmesbury arrived at Lisle, where he was met by the French plenipotentiaries, Le Tourneur, late member of the directorial council, Pleville le Pelley, and

* *Form of Passport.*

LIBERTY,

EQUALITY.

FRATERNITY,

UNION.

In the name of the French Republic.

To all officers civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name respected abroad.

Allow to pass freely

furnished with full powers of his Britannic Majesty, for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French republic, native of _____ going to Lisle, department of the north, the place appointed for the negotiation without giving, or suffering any hindrance to be given to him.

This passport shall be in force for _____ decades only.
Given at Paris, the 23d Prairial, 5th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

The minister for foreign affairs. (Signed) CH. DE LA CROIX.
By the minister. (Signed) J. GUIRADET.

Hugues B. Maret. His lordship opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification, which he had received from the British ministry: this *projet* required the cession of the colony of Trinidad, on the part of Spain; and of the cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the East Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland: in return for which it was proposed, that Great Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war: our minister further required the restoration of his personal property to the Prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money; and that France should engage to procure for him at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United Provinces; that Portugal should be included in the treaty, and that no demand should be made upon that country by France.

To these proposals the French answered, that previous to entering on the main business it was necessary that three concessions should be made: first, that his Britannic Majesty should resign the title of King of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made for them; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of carrying on the war against France, should be given up.—On the first of these points, Lord Malmesbury observed, “that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to answer every purpose they required, and which it was his intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed as proper to make a part of this:” on the second, he replied, “that this claim of restoring the ships was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for him to have been provided for it in his instructions:” and on the third, “that if the French republic had taken the Low Countries as they stood, charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect.” These were the observations that occurred to him on the first mention of the subjects to which they had adverted, but he would transmit a paper stating the three claims to his government for consideration.

On the 15th of July, the French plenipotentiaries addressed a note to Lord Malmesbury, in which it was stated, “that the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted with its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, establishes, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the con-

sent of his Britannic Majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian republic." Our minister replied, "that the requisition of these terms, was in effect to declare the intention of France to put an abrupt termination to the treaty, as it proposed cessions on one side, without any compensation on the other : if this were the resolution of the directory, the negotiation was at end ; and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in maintaining, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be ended but by yielding to terms at once disgraceful and unjust."

The French plenipotentiaries, feeling the justice of these observations, expressed a willingness to apply to their constituents, the directory, for fresh instructions ; but though this assurance was given on the 23d of July, yet, at a conference held between the plenipotentiaries on the 28th of August, it was admitted that no specific instructions had arrived ; but it was at the same time announced, that the delay of communication arose from the dissatisfaction of the Batavian republic, at the suggestion of their settlements being retained by Great Britain. It was however pretty notorious to all Europe, that the members of the directory were at this period tottering in their seats, and that, during the delay of the negotiation, their attentions were confined to their own preservation. For another fortnight the procrastinations continued, and during this crisis, another revolution took place in France, which expelled two of the most able of its members, Barthelemi and Carnot, from the office of directors, and the particulars of which have been already narrated.* The events of the 18th Fructidor, led to the recall of the French ambassadors, at that time at Lisle, and to the appointment of citizens Treilhard and Bonneir d'Alco as their successors. This change of negociators was not more unpleasant to the feelings of Lord Malmesbury, than it was inauspicious to the progress of the negotiations. Immediately after their first interview, on the 13th of September, Lord Malmesbury was required to inform them, whether, as a preliminary to negotiations, he was empowered to concede on the part of his government, that England should surrender "all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies, since the beginning of the war:" and his lordship was further required to return an explicit answer to this question in the course of the same day. On the 16th, his lordship addressed a note to the French plenipotentiaries, in which he

* Vide page 406.

intimated, that "he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensation—a principle which had been formally recognised as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers." On the same day the French ministers apprized his lordship of "a decree of the executive directory," purporting, "that in case Lord Malmesbury should declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indispensable, he shall be to return in four and twenty hours to his court, to ask for sufficient powers." The obvious answer to this imperious mandate was returned by Lord Malmesbury at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day, in a note demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, to return to England within the time prescribed by the executive directory. Previous to his departure, however, another meeting took place between the plenipotentiaries, in which his lordship, without compromising his dignity as the representative of a great nation, urged every consideration that might induce the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals, but without effect; his lordship therefore took his departure from Lisle on the morning of the 18th of September.

Whether the rupture of the first negociation with the French republic, turning as it did upon the retention of Belgium, was imputable to Great Britain or to France, is a subject which admits of considerable doubt; but the impartial historian may safely pronounce, that the hostile conclusion of the second treaty is to be attributed to that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition which at this moment so unhappily prevailed in the councils of the latter country. It has been said, indeed, that the directory, in instructing their ministers to make the inquiry whether his Lordship was empowered to concede as a preliminary to negociation, that England should surrender all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies, did not intend to insist upon those conditions as a *sine qua non*, but merely to ascertain whether such a power was vested in the British Ambassador. But if it were not intended that Great Britain should submit to these sacrifices, and that too without any equivalent, why put the success of the negociations to hazard by proposing such a question? and why bring upon France the universal odium that such an inquiry, so pertinaciously repeated, could not fail to produce?

On the 2d of November, parliament re-assembled, and his majesty expressed his firm conviction, "that the papers laid

before the two houses, would prove to them, and to the world, that in the late negotiations at Lisle every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace ; and that he still retained an ardent desire for the attainment of that blessing."

When the king's speech came to be taken into consideration by the commons, the house presented a singular and unpleasant appearance : the benches on the left of the speaker's chair no longer exhibited their usual occupants ; and if ministers, by the secession of the opposition members from parliament, were no longer impeded in their course by the objections of their parliamentary opponents, the interests of the country ceased for the time to be advanced by that vigilant attention which political rivalry, and a jealous watchfulness exerted over men in power, seldom fail in some degree to secure. Finding their counsels rejected, their motives traduced, and their opposition unavailing, the adversaries of ministers, with some few exceptions, determined to withdraw for a time from their places in parliament, and to leave the members of administration to pursue their favourite system of policy without control. Under these circumstances, the address on the king's speech was voted in both houses without a division, but not altogether without observation, principally arising out of the late negotiations.

On the 10th of November, the papers relating to this subject were taken into consideration by the commons, and an address passed both houses by an almost unanimous vote, highly applauding the conduct of his majesty's government in the late negotiation, and expressing a firm determination to support his majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties.*

* JOINT ADDRESS,

Presented by both houses of parliament to his majesty, Nov. 15, 1797.

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the papers which your majesty has been pleased to direct to be laid before us, on the subject of the negociation into which your majesty had entered, with the view of restoring to your people a secure and honourable peace.—In every stage of that transaction we have recognized your majesty's invariable and unremitted solicitude for our prosperity and welfare, while we have seen, on the other hand, the most abundant proofs of the continuance of that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition, on the part of our enemies, in which the present contest first originated. Your majesty's conduct, characterized by an unexampled moderation, openness, and consistency, has left to the enemy no means of evasion, no subterfuge of disguise or artifice. It can no longer be denied, that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of peace, and of pursuing, at all hazards,

The nation at large imbibed the sentiment, that the concessions offered by England to France at Lisle, were as great as it was proper to make, and that the claims of France were highly unreasonable and unjust. Under these impressions, a great majority of the people evinced an extraordinary and sudden renewal of ardour in the prosecution of the war, and the recent victory of Lord Duncan, added to the secession of the opposition from parliament, which by many was considered as a dereliction of public duty, gave to the ministers a higher degree of popularity than it had been their good fortune for a long time previously to enjoy.

Early in the present session, a bill was introduced into parliament, and speedily passed into a law, for continuing the existing restrictions on cash payments by the bank of England; and on the 22d of November, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement, relating to the public finances. According to the minister's estimates, the whole expense of the year amounted to twenty-five millions and a half; and for the pur-

their hostile designs against the happiness and safety of these kingdoms; even the vain pretence of pacific dispositions is now abandoned, and the real purpose of all their councils, and of all their measures, at length openly and publicly avowed. It is to our laws and government that they have declared their irreconcilable hatred. No sacrifice will content them but that of our liberty; no concession but that of our envied and happy constitution.

"Under such circumstances, we feel the duty which we owe in this great crisis to God and to our country. Animated by the same sentiments which your majesty has been pleased to declare to your people, and to the world—attached to your majesty by principles of duty and gratitude, and sensible that it is only from courage and firmness that we can look for present safety, or permanent peace, we are determined to defend, with unshaken resolution, your majesty's throne, the lives and property of our fellow-subjects, the government and constitution of our country, and the honour and independency of the British empire. We know that great exertions are necessary; we are prepared to make them; and, placing our firm reliance on that divine protection which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will support your majesty to the utmost, and stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties."

ANSWER.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Nothing could be more satisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the sentiments of my two houses of parliament. They are such as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cause which is common to us all, and contending for every interest which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the blessing of Providence, I look with confidence to the issue of this great contest: but in every event my resolution is taken. It is such as I owe to God, to my country, and to myself; and it is confirmed by the sentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will stand or fall with them, in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms."

pose of furnishing a supply equal to this immense demand, he declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and "solid system of finance." Of this sum, six millions and a half would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Of the nineteen millions then remaining to be provided for, he proposed to raise seven within the year, by a new impost, under the designation of a triple assessment, which would be regulated by the existing assessments—limited however to the tenth of each person's income—and from the application of this principle of taxation arose, at subsequent periods, the income and property taxes. Of the remaining twelve millions, four might be borrowed without creating an additional debt; the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount: the remaining eight millions he proposed to pay by continuing the triple assessment till the principal and interest were discharged, which would be the operation of little more than another year. This plan, he said, would extremely damp the hopes of the enemy, and shew to him, and to all Europe, that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigencies of our situation.

On the occasion of these fresh burdens being laid upon the people, Mr. Fox, at the request of his constituents, once more appeared in parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new scheme of finance. Such a plan, he contended, came with an extremely bad grace, from those who had contributed so much already to the burdens to be imposed on posterity. "Why," said Mr. Fox, "was not this plan of taxation produced at the beginning of the war?—Because it was necessary to delude this house, and because it would not have served the minister's purpose, to have shewn the people into what an abyss he meant to lead them." After a number of very animated debates, the triple assessment bill passed the house of commons, on the 4th of January, when the opposition divided, one hundred and twenty-seven against two hundred and two. Pending the discussions on this new scheme of finance, Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, made his first appearance as a public speaker in the house of Lords, and in the course of his opposition to the measure, displayed so much ability, as to draw from Lord Grenville expressions of admiration. During the progress of this bill through parliament, a clause was introduced, on the motion of the speaker of the house of commons, to admit of voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion by a powerful and enraged enemy; and the aggregate of the

voluntary contributions thus entered into, under the sanction of parliament, amounted to one million and a half, to which the bank of England contributed two hundred thousand pounds, the king twenty thousand, and the queen five thousand, out of their private purse.

The next financial measure brought before the present session of parliament by the minister, was introduced on the 2d of April, 1798. The ostensible object of the bill was the redemption of the land-tax, but its effect was to perpetuate the sale of that unequal impost. The revenue at that time derived from the land-tax, amounted to two millions sterling; this Mr. Pitt proposed to set up at twenty years' purchase, when the three per cent. consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in the price to purchasers, according to the rise of stocks. Forty millions sterling, the present amount of the land-tax, at twenty years' purchase, would amount to eighty millions, three per cent. stock, affording an interest of two millions four hundred thousand pounds, and leaving, by this operation, a clear annual gain to the public revenue of four hundred thousand pound. The person who purchased his share of the land tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. But, what was of much more consequence to the interests of the state, eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that would be given, they should, Mr. Pitt observed, be such as would induce every person who was able to become a purchaser. The proprietor was of course to have the right of pre-emption; and to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. The bill further provided, that if the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase within a time to be limited, his situation, or that of his heirs, should not be entirely hopeless, but a further period should be allowed to take advantage of the purchase. In the absence of the leading members of opposition, this bill passed into a law, without encountering any considerable difficulties; but from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one fourth part of the land-tax was, within the space of the three succeeding years, bought up, and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, did not within that period exceed fifty thousand a year.

At the same time that the land-tax at four shillings in the pound was made perpetual, certain duties to the amount of that tax on sugar and tobacco were rendered annual; in order that the control which parliament previously possessed over the public purse might suffer no diminution.

Though a message had, early in the session, been sent to

the two houses of parliament, apprizing the members of the preparations making by the enemy for the invasion of these kingdoms, and soliciting the early attention of parliament to the subject, some time elapsed before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. At length, however, Mr. Dundas moved for the introduction of a bill to enable his majesty to call out a proportion of the supplementary militia; and after an interval of some weeks, a second bill was introduced, for the encouragement of voluntary associations in defence of the country. This call was promptly obeyed; and no period in the history of Great Britain was ever distinguished by more striking manifestations of patriotic feeling and military ardour. A third bill was brought into the house by Mr. Dundas, for the revival of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, which when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and when another was held in daily expectation of an invasion, could not with propriety experience any opposition. During the discussions on the subject, Mr. Pitt declared, that at no former period of the war were the preparations of the enemy for a descent upon this country so ripe, so extensive, or so truly alarming, as at the present moment.

Under a persuasion that the dangers of the country were continually increasing, from the vast preparations accumulating on the coast of France, the chancellor of the exchequer, on Friday, the 25th of May, moved for a bill for more effectually manning the navy; and as his chief object was the temporary suspension of the protections of seamen, he expressed an earnest wish, that the bill should pass that day through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each if required; and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney said, the very extraordinary manner in which the house was called upon to adopt this measure, could not fail to create great and unnecessary alarm; and if the honourable gentleman persisted in hurrying the bill through its respective stages in the manner proposed, he should feel it his duty to give it his decided negative. Indeed, from all he had lately seen, he must view the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject.

Mr. Pitt, rising with considerable warmth, said—"If every measure adopted against the designs of France is to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, my idea of liberty differs widely from that of the honourable gentleman. If the measure be necessary, and as a notice of such an intention will enable those on whom it is meant to operate to elude its effects, how can the honourable gentleman's opposi-

tion to it be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country?" Mr. Tierney now rose, and called the chancellor of the exchequer to order; on which Mr. Addington, the speaker, with that dignified impartiality which characterized every part of his parliamentary conduct, observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in a language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular; of this the house would judge; but they would wait to hear the right honourable gentleman's explanation.

Mr. Pitt, rising with that lofty port which he was so capable of assuming, said:—"If the house wait for my explanation, I fear it will wait a long time. I know very well that it is not parliamentary to state the motives that actuate the opinions of the members of this house; but it is impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induce an opposition to the measures proposed. I submit to the judgment of the house the propriety of what I have urged, but I will not depart from any thing I have advanced by either retraction or explanation."

This peremptory refusal to explain, or to retract the obnoxious expression, was considered as at once contumacious towards parliament, and personally insulting to the individual; and under these circumstances, the laws of honour, as they are falsely called, left Mr. Tierney no alternative; he immediately left the house, and the next morning sent Mr. Pitt a challenge. On Sunday afternoon, at three o'clock, the parties met on Putney-Heath, Mr. Pitt being accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney by Mr. George Walpole. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent further proceedings, the combatants took their ground, at the distance of twelve paces: a case of pistols was then fired at the same moment by both, without effect; to which another succeeded, but Mr. Pitt, firing his second pistol in the air, the seconds interfered, and the matter was accommodated.

It was the misfortune of this distracted period of our history to be agitated with violent political discussions, the influence of which extended themselves to the breast even of royalty itself; and on the 19th of May, his majesty in council called for the council-book, and with his own hand erased the name of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox from the list of privy counsellors. So signal a mark of the royal displeasure had seldom been exhibited in this country, and this act of expulsion was considered the more extraordinary, as it was the boast of Mr. Fox, supported by indubitable facts,

that during the whole time he had held the dignified office of privy counsellor, he had never given a vote by which the life of a single British subject had been sacrificed, or a single guinea of the public money unnecessarily expended. It happened however, at a more advanced period of his majesty's reign, and it is mentioned to the honour of both the sovereign and the subject, that not only was the name of this distinguished statesman again inscribed in the council-books, but he was also elevated, by the signature of the same hand that made the erasure, to one of the first offices in the state, which station he held till death put a period to his public services, and placed him by the side of his great political rival.

In the year 1798, as in the year that preceded it, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies; when he took occasion to state that the loan must be fifteen instead of twelve millions; and that the triple assessment, which was calculated at seven millions, would, it was apprehended, from the numerous modifications and abatements, be reduced to four millions and a half. The interest of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at seven hundred and sixty-three thousand pounds, which he proposed to provide for by additional duties, on salt, tea, dogs, horses, and carriages, and by a tax on armorial bearings. The various duties on houses and windows were, at the same time, consolidated into one table, graduating according to a regular scale, and diminished in some instances where the rise was disproportioned to the value of the houses.

In the course of this session, Mr. Wilberforce again renewed his annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade, and the result proved that the cause of truth and humanity was making gradual advances towards that consummation, which was in the end to crown the labours of the friends of the abolition. On this subject, Mr. Fox did not despair of rendering some service to his country, and impelled by that powerful feeling of humanity which so strongly marked his political life, he again presented himself in the house of commons. After an animated debate, in which both Mr. Pitt and he spoke with their accustomed energy in favour of the abolition, the house divided, when it appeared, that in a house of one hundred and seventy-four members, the majority in favour of the continuance of the trade amounted only to four voices!

In the course of the present session, the Duke of Bedford, after a very animated speech, moved an address to the throne

for the removal of ministers, which, after a long and vehement debate, was negatived by a majority of one hundred voices.

The distracted situation of the sister kingdom could not fail to produce great disquietude and apprehension in the British parliament; and in an early period of the session, Earl Moira, a nobleman of great property, influence, and popularity, in that island, and a member of both legislatures, called the attention of the lords to that country, and "entreated the house to take into consideration the tendency of the oppressive and cruel system now practised with the authority of government, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the numbers of the discontented, and would, he feared, if the system was not changed, ultimately separate Ireland from this country for ever." His lordship in conclusion, moved an address to the king, praying that the situation of Ireland might be taken into immediate consideration. This motion was opposed both by Lord Grenville and the Lord Chancellor, on the ground that the house was not in possession of any authentic information on the subject now under discussion; and that, supposing the evils complained of really to exist, the power to redress them was not vested in the British, but in the Irish parliament. This reasoning was deemed conclusive, and the question of adjournment was put and carried.

On the 16th of March, Earl Moira, feeling himself in a situation to obviate the objection arising out of a want of authentic information, again brought the general state of the affairs of Ireland under consideration, and stated, that he had the affidavits of a hundred persons in his possession, to prove that torture had been employed in that unhappy country, in extorting confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours; and that horrible devastation had been made on the houses and property of persons accused of disaffection. The Marquis of Downshire replied, that zeal had carried the noble lord too far in his representations against the executive government. He was ready to admit that some of the army, perhaps the undisciplined troops, might have committed excesses, but he would contend that it was not in consequence of any orders they had received either from their officers or from government. With respect to coercion, he saw the necessity of it, nor would he disguise, nor was he ashamed to acknowledge, that he was one of the first to recommend the executive government to issue the proclamation for putting the county of Down under martial law. Earl Moira rose to reply, but he was called to order by the Earl of

Caernarvon, and his lordship reluctantly suffered the conversation to drop, after observing that the documents he had referred to did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops.

On the 15th of June, Ireland being now a scene of carnage and horror, the Duke of Leinster, an Irish nobleman of the highest rank, and a peer of Great Britain, after an impressive speech, during the delivery of which his feelings seemed deeply agitated, moved an address, humbly requesting "that his majesty would deign to direct the proper officers to lay before that house a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils. A long and animated debate ensued, in which the motion was supported by the Dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, and Leeds; and by Lords Suffolk, Moira, Fitzwilliam, Besborough, and Holland; but the opposition of Lords Townshend, Carlisle, Grenville, Spencer, and the Lord Chancellor, prevailed, and on a division there appeared, contents eighteen, non-contents fifty-one.

On the same day Lord George Cavendish, after a short and emphatic speech, introduced a series of resolutions, recommending a system of policy to be adopted towards Ireland, at once firm and conciliatory, and wherein "severity should be tempered with mercy." These resolutions were seconded by Lord John Russel; but on the motion of Mr. Canning, for proceeding to the order of the day, all the resolutions were negatived by a majority of two hundred and twelve to sixty-six members. Mr. Fox, in conformity with a notice he had previously given to that effect, then rose, and moved the following proposition:—

"Resolved—That this house, (understanding it to be a matter of notoriety, that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity; and particularly that scourges and other tortures have been employed to extort confessions,) is of opinion, that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name, and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland, must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice such atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and terror."

These discussions on the situation of Ireland in both houses of parliament took place with closed doors, and the same system of secrecy was pursued on the 18th of June, when Lord Grenville rose to present a message from his majesty, informing the house,—that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of different regiments of militia of this kingdom,

had made to his majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country ; a bill was accordingly produced by Lord Grenville, and read a first time. On Tuesday, the 19th of June, the address, empowering his majesty to accept the offer of such regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland, was carried after an animated debate.

On the 19th of June, the same subject was introduced to the house of commons, in virtue of his majesty's message ; on which Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure, he should content himself with moving the thanks of the house to his majesty for his most gracious communication. Mr. Nichols said, if the militia force of this kingdom were sent to Ireland, the principle of the militia bill as originally established, would be completely abandoned. The house moreover, he added, ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the question, before they proceeded to give their support to the measures in contemplation, and fully to ascertain the causes of the discontent which had driven that unfortunate country into the present unnatural contest. Mr. Lawrence Palk, and Mr. Pierrepont, gentlemen not usually found in the ranks of opposition, contended against the measure as a gross and flagrant violation of the constitution ; and Mr. Banks moved as an amendment, that the house considered the proposition suggested in his majesty's message as of the utmost consequence, and such as required further deliberation. Mr. Secretary Windham said, it had been suggested that the house ought to pause before it agreed to the address ; but were they to pause while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the king's troops and rebels were fighting, and not assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty ? The objection that the English militia had been raised merely for the protection of England, and never to be sent out of it, did not appear to him stronger than might be urged in the case of fencible corps, who had been raised on similar terms. Mr. Tierney declared, that when the minister had such a proposition to make as the present, he ought to come down to the house clothed in sackcloth and ashes. There was no official communication to that house, even of the existence of a rebellion in Ireland, but in the message, calling upon them to take this unconstitutional step, in order to suppress it. The militia was a part of the constitution : where was a substitute to be found for this body ? The tenour of the oath was 'to serve faithfully in Great Britain.' Mr.

Wilberforce said, he was convinced that the measure was in itself objectionable, yet he must give it his decided support, on account of necessity. On a division of the house, there appeared for the address, one hundred and eighteen, against it forty-seven voices; and bills, founded upon the message, were afterwards passed through the respective stages, and received the sanction of the sovereign, previously to the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the 29th of June.

The kingdom being thus deprived of about twelve thousand of its constitutional defenders, though still under the impending and imminent apprehension of an invasion, a spirit of military ardour seemed at once to seize and pervade the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men, whether friendly or adverse to the measures of the existing administration, eagerly formed themselves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice, acting under temporary commissions from the king; till England presented to her fierce and formidable foe, the glorious picture of an armed people, inspired with the magnanimous resolution of sacrificing their lives in defence of their country. From this imposing spectacle, France, which had hitherto cherished the delusive hope, that she had numerous partisans and adherents in Great Britain, shrunk back astonished and appalled. But while one part of the British dominions was rendered invulnerable, by the martial spirit and patriotic ardour of the people, another part of the empire was at the same time exposed to the most imminent hazard, by that greatest of all political evils—mis-called civil war.

CHAPTER VII.

IRISH REBELLION: *The predisposing Causes—Disaffection arising from exclusive Privileges, and defective Parliamentary Representation—French Connexion—The Arrival of Mr. Jackson, a French Emissary—His Conduct and Fate—Progress of the Spirit of Disaffection—Trial of Arthur O'Connor and his Associates at Maidstone—Conviction and Execution of Quigley—Arrest of the Irish Directory—Arrest and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Arrest of John and Henry Sheares—Origin and Object of the White Boys—Of the Defenders—Of the Peep-of-Day Boys—Constitution and Organization of the Society of United Irishmen—Institution of Orange Lodges—Excess of contending Factions.*

AT a period when France had put an end to the Vendean war, Britain unfortunately beheld an insurrection in the bowels of her empire; and as the former contest had been fomented and prolonged by the policy of the neighbouring powers,

so the present appears to have assumed a formidable shape, and even in part to have originated; in consequence of the encouragement held out to the disaffected by a hostile state.

In entering upon a history of the Irish rebellion of 1798, it may be proper to premise, that from the first acquisition of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II. the bulk of the people have never been cordially reconciled to the English government, and perhaps it may, with equal truth be added, that the English government have never, at any period of their history, taken the necessary steps to produce a cordial reconciliation. In consequence of the immense confiscations which succeeded the rebellions in Ireland, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I. and William III. almost the whole landed property of the kingdom was transferred to English settlers and their descendants, who formed in effect a distinct colony in Ireland—a nation within a nation, differing in manners, customs, language, and religion, and enjoying the whole political power and influence of the country for a long succession of ages. From the accession of the house of Hanover, however, although the laws against popery, till a recent period, suffered no relaxation, the government of the country was administered in the spirit of mildness; the civilization of the inhabitants, and the commercial advantages of the country increased; and the catholics participated, though not equally, in the general prosperity. At length, towards the close of the American war, a numerous body of catholic subjects, co-operating with their protestant fellow-citizens, evinced a zeal and patriotism in the cause of their country, that demanded an adequate return on the part of the British government; and that reward Ireland did not fail to find, in the grant of a free trade, and the recognition of her political independence.*

* In the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with France, Spain, and America, and when the combined squadron of those powers was riding triumphantly in the British channel, holding forth threats of invasion, a numerous body of men arose in the sister kingdom, under the designation of "*The Volunteers of Ireland.*" These patriotic bands, which were to be found in every part of the country, at first supplied themselves with arms at their own expense; and government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which at that period actuated the Irish nation, distributed immense quantities of arms to such as wished to share in the honour of defending their country, but were not in a situation to furnish themselves with the necessary equipments. To the immortal honour of these self-embodied men, they not only deterred the enemy from attempting an invasion, but they shewed at the same time an exemplary regard for the laws, and an ardent zeal in enforcing their execution. But these military associations, excellent in themselves, and admirably calculated to answer the purpose of their original institution,

It has been frequently observed, and the remark is correct with certain limitations, that in proportion as the government concedes, in the same proportion the governed continue to demand concessions. And it is right that the people should extend their claims till all their reasonable demands are satisfied; and it is equally proper, that those persons to whom the direction of public affairs is conferred, should make a stand when they have granted all that they consider fairly compatible with the just pretensions of the claimants, and the general interests of the community. The difficulty consists in drawing the line, which ought at all times to pass at an equal distance from oppression and licentiousness. No sooner had the boon of unrestrained commerce and national independence been granted to the people of Ireland in general, than the catholics began to urge their peculiar claims of an equal participation in the honours and emoluments of a state, of which that body constituted at least two-thirds of the whole number. The Irish parliament, however, viewed their applications with the highest degree of jealousy and aversion, from an apprehension, that if the elective franchise were extended to the catholic body, the commons' house of parliament would soon consist of a large majority of catholic members. In support of these claims, combined with a radical reform in parliament, a society was formed in Ireland soon after the breaking out of the French revolution, under the designation of the "Society of United Irishmen:" and as it now became of the utmost importance to the British government, that the spirit of discontent in Ireland should not be suffered to rise to disaffection, the memorable catholic toleration bill was, as has already been related, introduced into the Irish parliament in the session of 1793, under the sanction of government, and at the express recommendation of the sovereign. This bill, which in its original shape was ample in its provision, became so much narrowed in its principle and limited in its operations by the Irish legislature, as to afford neither satisfaction

soon exhibited their attendant evils: when the occasion that called them into existence was passed, the soldier became a politician; and an armed population, by their delegates, assembled in Dublin, in the year 1783, as a national congress, the representative body of one hundred and three volunteer corps, with instructions to form a plan and draw up a petition for parliamentary reform! The principle of volunteering too, while it was productive of a social and liberal intercourse, appears to have diffused a spirit of conviviality throughout the country, incompatible with habits of industry and œconomy, and by which the representatives in parliament, and their most zealous friends and adherents in the country, fell into a dereliction and abandonment of public duty, while at the same time they neglected their private interests.

to the catholics of Ireland, nor to the government of England ; and at the close of the year 1794, Earl Fitzwilliam was in consequence appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, with full powers, as he himself imagined, and as the whole kingdom of Ireland understood, to carry the plan of emancipation into effect. His lordship, more distinguished for political integrity than for skilful intrigue, did not hesitate to dismiss from his councils the adversaries of catholic emancipation, and to substitute in their stead the ardent friends of those measures which it was the object of his appointment to carry into effect. The consequence of his procedure was his immediate recall, and the appointment of the Earl of Camden to the vice-regal office. These events took place in the early part of the year 1795 ; and in the month of March, 1796, the spirit of disaffection had spread to such an alarming extent through the country, that it was found necessary to pass the insurrection act, empowering the magistrates to proclaim any county or district out of the king's peace, and to subject the inhabitants to the operation of military law. At the same time, the oppressive monopolies of land, entails and settlements, with the payment of tithes, which in Ireland are so unfortunately modified as to fall with a very unequal pressure upon tillage, formed so many distinct sources of disaffection ; and the agitators of revolt did not fail to remind the miserable cottager, that the establishment of a commonwealth necessarily included the abolition of tithes, and would in its consequences relieve him from the grinding exactions, which, in the shape of douceurs, were so frequently practised by the agent of his landlord.

It had now become evident that a dark and dangerous connexion was carrying on between the heads of the society of United Irishmen and the French government, which a short time matured into a treasonable conspiracy, and which had for its aim nothing less than the subversion of the government of Ireland, and the entire dissolution of its connexion with the sister kingdom. So flagitious an act of treason may be palliated, but it can by no means be justified. It is true, indeed, that all had not been granted to the people of Ireland which a large body of the nation had seen proper to require ; but it can as little be denied, that the present reign had been a reign of indulgence and concession. The last act of toleration, imperfect as it might be considered, restored the catholics of Ireland to many of the privileges and immunities of their fellow subjects, and as the current, upon the whole, ran in their favour, there is sufficient ground to believe, that had they conducted themselves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have suc-

ceeded, by peaceable and constitutional means, in their attempts to obtain all their political and civil rights. It is due however to the catholics to observe, that the conspirators were by no means exclusively of that community ; and that reform, and catholic emancipation, were, by the leaders of the malcontents, used rather to entrap the unwary, than as the true object of those under whose banners the great mass of the disaffected were preparing to shed their blood, and to sacrifice every enjoyment personal and domestic. It must be obvious too, that Ireland, had she succeeded in divesting herself of her dependence upon Great Britain, must soon have become a province of France, and the example of Belgium, Lombardy, Venice, and even Holland, might have served to shew her how much was to be gained by French fraternization.

So early as the year 1794, the French government had sent an agent, a clergyman of the Established Church of England, and a native of Ireland, into these kingdoms, to acquire intelligence ; and Jackson, the agent of the republic, at first took up his residence at the house of a British merchant, of the name of Stone, at Oldford, near London. Stone, whose vanity out-ran his discretion, applied to Mr. Sheridan, upon a plea of rendering some great service to his country, to which the eloquent senator very properly replied, “ that he would neither receive any information, nor give any opinion on the subjects to which Mr. Stone obscurely alluded ; and that whatever he had to disclose ought to be addressed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dundas, who was the best judge of its importance.” Jackson, finding that the project of an invasion of England was hopeless, repaired to Ireland, from whence he carried on a correspondence with his friend, the English merchant ; but they were both soon afterwards apprehended, and tried on a charge of high treason ; when Stone was pronounced not guilty ; but Jackson, less fortunate, was convicted, and at the moment when sentence of death was about to be passed upon him, he fell down suddenly, and expired in the court. The conviction of Jackson served as an intimation to Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister-at-law, and the reputed founder of the society of United Irishmen, to abscond to France, along with Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of that dangerous association.

In the year 1795, and soon after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland, the society of United Irishmen received an important accession of men of talents and influence, among whom are to be enumerated, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, late a member of the Irish parliament, the nephew and pre-

sumptive heir of Lord Longueville ; Dr. M'Nevin, Chairman of the Catholic Committee ; Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent Dublin merchant ; and Mr. Emmet, a barrister.—About the close of the year 1795, a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the society, with the French directory, through the medium of Mr. Tone and other Irish refugees ; and early in the following year, a proposition was received from the French government, and accepted by the secret committee of the society of United Irishmen, to send over an army to Ireland to assist in the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from her British connexion. The first agents of the insurgents demanded from France any number of troops not more than ten nor less than five thousand ; but the French shewed a decided inclination to send an army sufficient to conquer and to retain possession of the country—fifty or sixty thousand at least. Three armaments, one from Spain, a second from France, and a third from Holland, were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland, in the same year ; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Earl St. Vincent, and that of the Batavian fleet by Lord Duncan, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion. These disasters by no means discouraged the insurgents, who had their expectations buoyed up by an assurance, on the part of the French directory, that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France in the month of April or May, 1798. At the commencement of this year, a grand effort was resolved upon :—In the month of February a military commission was appointed by the executive concil of the insurgents, and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the use of arms, to be directed in open warfare against government. At the same time Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended executive directory, (for the United Irish, following the example of their Gallic allies, had chosen a directory) repaired to London with an intention of proceeding to France, in company with one Binns, a very active member of the London Corresponding Society, James Quigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the names of Allen and Leary. Attempts had been recently made, with some success, to form a society of United Englishmen, on the model of the United Irish, and Quigley and Binns were the chief promoters of this design. In and about the town of Manchester only, the association had extended itself to no fewer than eighty divisions, containing from fifteen to thirty-six members each, and an association of the same nature was also established in Scotland, both of them maintaining an intimate intercourse with the original Corresponding

Society* in London, and acting upon the system marked out by the affiliated societies of Ireland.

Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and designs of O'Connor and his associates, these conspirators were taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France, on the 28th of February. After being confined some time in the tower, they were removed to Maidstone, where they were tried by a special commission, on the 21st and 22d of May, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland; and Quigley, on whose person was found a paper, purporting to be an address "from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France," was capitally convicted; and such was his devotion to the principles he had espoused, that he died with heroic fortitude, in what he considered the cause of his country. No evidence appearing against Allen and Leary, they were immediately set at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, notwithstanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high treason, preferred against them by the British government.† (40.)

The period had now arrived, when the great revolutionary *denouement* was to be developed; and while, on the one hand, the insurgent chiefs proceeded in their plans, with a resolution to defer, if possible, the breaking out of the insurrection till the arrival of their French auxiliaries, the government, on the other, was determined to disorganize their system, and either to crush the incipient insurrection in the bud, or to force the disaffected into a premature effort. After the proclamation of

* Vide Report of the Secret Committee.

† As soon as the verdict of acquittal was pronounced, and before Mr. O'Connor was formally discharged, he was preparing to quit the bar with more than usual precipitation; on which Rivett, the police officer, who had been directed to detain the prisoner on a second charge of high-treason, rushed forward to prevent his escape, and a violent commotion instantly arose in the court, which did not subside till Mr. O'Connor was secured. On the 25th of April, 1799, Sackville, Earl of Thanet, and Robert Fergusson, Esq. barrister-at-law, were tried and convicted in the court of king's bench, on a charge of promoting this riotous proceeding, and of conspiring with others to rescue the prisoner. In virtue of this conviction, the defendants were brought up for judgment on the first day of June in the same year; when his lordship was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, and to be confined one year in the Tower; and Mr. Fergusson to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and be confined one year in the King's Bench Prison.

(40.) The above statement we understand is not exactly correct.—Mr. O'Connor only, was detained on a charge of high treason. Mr. Binns was not imprisoned until some months after the Maidstone trials; and then upon a charge of treasonable practices, predicated on a report made to the British house of Commons, by a secret committee, which had been appointed with power to send for persons and papers.

many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of several persons implicated in the conspiracy, and other acts of power, a very severe wound was inflicted, on the 12th of March, upon the union, by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Dublin. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman Catholic gentleman, of Kilkea Castle, in the county of Kildare, colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, treasurer of the county in which he resided, and provincial delegate for Leinster. In these arrests were included the most active and efficient leaders of the union, and among others, Thomas Addis Emmet, Doctor William James M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond. At the same time, a warrant was issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and a thousand pounds offered for his apprehension; but his lordship for some time eluded the vigilance of the police, and remained for several weeks concealed in the city of Dublin. At length, however, he was discovered, on the 19th of May, in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a merchant, in Thomas-street, Dublin, in consequence of a hint given by Murphy's servant maid to a military suitor. On the police officers entering the room, the infatuated nobleman made a desperate, but hopeless effort to effect his escape, in which he wounded Mr. Justice Swan and Captain Ryan dangerously—the latter mortally; and was himself so desperately wounded in the shoulder by the shot of a pistol from Major Sirr, that, after languishing till the third of the following month, he died in extreme agony. This young nobleman, who was brother to the Duke of Leinster, and married to a French lady of the royal blood of the Capets, a daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable powers of mind, and of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish—the loss of such a man to the insurgent cause, and at such a juncture, cannot be estimated.

The vacancies created in the directorial and other departments, by these arrests, were supplied without difficulty, but with men much less fit for the arduous task of overturning a monarchy, fenced round by civil and military power, and substituting in its stead a commonwealth, grounded on the suffrages of an ignorant and sanguinary multitude. Among the members of the new directory were two brothers, of the name of Sheares, barristers by profession, and, politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new directors, a government agent of the name of Captain Armstrong found ready access,

and by a shew of great zeal in the cause, he had the address to obtain the confidence of the leaders, from whom he learned, "that a general rising must immediately take place; that the impatience of the people since the criminal prosecutions could no longer be restrained; and that it was become necessary to make a great and immediate national effort, and to relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succours." The project proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, all on the night of the 23d of May: and it was further determined, that a simultaneous rising should take place at Cork. But, on the 21st of that month, the two brothers John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended; the city and county of Dublin were declared by the lord-lieutenant and council to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was in fact converted into a garrison.

Among the precautions taken on this occasion by government, was the augmentation of the several corps of armed yeomanry, a species of force that was first embodied in the month of October, 1796, in a kind of independent companies. These yeomanry corps were each composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body of infantry attached to them, and were generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants; the infantry being armed like a regular army, and the cavalry furnished with a pistol and sword each, to which sometimes a carabine was added. In six months from their first establishment, the numbers increased to thirty-seven thousand; and during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thousand.

Here it may be proper to pause, for the purpose of taking a review of some of the parties by which Ireland, now on the eve of a civil war, had for years been agitated; and whose inveterate animosities had conspired, more perhaps than any other cause, to render this one of the most sanguinary contests, for the period of its duration, that ever disgraced the world, not excepting even the wars that raged among the rival factions of France at the breaking out of the French Revolution.

In the year 1759, and under the administration of the Duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurrection appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifested itself by numerous and frequent risings of the lower class of Roman Catholics, dressed in white uniforms, and from whence they were denominated "*White Boys*." The object of these illegal proceedings was, as they alleged, to prevent the inclosure of commons, the

extortions of tythe proctors, and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy.

No sooner had the excesses committed by these disturbers of the public peace begun to subside, than two rival factions arose in the year 1784, and became distinguished by the appropriate names of "*Defenders*" and "*Peep-of-day boys*." These associations, originating in a violent quarrel between two obscure individuals, soon assumed a religious distinction, and as the Roman catholics, or defenders, shewed uncommon zeal in collecting arms, the presbyterians, or peep-of-day boys, began to disarm them, by visiting the houses of their antagonists at an early hour in the morning, when they often committed the most wanton outrages. The excesses on both sides at length became so intolerable, that it was found necessary to interpose the strong arm of the law. In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by the defenders, whose numbers had enabled them to triumph over their adversaries, that at the spring assizes in the county of Louth, in 1793, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die, twenty-five to be transported, twelve to be imprisoned a certain time, for having conspired to murder different persons, thirteen indicted for murder traversed their trials, and bench warrants were issued against eighty other offenders who had all absconded.* Nor were the crimes or the punishments all confined to one party, for at the assizes of Armagh, in the year 1795, three defenders, and two peep-of-day boys, were all tried before Baron Power, and being convicted of the crimes laid in the indictment, his lordship awarded against the whole number the punishment of death, which was promptly executed.

But the time was now approaching, when these minor societies were to be absorbed in a great and powerful community, which, embracing the disaffected of all sects and parties, was to serve as a general rallying point to rebellion, and by its able organization, and extensive combinations, to spread over the whole face of the country, and ultimately to contest the meed of power with the existing government itself. The society of United Irishmen, which for some time was quite of a civil nature, is represented as having commenced in the spring of 1792, and as formed on the suggestion of Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. The organization of this society was completed in Ulster, on the 10th of May, 1795; and it was not till the autumn of the following year, when catholic emancipation and a reform in parliament, the ostensible wish of all, and with

* Vide Sir Richard Musgrave's "*Memoirs of the Insurrections in Ireland*," second edit. p. 63.

some the real object, were regarded as not otherwise attainable than by force, that the association began to assume a military form. But such was its rapid progress, that in April, 1797, the number of men in Ulster alone, enrolled for insurrection, amounted to nearly one hundred thousand, provided, some with fire arms, others with pikes, a store of ammunition, and a number of cannon.

The spring of action with the defenders was religious animosity. The main object of the United Irishmen, when they became an organized military body, was to combine all sects and parties in an alliance for the purpose of overturning the existing government.

About the period when the society of United Irishmen began to assume a military character, another community arose, the object of which was declared to be "the preservation of public order, of the existing system of government, and the protection of all persons who conduct themselves with loyalty, without regard to difference of religion." Between the United Irishmen and this society, which was founded by the protestants of Armagh, in the year 1795, and took its name from William III. Prince of Orange, the zealous supporter of the reformed religion in Ireland, mortal animosities almost instantly arose; and it must be admitted, that for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, both parties had disgraced themselves by the commission of the most dreadful excesses.*

*ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

"The Society of United Irishmen," says the Rev. James Gordon, in his history of the rebellion in Ireland, "consisted of a number of smaller associations, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted originally each of thirty-six, afterwards at most of only twelve men, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, that they might be mutually under the inspection of each other. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence and management of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten lower baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed in the counties, county committees, and in populous towns distinct committees; and the provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district and county committees, two from each, sometimes three, when the extent and population of the district seemed to require a more numerous representation. The supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole association was committed to a general executive directory, composed of five persons unknown to all excepting the four secretaries of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots and no-

To enumerate all the acts of violence and outrage perpetrated by the conflicting parties, previous to the breaking out of

tified the election to none except the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organized body, not by easily discoverable chains of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downwards through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

“The military was grafted on the civil organization of this artfully-framed union: and to complete the scheme of warlike preparation, a military committee, instituted in the beginning of the year 1798, and appointed by the directory, had its task assigned to contrive plans for the direction of the national force, either for the purpose of unaided rebellion, or co-operation with an invading French army, as occasion should require. Orders were issued, that the members of the union should furnish themselves, where their circumstances allowed it, with fire-arms—where not, with pikes. To form a pecuniary fund for the various expenses of this great revolutionary machine, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and ability of the subscribers, were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement.

“From this fund were supplied the demands of the emissaries commissioned to extend the union: Of these, considerable numbers were despatched into the southern and western counties, in the beginning and course of 1797, where, though many had been sworn into the union, little progress for the effectual promotion of the system had been made before the autumn of 1796.”

From the first institution of the Society of United Irishmen, every individual on his admission into the Union had a Test Oath to the following effect administered to him; and after the breaking out of the rebellion, “the council for directing the affairs of the people of Wexford,” ordered that all the soldiers of the united army, should take either the officers’ or the privates’ oath, according to their respective stations:

TEST OATH.

“In the awful presence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen, of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland—I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member or members of this, or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.—*So help me God.*”

Oath of a Private.

“I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God, and his only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers—that I am ready to lay down my life for the good of my country—that I have an aversion to plunder, and the spilling of innocent blood—that I will fight courageously in the field, and give mercy where it can be given—that I will avoid drunkenness as tending to disorder and ruin—that I will endeavour to make as many friends and as few enemies as possible—that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who shall stand back in the time of battle.—*So help me God.*”

the insurrection, would far exceed the limits prescribed in this work, to the period of history now under consideration, but it is incumbent upon the historian to record, with a frequent reference to authorities, a few of the most flagitious of their number.

It appears from the reports of the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, from which the subsequent information is principally derived, that it was determined in the councils of the insurgents, "That all persons, who, from their principles, or situation, might be deemed inimical to the conspiracy against the government, should be massacred; and the first proscription was calculated by one of their leaders, at thirty thousand persons."* The main object of the system of terror, which the United Irishmen endeavoured to establish by their midnight attacks, was to drive country gentlemen from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support—a course which was pursued with fatal effect in France;† and in furtherance of this purpose, dreadful outrages still continued to be committed in all the northern counties. In the month of March, 1797, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, who had retired on a living at Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, in the house of the Rev. Dr. Walker, in that county, with horrid circumstances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they shot Mrs. Walker; and afterwards, having compelled the servants of the Doctor to force Mr. Hamilton out of the house, they mangled his body with wounds.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulsed by the United Irish, who committed robbery and assassination on protestants, almost every night;

Oath of an Officer.

"In the awful presence of God, who knows the hearts and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, A. B. officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it—that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment; and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver that I am ready to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.—*So help me God.*"

By order of the Council,

B. B. HARVEY, President.
NICHOLAS GRAY, Sec.

Done at the Council-Chamber, }
Wexford, June 14th, 1798. }

* Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, No. III. p. 49.

† Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, for 1798.

and during this year, the defenders were so formidable in the counties of Meath, West Meath, Kildare, and Longford, that many families were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection. In the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munster, assassinations and the robbery of arms were constantly perpetrated, while the disaffected continued to form traitorous combinations,* which extended even to the military.

Accordingly, we find that, in the year 1797, the practice of seducing the king's troops so much prevailed, that in the space of one month four of the Monaghan militia, two of the Wexford regiment, two of the Kildare, and two of the Louth militia, were tried by court martials, and shot for treasonable practices. In the same year, Mr. William Orr, a man of good family and connexions, was hanged at Carrickfergus, for high treason.

Of the means accumulated by the disaffected for carrying their revolutionary enterprises into effect, some estimate may be made from the following facts: A paper, in his own hand writing, was given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, to Mr. Reynolds, the informer, which purported to be a return made by a national committee meeting, held the 26th of February, 1798, and from which it appeared, that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-six! and that the sum of 1485*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* was in the hands of the treasurer.† Another return made by a meeting of Colonels, held on the 28th of March, 1798, reported, that their adherents, even among the king's troops, were in the proportion of one in every three, and that the insurgents were in sufficient force to disarm all the military within the bounds of their own counties‡—fatal delusion!

That the armoury of the rebel forces was at one time most extensive cannot be doubted, when it is stated, that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in the year 1797, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster alone; guns, 49,109—bayonets, 1,756—pistols, 4,463—swords, 4,183—blunderbusses, 248—musket-barrels, 119—sword-blades, 106—ordnance, 22—pikes, 70,630—exclusive of many arms seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return.§ In the same year, fourteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pikes were surrendered in the

* Sir Richard Musgrave's Memoirs, second edit. p. 167.

† Report of the Secret Committee of the Commons, p. 141.

‡ Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, p. 120.

§ Report of the Secret Committee Appen. No. XXXIX p. 298.

county of Kildare alone, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant. And on the 11th of May, 1798, five pieces of cannon, and five hundred pike-handles were seized in Dublin.

On the 12th of December, 1797, Sir Ralph Abercrombie was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and his first step in the discharge of his public duty was to make a tour of observation throughout the whole island. The excesses committed by the military in the provinces had, it appears, called down the general's severe reprehension, and on his return to the capital, he caused it to be notified in general orders, "that the irregularities of the troops in Ireland had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."* The general, after the publication of his general orders, and under the influence of the observations he had made in his recent view of the country, endeavoured to impress the minds of those in power with his own well-founded opinions, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary in Ireland. But not having succeeded in producing the effect he intended by these representations, and unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character, by leading troops to scenes of civil desolation, abhorrent to his nature, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland on the 29th of April, 1798, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by General Lake. In the month of March, orders were issued to the army by the lord-lieutenant, to proceed into the disturbed counties; and a manifesto dated from head-quarters at Kildare, was on the 3d of the ensuing month addressed to the inhabitants, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the notice, on pain of large bodies of troops being distributed among them to live at free quarters; promising at the same time rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, but denouncing exemplary severities if the country should continue in a disturbed state. On the advance of the military into the other counties, a similar notice was given to the inhabitants, and the troops in the county of Kildare, and part of those in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, were quartered in the houses of the diaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners. Great numbers of houses with their furniture were burnt, where concealed arms were found, or

* Vide General Orders, dated Dublin, 26th February, 1798.

whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or other illegal practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some in circumstances of life superior to this class, particularly in Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, and others tortured by different means, to extort from them a confession of plots, or of concealed arms.*

Many irregularities were of course committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, and many other acts of severity by persons not in the army—some from an unfeigned zeal for the service of the crown, and others to promote sinister purposes, or to gratify a spirit of personal animosity. Even the necessities of life did not escape the destructive operations of the contending parties, and the destruction of corn and other provisions was so extensive, that its effects were felt in dearth and famine for two years after the extinction of the rebellion.

In these turbulent times, persons with short hair, and therefore called *croppies*, by which appellation the United Irishmen were designated, were frequently seized and brought into a guard-house, where a cap, either of coarse linen, or of strong brown paper, besmeared in the inside with pitch, and previously well heated, was compressed upon the head of the unfortunate victim, who was then turned into the streets amidst the acclamations of his merciless tormentors. The pain occasioned by disengaging this cap from the head was of course excruciating; the hair was generally torn up by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded and blistered by the heated pitch, as to adhere, and was separated from the head with the cap of torture. Another expedient equally cruel was frequently resorted to; a quantity of moistened gun-powder being rubbed into the hair, was set on fire, and it sometimes happened that both the nose and ears of the supposed conspirator were severed from his head, during the operation of cutting the hair, which generally took place previous to the application of the gun-powder.

To revenge these brutal outrages, some malignant wretches, probably among the United Irish, made it a practice to seize violently such persons as they thought proper, and to crop off their hair, which rendered them liable to the punishment of the pitch cap or moistened gun-powder, and frequently brought upon them those excruciating tortures. Green, in allusion to the shamrock, was adopted in these unhappy times as the revolutionary colour, and such was the frenzy of party, that every

* Gordon's History, second edition, p. 65.

woman who happened to exhibit in her dress any portion of this obnoxious colour, either by accident or design, was in danger of having herself disrobed in the public streets.*

These and innumerable other disorders, some of them unavoidable in such a state of affairs, increased with the alarm of the approaching insurrection. Men, imprisoned on suspicion or private information, were sometimes half hanged (as the act was termed) or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial; and the reflecting loyalist was deeply concerned at the permission or impunity of such barbarities, which tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited, and to give to the approaching contest the most diabolical character. Under such circumstances, man is no longer connected in the way of civil society; his lacerated feelings drive him to desperation, and a fever of the mind ensues, that banishes all hope of calm circumspection.

CHAPTER VIII.

IRISH REBELLION: *Insurrectionary Movements in Dublin; in the Counties of Kildare and Carlow—Attacks on Naas, Killcullen, Rathfarnham and Prosperous—Defeat of the Rebels at Carlow, Hacketstown, and Tara—Surrender of Two Thousand Insurgents to General Dundas—Insurrection in the County of Wexford—The Insurgents vanquished at Kilthomas, Victors at Oulart—Fall of Enniscorthy and Wexford, into the hands of the Insurgents—Attack on Buncloghy—Defeat of the Rebel Force at Ballycannoo—Pathetic Incident—Defeat of Colonel Walpole, and Retreat of General Loftus—Signal Victory obtained by General Johnson at Ross—Massacre at Scullabogue—Defeat of the Rebels at Arklow—Their Retreat to Vinegar Hill—General Lake advances with an Army of Thirteen Thousand Troops against that Station—Re-capture of Enniscorthy, and Battle of Vinegar Hill—Murders on the Bridge of Wexford—Wexford abandoned by the Rebels—Bloody Friday—Expiring Efforts of the Wexfordian Insurgents—Defeat of the Revolvers in Ulster and Munster—Surrender of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion.*

It now became evident, that nothing short of one of those tremendous convulsions, which shake states to their centre, could clear the political atmosphere of Ireland. The rebel chiefs had decided on open war, and the 23d of May was the day appointed for the general rising of the country.

* Many excesses of this kind took place, and in one instance, two young ladies, found guilty of wearing green garters, were, by order of an officer on duty, tied back to back in the streets of Dublin, in which situation they were compelled to remain for several hours under a guard.—*Gordon's History*, p. 68.

After the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the command of the rebel army devolved upon Mr. Samuel Neilson, who meditated an attack upon Newgate, in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of rescuing Lord Edward. With this view he assembled, at a house in Church-lane, fifteen of the insurgent colonels, on the night of the 22d of May, and having produced a map of the city, he assigned to each of them the post which they and their regiments were to occupy. In this operation, Neilson was to have been seconded by a large body of rebels, headed by a chief of the name of Seagrave, by whose division a constant fire was to be kept up in front of the prison, while another party scaled the walls in a different quarter. Having carried the prison, the vice-regal residence, usually called the castle, was marked out as the next object of attack. This venerable edifice was to be assailed in front and rear by different parties, while a select band was to ascend by ladders, into the apartments of the principal members of government, and to secure their persons. Nor was it intended that the insurrection should be confined merely to the metropolis; the plan embraced the whole kingdom, and the signal for the general rising, was to be the stoppage of the mail coaches. This part of the project was indeed carried into effect, for on the 23d, the Belfast mail coach was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that travelling in the direction of Athlone, at Lucan; but the rebels, not satisfied with detaining the Limerick mail, barbarously murdered both the guard and coachman, near the Curragh of Kildare.

Early in the morning of the 23d, all the yeomen in the city, amounting to about three thousand five hundred, and the few military in the garrison, were ordered by General Lake to repair to the respective alarm posts, while the Lord-mayor, Alderman Thomas Fleming, placed the city of Cork militia, with two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's-green. It fortunately happened, that the royal canal and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, formed a complete fortification on the north and south sides of the city, and all the bridges of the city being occupied by military, the communication with the disaffected from without, was in a considerable degree cut off. This operation was not however carried into complete effect, as nearly three thousand men entered the city to the north, on the evening of the 23d, for the purpose of joining the insurgents. A large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muskets, assembled in Eccles-street and its environs, as well as in various other parts of the city, and great numbers were advancing towards Dublin, with an intention of

rushing into the city as soon as the insurgents had carried the castle.

At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chief, was apprehended in the streets, by Mr. Gregg, after a desperate struggle ; and on their leader being committed to prison, several thousand rebels, who were waiting with impatience the signal of attack, dispersed in various directions. By this means, the city was saved from the horrors of the impending struggle, for it appeared, on the evidence of the two United Irishmen, extorted from them indeed by flogging,* that they were waiting for the orders of Neilson, to rise in arms that night, with some thousands of the disaffected, to liberate the prisoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to surprise the castle and the city. On the information of the same men, a great quantity of pikes was discovered, together with a travelling forge, on which was inscribed a disloyal and inflammatory motto. The plan of the rebels was, it appeared, to assemble by beat of drum, and it is well known, says Sir Richard Musgrave, “ that, in another hour, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided ; for the mass of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes and by-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen, before they could have reached their respective stations.” This calamity was however averted by the vigilance of government, and the ardent zeal of those patriotic bands, to whom the defence of the metropolis was confided.

On the night of the 23d, and during the following day, several skirmishes were fought in the counties adjoining the seat of government, and the towns of Naas, Clane, Prosperous, Ballymore, Eustace, and Killcullen, were attacked by the insurgent force ; and Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven, had to withstand similar assaults on the two following days. These feeble and unconnected efforts were not countenanced by a general rising ; for Ulster, in which province alone one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, wisely declined the contest, in consequence of the unpromising state of their affairs ; and the progress of rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto rather resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation.†

* Sir Richard Musgrave, p. 216.

† For the purpose of illustration, it is proper to remark, that the insurrection of 1798 prevailed principally in the counties of Kildare,

At Nass, an assault was made by a half armed rabble, amounting to about one thousand in number, on the 24th, but as the intention had already been communicated to the military on that station, consisting of the Armagh militia, the 4th dragoon guards, and the ancient British fencibles, the insurgents were repulsed with a loss of about one hundred and forty killed on the spot, exclusive of three of their leaders, who were hurried to execution. A more numerous party was defeated by General Dundas, near Killcullen; and on the preceding day, a small detachment, consisting of between four and five hundred, which had ventured to advance as far as Rathfarnham, was dispersed by only thirty-five dragoons, under Lord Raden, many being put to death in their flight, and Ledwick and Keough, two of their chiefs, reserved for public execution. The attack on Prosperous, a small town in the county of Kildare, seventeen miles from Dublin, was made on the 24th, about one o'clock in the morning, by a large body of men, supposed to be conducted by John Esmond, first lieutenant of a troop of yeomanry cavalry. Less fortunate than the king's troops at Naas, this small garrison was assailed by surprise, the barrack set on fire, and twenty-eight of the city of Cork militia, with the commander, Captain Swayne, perished in the flames, or by the pikes of the enemy. Nine of the ancient Britons were slaughtered in the houses where they had been billeted, and five made prisoners. Here, as in other places where the insurgents had a transitory but delusive success, loud shouts were heard, especially from multitudes of women, of "*down with the Orangemen!*"

War being now openly commenced by the conspirators, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general of-

Wicklow, Carlow, and Wexford, in the province of Leinster, and to the south of Dublin.

Maynooth, Clane, Prosperous, and Naas, all in the county of Kildare, are none of them at a greater distance than 17 miles from the metropolis.

Tinehaly and Arklow, in the adjoining county of Wicklow, are each about 35 miles from Dublin.

Continuing the rout southward, Hacketstown, Carlow, and Tullow, in the county of Carlow, are all within about 40 miles of that city.

And passing into the still more southern county of Wexford, the principal seat of insurrectionary warfare, Gorey, in the N. E. and Newtownbarry or Buncludy, in the N. W. are each about 45 miles S. of Dublin, and 15 miles N. of Enniscorthy, which latter place, situated in the centre of the county of Wexford, at the western base of Vinegar-Hill, is 58 miles S. of Dublin, 15 miles N. E. of New Ross, and 11 miles N. of Wexford, where the standard of insurrection was so long unfurled. Wexford, the shire town of the county of that name, is 3 miles to the E. of the rebel station of Three Rocks, 19 miles E. of New Ross, and 67 miles S. of Dublin.

ficers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons acting, or in any way assisting in the rebellion. The day following, presented an opportunity for carrying into effect these heavy denunciations. On the 24th of May, an unusually large assemblage of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, forty miles south-west of Dublin, indicated that an attack upon that place had been decided upon. On the 25th, the garrison, consisting of about four hundred and fifty regular and militia force, under the command of Colonel Mahon, was attacked at two o'clock, by a body of the insurgents, amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred men. The rebels had assembled at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half from Carlow, and on their advance into the town, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled, and endeavoured to retreat, but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which being immediately fired by the soldiery, they met a miserable fate. About eighty houses were consumed in the conflagration, and for some days the roasted remains of human beings were falling down the chimnies, in which many of them had perished. The total loss of the rebels, on this occasion, could not be estimated at fewer than five hundred, while not an individual, on the side of the loyalists, was even wounded. After the defeat, the executions commenced, and about two hundred of the insurgents were hanged or shot.—Among the earliest victims of the civil war, was Sir Edward Crosbie, at whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who had certainly taken no part in the attack, and against whom no criminal charge was satisfactorily established.*

The defeats of the rebels at Monastereven and Hacketstown were nearly as bloodless on the side of the loyalists. The garrison of the former consisted of eighty-five yeomen, who had not been embodied three weeks; and this small party was assailed by about a thousand insurgents. The infantry, under Lieutenant George Bagnot, had advanced against the main body of the enemy, on the bank of the grand canal, where the town is situated; while the cavalry, under Captain Haystead, skirmished with another party in the streets. The result was, that the rebels were driven from the town with a slaughter of sixty-eight of their number, whose bodies were collected and

* Vide "A narrative of the apprehension, trial, and execution, of Sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart. in which the innocence of Sir Edward, and the iniquity of the proceedings against him, are indubitably and clearly proved."

buried by the victors; while of the loyalists nine only were slain.

The incaution and vain confidence of the insurgents were no where more strongly exemplified, than in the attack on Hacketstown, in the county of Carlow, where a force from two to three thousand in number, attacked a detachment of the Antrim militia, under Lieutenant Gardiner, and a body of yeomen, under Captain Hardy. The rebels, on observing the retreat of the troops into the barracks, raised a vehement shout of victory, and rushing forward in the utmost confusion, were charged with so much spirit and address, as to be completely put to the rout, with the loss of about two hundred men, while not one of the loyalists was even wounded. At Tara, in the county of Meath, a large body of the rebels was defeated on the 26th, by a fencible and yeomanry force, not exceeding four hundred men, with a loss of nine killed, and sixteen wounded, on the part of the victors, and three hundred and fifty killed, on the part of the vanquished. As this victory laid open the communication between the metropolis and the northern part of the kingdom, so the successful operations of the king's forces in the village of Rothangan, in the county of Kildare, from which the rebels were dislodged with a loss of sixty men, produced the same effect in the west. Discouraged by these repeated defeats, a rebel force, consisting of two thousand men, posted on an eminence called Knockawlin-hill, under a chief of the name of Perkins, surrendered their arms on the 31st, and disbanded, on being allowed by Lieutenant-general Dundas to retire unmolested to their habitations, leaving behind them thirteen cart-loads of pikes. This disposition to surrender, which a sense of humanity and sound policy ought to have encouraged, was blasted three days afterwards by military ardour, which, when it exceeds the salutary restraint of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major-general Sir James Duff, who had made a rapid march from Limerick, with six hundred men, to open the communication to the metropolis, received intelligence of a large body of men, assembled at a place called Gibbit-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendering, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced, one of the insurgents discharged his gun, with the muzzle upwards, swearing that he was determined to deliver it empty. The soldiers pretending to consider this foolish bravado as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's

fox-hunters. About two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion, and a far greater number would have shared their fate if a retreat had not been sounded with all possible despatch, agreeable to the instructions of General Dundas, who, foreseeing the possibility of such an occurrence, had done all in his power to provide against it.*

While, by the various successful operations of the loyalists, the communication was laid open between the various parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection burst out in a part of the kingdom where it was least expected, and in a few days the county of Wexford was in a flame. On the night of the 26th of May, the standard of rebellion was hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, and Father John Murphy, a Romish priest, of Boulavogue, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. This disgraceful metamorphosis was frequently made in the times now under consideration, and it was no uncommon occurrence, to find men, whose peculiar duty it was to inculcate the principles of peace, assuming the habiliments of war, and inciting their infatuated votaries to swell the ranks of insurrection.

Unfortunately for the public tranquillity, government, influenced by the representations of Earl Mountnorris, had not placed more than six hundred troops in the county of Wexford. This force, small as it was, might have sufficed, had not the practice of flogging and half-hanging, which was resorted to in this as well as other districts, driven the people to a state of desperation, and determined them to take part in the sanguinary struggle by which the circumjacent counties were at that moment agitated. On the 27th of May, being Whitsunday, two large bodies of the insurgents, both men and women, were collected, one on the Hill of Oulart, midway between Gorey and Wexford, the other on Kilthomas-Hill, an inferior ridge of Slyieve-Bevee mountain, about nine miles west of Gorey. On the morning of the 27th, a body of yeomen, not exceeding three hundred, attacked the insurgents on the hill of Kilthomas, amounting from two to three thousand, and commanded by the Rev. Michael Murphy, a Romish priest, and who, like Father John, had suffered himself to be drawn into this insurrectionary vortex. The infantry of the loyalist army, flanked at a considerable distance by the cavalry, advanced intrepidly up the hill, when the rebel force, notwithstanding their superior numbers, became panic-struck, and retreated in disorder, leaving one hundred and fifty of their

* Vide Gordon's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 100.

companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with a victory so honourable to their skill and courage, tarnished the laurels of the day, by burning two Romish chapels, and about one hundred cabins and farm houses, belonging to persons of that community, in their line of march.

Very different from the battle of Kiltomas was the result of another action fought on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, and where Father John Murphy commanded in person. A detachment of one hundred and ten chosen men of the North Cork militia, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the south side of the hill, while the Shilmalier cavalry took a circuitous route round the hill on the left, with the intention of preventing a retreat, but the effect of which was to make many face about and attack the infantry, who would otherwise have decamped on the approach of a serious engagement. The insurgents finding their retreat cut off, attacked the infantry with an impetuosity that overthrew all opposition, and so successful were all their efforts, that the whole detachment of the North Cork militia was slain, with the exception of Colonel Foote and four of his men; while the loss of the rebels on this occasion was only three men killed and six wounded. The body of cavalry which had alarmed the rebels into this feat of courage, retreated to Gorey as soon as the fate of the infantry was made known to them, and in their way killed some old men who had remained in their houses, and several unarmed stragglers.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation—houses in flames, and families flying on all sides for an asylum, the body of rebels under Father John marched from Oulart, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. Passing through Camolin and Ferns, they advanced to Enniscorthy, and that place was attacked about one o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of May, by a rebel force amounting to seven thousand, of which about eight hundred were armed with muskets. The town, situated on both banks of the river Slaney, was garrisoned by about two hundred and ninety men, consisting of militia and yeomen, besides some volunteers. The rebels, driving before them a number of horses and other cattle, to disorder the ranks of their opponents, a stratagem of ancient warfare, and practised by other bodies of insurgents at Tara-hill and elsewhere, made an irregular but furious onset at the Duffry gate, which dislodged their adversaries from their station, and obliged them, after a few discharges of musketry, to retreat to the market-house. In the mean time, a disor-

derly fight was maintained in the town, which was rendered untenable by the disaffected part of the inhabitants setting fire to the houses, while others of the same description stood at their windows and fired upon the garrison. The assailants in a short time extended themselves along the northern bank of the Slaney, and made dispositions to ford that river, but the galling fire from the bridge, which had now become the principal point of defence, obliged them at first to desist, and afterwards to proceed as high as Blackstoops, whence they at length gained the opposite shore. Victory, which had fluctuated for three hours, and had in that interval frequently induced the trembling inhabitants alternately to hoist the *orange* and the *green*, now took her stand in the rebel ranks, and the military having no cannon to support them, were at length so completely overpowered as to be driven to the necessity of sounding a retreat. In these circumstances, it was proposed to Captain Snowe to put the prisoners in the castle to death before the town was finally evacuated; but the captain, like a truly brave man, rejected the diabolical proposal with scorn and abhorrence. On this disastrous occasion, the loss of the garrison, including volunteers, amounted to about ninety, among whom were Captain John Pouden, of the Enniscorthy supplementary infantry; Lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy yeomen; and Lieutenant Carden, of the Scarawalsh infantry. The loss of the rebels is differently estimated, but the probability is that at least three hundred of them fell in this day's engagement. Most of the loyal inhabitants of Enniscorthy, and a multitude of others, who had repaired to that place for protection, following the route of the military, fled through the flames towards Wexford, a distance of eleven Irish, or fourteen English miles. The terror, consternation, and distress of these fugitives is not to be described—flying for their lives in a confused multitude, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, almost all on foot, and leaving all their effects in the hands of the enemy; and some who found not the opportunity of escape, were butchered in the streets, or imprisoned, and reserved for future violence.* It is proper however to observe, in justice to the rebels, that the fair sex was respected, even by those who did not hesitate to commit acts of robbery and murder, and that only one well-authenticated instance is to be found of a female being injured or violated, even among the wives, sisters, and daughters of their greatest enemies.

The next movement on the part of the insurgent force was to Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy. While they halted at this

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, second edit. p. 116.

place on the 29th, Mr. John Henry Colclough, of Battyteig, and Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who, along with Mr. Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, of Bargycastle, had previously been committed by the loyalists to the prison at Wexford, on suspicion of having favoured the rebel cause, were despatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. This unpromising mission, as might have been anticipated, entirely failed; and Mr. Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Mr. Fitzgerald was detained by the enemy; and so prompt were the rebels in their movements, that before the evening of the same day, their advanced guard was pushed forward to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and fixed upon that eminence as one of their future military stations. On the approach of the enemy, the consternation of the inhabitants of Wexford became extreme: suspicion haunted every bosom; and as a measure of precaution, orders were issued to extinguish all the fires, even those of the bakers, and to unroof all the thatched houses in the town, to prevent the incendiary operations of the disaffected. In this extremity, multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in the harbour; the shops were all shut, and many of the affrighted inhabitants sought security in flight. The military force at this time in Wexford consisted of three hundred of the North Cork militia, commanded by Colonel Foote; two hundred of the Donegal militia, under Colonel Maxwell; and five troops of yeoman cavalry; which, with two hundred armed inhabitants, principally Roman catholics, amounted in the whole to about twelve hundred men. The command of this force devolved, by common consent, rather than by previous appointment, upon Colonel Watson, of the Shilmalier cavalry, who had formerly filled the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and who discharged the arduous duties of his present situation with activity and skill. The whole of the 29th was employed in preparation for the expected attack of the rebel force, amounting in number to at least fifteen thousand men, and now assembled at the Three Rocks station. In the course of the evening of that day it was announced to the garrison, that General Fawcett was marching to Wexford from the fort of Duncannon, and that his arrival with a strong reinforcement of troops might be hourly expected. The general, having arrived in the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery with a howitzer, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia; but this detachment was unfortunately intercepted on the morning of the 30th, near the camp at Three Rocks, and after a sharp engagement, in which

a majority of their number was killed, the survivors fell into the hands of the enemy, along with their howitzer. The general, who had halted in the mean time at Taghmon, on receiving the account of this disastrous affair, retreated precipitately towards Duncannon, leaving the town of Wexford to its fate. The defeat of this detachment, and the subsequent retreat of the force under General Fawcett, remained unknown to the troops in Wexford for several hours ; and Colonel Maxwell, acting upon the supposition that the general would be able to take the rebels in the rear, while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town on the morning of the 30th, taking with him the principal part of the regular force at that time in the garrison : but this operation proved altogether unsuccessful, and the colonel was glad to secure his retreat, with the loss of Lieutenant-colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

On the return of the military from this unfortunate enterprise, a council of war was hastily assembled, at which it was determined to evacuate the town, and Mr. Counsellor Richards and his brother were appointed to proceed to the enemy's camp, for the purpose of informing their chiefs that the town would be surrendered into their hands without further resistance, on condition that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be respected. In the mean time the military, without apprizing the inhabitants of their intention, had commenced their retreat, taking the route for Duncannon fort ; and the insurgents, after some further parley, poured into the town over the wooden bridge by thousands, shouting, and exhibiting every mark of extravagant exultation. Their first step was to proceed to the prison, from whence they instantly liberated Mr. Harvey, and insisted that he should become their commander. The inhabitants, rendered hospitable by their fears, entertained the rebels with great profusion, and every house in the town, not previously deserted, soon became decorated with green. After various scenes of disorder naturally attendant on such an occasion, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition they could find in the ships and other vessels in the harbour. Among the persons brought on shore was Mr. John Boyd, the brother of Captain James Boyd. This unfortunate gentleman being immediately recognised, he was piked upon the beach, and a butcher of the name of George Sparrow, who had in some way rendered himself obnoxious to those sanguinary wretches, shared the same fate. The retreat of the military from Wexford might also be traced in blood. Irritated by their recent disasters, and suspecting every man not dressed

in military uniform to be a rebel, they pursued the unoffending peasantry in every direction, and great numbers of them fell a sacrifice to a species of frenzy that neither military discipline nor the calls of humanity had sufficient force to restrain. These acts of cold-blooded and unmanly cruelty were resented by the people upon the stragglers in the retreat, and it frequently happened that the enraged and merciless cottagers embued their hands in the blood of such of the soldiers as had remained behind the main body, to afford assistance to their wives or children!

The fatigue occasioned by the exertions of the day, gave to the inhabitants of Wexford a temporary repose on the night of the 30th, which passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the morning of the 31st, the streets were again crowded, and the confusion and plunder of the preceding day re-commenced. The insurgents were much discontented with the inhabitants for not detaining for their use the arms and ammunition of the garrison, as the whole military store of the camp amounted only to three barrels of gun-powder, found in the barracks, and some hundred cartridges, with a few small casks and papers of powder found in the shops and gentlemen's houses. It is indeed, an extraordinary fact, that the insurgents did not possess in the whole course of the insurrection, as much gun-powder as would be deemed necessary by any military man for the supply of a single battle, and that their gunsmen, so little used to warfare, never retired till they had fired their last charge.

In Wexford, attempts were made to manufacture gun-powder to supply the scarcity of that article, but these experiments failed, for though the composition produced would explode, it was not of sufficient force to propel the ball.

After much intreaty the insurgent force was induced to move out of the town and encamp on Windmill-hills, where they divided into two bodies, one division taking the road to Taghmon, and the other directing their march towards Gorey, committing on their way excesses from which, in a time of tranquility, the minds of the multitude would have turned with abhorrence. After the main body had quitted the town, there still remained a kind of rebel authority in the place, which assumed the office of supplying the camps, and issuing proclamations.* These self-appointed commissaries,

* PROCLAMATION.

Erin Go Bragh!

"To all Irishmen and soldiers who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties.

"We, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and

having put all the necessaries of life in requisition, began to search the houses, and in the prosecution of this survey, did not fail to plunder them of every article that might serve to administer either to the wants of their associates or to their own. Great abuses were in consequence committed, and the town and neighbourhood were rescued from actual famine by the intervention of a number of gentlemen in the place, who, after a lapse of some days, undertook to regulate the distribution of provisions. The office of military commander of the town was now confided to Captain Keugh; and each of the wards had a company of guards, who performed the garrison duty of the place, and held a regular morning and evening parade.

The insurrection had now become general throughout the country, except where the people were kept down by the presence of the military: all the forges both in the town and country were in consequence continually employed in fabricating pike-blades; and timber of every description, fit for handles, was procured for that purpose wherever it could be found. At the same time, four oyster-smacks were fitted out in the harbour, and manned with five and twenty men each, to cruise off the bay, and to bring in vessels laden with provisions, to supply the markets, which were totally deserted by the farmers. All specie seemed to have vanished during the insurrection, and bank notes were held in such low estimation, that great quantities of them were destroyed in lighting tobacco-pipes and in wadding for fire locks. So much indeed was the value of paper money depreciated, and of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for one penny in cash, when a bank note of the nominal value of twenty shillings would not purchase the same weight of that commodity.

While the southern parts of the county of Wexford were in this horrible state of commotion, the northern baronies to-

invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good, the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and that all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes to enslave your country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, 14th of June, 1798.—*God save the People.*"

The rebel authorities seem to have dealt very sparingly in proclamations, as the above, and a kind of notice for the apprehension of "James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of the county of Wexford," are the only documents of that kind that appear to have been issued in the name of the "Sovereign People."

wards Gorey were all frightfully agitated. The retreat of the yeomen cavalry from Oulart to Gorey, early on the morning of the 27th of May, was followed by multitudes of people hastening to the town for protection. As Gorey was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North Cork militia, and a number of yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, orders were issued on the 27th to abandon the town at five o'clock on the following morning, and to retire to Arklow. This order was executed at the time appointed, but previously to quitting the town, eleven men, suspected of disaffection to the government, were dragged out of their beds, and shot in the public streets.

On the morning of the 1st of June, the beautiful little town of Bunclody, situated three miles north west of Enniscorthy, was attacked by a detachment of rebels, from the camp at Vinegar hill, amounting to about five thousand in number, and commanded by Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity. The garrison, including yeomen and volunteers, consisted of about five hundred, of whom three hundred were militia, under Colonel Lestrangle, of the king's county regiment. After a sharp engagement, during which the loyalists were at one time obliged to quit the town, the rebels were at length defeated, with a loss of about two hundred slain, while the loss on the side of the victors amounted only to two privates. This victory was of no small importance, as a different result would have opened a way for the Wexfordian rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must in the existing circumstances of the country, have given great embarrassment to government.

Hills of commanding prospect were always chosen by the rebels for their camps or posts, and from this circumstance the camp at Vinegar-hill became permanent during the existence of the insurrection in the county of Wexford. These stations were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs, and the people remained in the open air, in vast multitudes, men and women, promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and others destitute of all covering, except the scanty clothing worn by them in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by the continued fine weather, and numbers of them pronounced with oracular confidence, that not a drop of rain would fall till the existing government was destroyed, and the dominion of Ireland was committed to better hands. On the other hand, the serenity of the elements—so opposite to the conflicting passions by which unhappy Ireland was at this period agitated, enabled the fugitive loyalists, whom the

ruthless hand of internal discord had deprived of their habitations, to repose without injury to their health under the open canopy of heaven. In nothing were the rebels more irregular than in the cooking of their provisions ; many of them cut pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to slay them, and roasted the stakes on the point of their pikes, together with the part of the hide that adhered to them. The heads of cattle, which were seldom eaten, were left to rot on the surface of the ground, as well as large portions of the dead carcasses, a practice which must soon have added the miseries of pestilence to the horrors of civil war.

The station chosen by the rebels when they directed their force towards Gorey, was the hill of Corrigrúa, seven miles to the south west of that town. A considerable detachment from that station was sent to take possession of the little village of Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey ; and having effected this operation, they advanced, on the evening of the 1st of June, to the hill of Ballymanaan, where they were met and totally routed by the garrison of Gorey. In this engagement, as in all others at the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their guns so much, that the balls passed over the heads of their antagonists, and to this cause in part is to be attributed the great disparity of loss between the contending forces. In the affair of Ballymanaan, the number of slain on the part of the rebels exceeded sixty, while the king's forces had only three privates wounded.

An interesting occurrence, that will find its way to the heart of every man of feeling, is narrated by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, as descriptive of the state of the country at that distracted period : " Two yeomen (says he) coming to a brake, or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into the bush, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire ; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was very severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

The rebel force at Ballycannoo remained from the 1st to the 4th of June in a state of unaccountable inactivity ; and in the mean time, the long-expected army under Major-general Loftus arrived at Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred troops, well appointed, and provided with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, and promised the total dispersion of the rebel force in this quarter. The plan of opera-

tions was to march the army in two divisions, by different roads, to the post of Corrigrua, and to make a combined attack upon the enemy. The army being put in march, the first division under General Loftus, and the second under Colonel Walpole, proceeded by their appointed routes towards the enemy's camp. It happened, however, by a strange coincidence, that the rebel force had quitted Corrigrua on the same day, and about the same hour, that the king's forces had left Gorey, and in their advance towards that place, met the division under Colonel Walpole, at Tubberneering. An action instantly commenced, and the rebels pouring a tremendous fire from the fields, on both sides of the road, into the ranks of the loyalists, they were thrown into disorder, and the colonel himself shot dead upon the spot. His troops being thus left without a leader, commenced a disorderly retreat, and their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a small piece of ordnance, fell into the hands of the enemy. Following up their success, the rebels pursued the retreating army to Gorey; and the unfortunate inhabitants, who a few minutes before had considered themselves in a state of perfect security, were obliged to fly with the retreating army to Arklow. While Colonel Walpole's division was engaged with the enemy, General Loftus detached seventy men to his assistance; but this small detachment was intercepted by the rebels, and almost all either taken or killed. Meanwhile the general, finding that the rebels had posted themselves on the hill of Gorey, and conceiving that he could not attack them in that position with any prospect of success, retreated first to Carnew, and subsequently to Tullow, in the county of Carlow, leaving the whole of the northern part of the county of Wexford in possession of the insurgents.

While one division of the Wexfordian army under Father John Murphy, were thus prosecuting their victorious career in the north; the other division, under Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, advanced to the west for the purpose of attacking New Ross, and took up their station on Carrickbyrne hill, within six miles of that place. From Carrickbyrne they advanced on the 4th of June to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from Ross, and formed on its summit with some appearance of regularity. But the capture of this town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison, which was commanded by Major-general Johnson, consisted of twelve hundred effective men, exclusive of one hundred and fifty yeomen, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, and were all judiciously stationed. About five o'clock in the morning of the 5th, thirty thousand insurgents advanced against the town in an irregular manner,

uttering hideous yells : of this motley phalanx about one-fourth part was armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes, in addition to four small field pieces, and a few swivels. One of the crowd, waving a handkerchief in his hand, preceded the rest, and was the bearer of a summons from the rebel commander to the garrison to surrender, but from a species of incomprehensible policy, he was shot dead before he reached the place, and his summons was not found till the fate of the day was decided. The rebels having marched up to the place with great bravery, drove in the advanced guard, and took possession of the alarm post. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed at the Three-bullet gate, and charged with impetuosity by a detachment of the fifth dragoons : they, however, instantly rallied, and seized on a piece of artillery which they immediately turned against the troops. Having succeeded in this enterprise, they entered the town in great force, and notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced,* yet such was the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison, overpowered by numbers, and intimidated also perhaps by the late success of the rebels, fled over the bridge with great precipitation, to the right bank of the Barrow, taking the road to Kilkenny. The commanding officer, who had served during the war on the Trans-atlantic continent, indignant at beholding the success of the revolters, and the sudden panic of his own troops, rode up to the fugitives, and demanded if they meant to forsake their leader and their country? Being received with three cheers, he placed himself at their head and advanced towards the Three-bullet gate, where a post was still maintained by the English. Having thus re-animated his men, he advanced against the dissipated column of the enemy ; and that nothing might be wanting to secure the fortune of the day, he contrived to turn their rear, at the same time manning the trenches on the outside so far as to prevent the arrival of reinforcements.† The assailants, who had not improved their first advantage, but consumed that time in drunkenness and plunder which they ought to have employed in securing their victory, were now dispersed and overcome ; and as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, first

* It has been confidently asserted that a barber among the insurgents, either unacquainted with the nature of artillery, or rendered insensible to fear by intoxication, crammed his hat and wig into the mouth of a cannon, and cried out to his companions, "Come on, my boys, her mouth is stopped;" but the gunner, by the application of his match soon convinced him of his error.

† Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the rebellions in Ireland*, p. 411.

to Corbet, and then to Carrickbyrne-hills, leaving two thousand six hundred dead behind them. Nor was this signal success obtained by their adversaries without loss, for Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, and in the course of the battle, which was of ten hours' duration, one ensign, four sergeants, and eighty-four of the king's troops were killed, and one captain, and fifty-seven men, wounded.

The day after the victory of New Ross, several of the thatched houses that remained unburnt, being the only places in which the rebels could take refuge, were closely searched, and not a man discovered in them was left alive. Other houses of the same description were set on fire, though so crowded with the disaffected, that the corpses of the suffocated within them could not fall to the ground, but remained crowded together in an upright posture, until they were taken out to be interred.*

The alliance of cowardice and cruelty cannot perhaps be more strongly exemplified than in some of the transactions of the 5th of June. Some dastardly rebels, who had not dared to hazard their persons in the battle of Ross, turned their fury against objects equally void of criminality, and incapable of resistance. During the encampment of the rebels at Carrickbyrne-hill, a party of them were posted at Scullabogue, within half a mile of the camp, where a barn, thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide, had been converted into a gaol for the confinement of their prisoners. In this horrible receptacle were immured one hundred and eighty-four prisoners, both catholics and protestants, but chiefly of the protestant persuasion. When the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent, but by whom it is not ascertained, to put the prisoners to death. This sanguinary mandate, John Murphy, the captain of the rebel guard, refusing to obey, it was repeated again and again; till at length the rebels set fire to the barn, while the wretched prisoners, consisting of men, women, and children, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of their prison, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air, or of effecting their escape; but the merciless assassins, some of whom continued to feed the flames by casting straw and other combustible matter into the barn, piked or shot the victims as they appeared in succession at the door; till at

* Hay's History of the Insurrection in the county of Wexford, p. 155.

length their moans and cries gradually subsided in the silence of death, and every soul in the prison perished.* It is proper to mention here, that the bodies of the unfortunate sufferers who perished in this indiscriminate massacre, were buried by a subscription raised by the rebel chiefs, and that Mr. Harvey, their commander, issued a proclamation on the following day, denouncing the punishment of death against "any person or persons who should take upon them to kill or murder any person, or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander-in-chief."†

The rebel troops, dissatisfied with the military conduct of their general, Harvey, appointed Father Philip Roche his successor: but whatever might have been the military talents of this new commander, his activity was not conspicuous, for seven days after the battle of Ross he remained on the hill of the Lacken, without having undertaken any operation of importance, while his troops continued to regale themselves on the slaughtered cattle, and with the liquors, which were procured in plenty from the country in their possession.

Nor was this state of unaccountable inactivity confined to the army of General Roche. After the defeat of Colonel Walpole's division at Tubberneering, on the 4th of June, the army under Father Michael Murphy, instead of advancing to Arklow, and pushing forward with continually increasing numbers to the capital, where many thousands were waiting to take up arms in their favour, spent their time in burning the town of Carnew, and plundering the houses in the circumjacent country. At length, collecting their force at Gorey, they advanced to the attack of Arlow, on the 9th, the first day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their numbers amounted to from twenty to thirty thousand men, of whom nearly five thousand were armed with guns: the rest being principally armed with pikes, exhibited, in some points of view, as they advanced to the attack, the appearance of a moving forest. This army was supported by two six-pounders, formerly taken from the regulars, and preceded by an advanced guard composed of horse and foot. All their motions were evidently intended to out-flank and overpower the garrison, which was commanded by General Needham, and consisted of dragoons, fencibles, and yeomen, amounting in the whole to about sixteen hundred men, part of whom had been brought from Dublin to Arklow in jaunting cars, and other carriages,

* Evidence of Richard Silvester on the trial of Phelim Fardy.

† See Proclamation signed B. B. Harvey, counter-signed Francis Breen, Sec. and Adj. dated June 6, 1798.

put in requisition for that purpose. The attack, which commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued for upwards of two hours, was, as usual, fierce and irregular; but the steady continuance and incessant fire of the troops, together with the destruction occasioned by the cannon, rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. One body was soon defeated, and charged by the cavalry under Colonel Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who appears to have given no quarter, but the other, which had advanced to the side of the Charter-School, and was led by the rebel chief, made a number of successive but abortive attacks on a barricade, whence they were driven by showers of musketry and grape shot. At length Father Michael, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned, but though he had represented himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon shot, on which his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated, about eight o'clock at night, in a disorderly manner, towards Coolgreency.*

This battle, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of the revolutionary war, since it probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not pursued, their loss was not accurately ascertained, but it could not amount to less than three or four hundred, whilst the loss of the Durham fencibles, under Colonel Skerret, which supported the weight of the action, was only twenty privates killed and wounded.

After the defeat of the rebels at Arklow, the insurgent army, now placed under the command of Garret Byrne, and anxiously awaiting the long-promised succours from France, retreated to Limerick-Hill, where they meditated an attack on Hacketstown, but the approach of General Lake compelled them to abandon that design, and to commence their retreat, on the 20th, for Vinegar-Hill.

The army, under General Needham, moved from Arklow

* Father Michael Murphy, priest of Ballycannoo, had been supposed by his followers to be proof against all kinds of weapons, and even to be impervious to cannon shot. To favour this delusion, he frequently exhibited musket-balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy! Some soldiers of the ancient British regiment, says Mr. Gordon, cut open the dead body of Father Michael, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it! And Mr. George Taylor, in his historical account of the Wexfordian rebellion, adds, that Lord Mountnorris ordered the dead body of Murphy to be thrown into a house that was burning, exclaiming at the same time—"Let his body go where his soul is!"

to Gorey, on the 19th, and from thence towards Enniscorthy, on the 20th, for the purpose of co-operating with others of his majesty's forces in a plan formed by General Lake, for surrounding the rebel station at Vinegar-Hill. For this purpose different armies moved at the same time, from various quarters—that under Lieutenant-general Dundas, from Baltinaglass; another under Majors-general Sir James Duff, and Loftus, from Tullow: that from Arklow, under General Needham, and a fourth from Ross, under Majors-general Johnson and Eustace. The march of the army from Ross, served to surprise the rebel bands under Father Philip Roche, on Lacken-Hill, who fled in the utmost confusion on the approach of the king's troops, leaving their tents, and a great quantity of plunder. This army separated into two bodies, one of which directed its march to Wexford, and the other to Vinegar-Hill, where the Wexfordian insurgents were concentrating their force.

This famous eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy, at its foot, and the country for many miles in circumference, had been in possession of the rebels ever since the 28th of May, during which period, continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists, who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. Wherever they were found they were seized, and some of them put to death on the spot, but others were dragged to Vinegar-Hill, where, after a sham trial, often without the form, they were shot, or transfixed with pikes, and many of them barbarously scourged before their execution. The exact number of men thus butchered on this fatal spot, it is not possible to state, but it appears, from unquestionable documents, that at least one hundred human beings were immolated weekly, at this sanguinary shrine of religious rancour and political animosity.

The army commanded to march from different quarters, to surround the rebel post at Vinegar-Hill, consisted in the whole, of a force amounting to about thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With such a strength, judiciously directed, the whole insurgent army, estimated at twenty thousand, might have been taken or destroyed. The mode of attack adopted on this occasion, was well calculated to affright new levies, always diffident of themselves, and in continual apprehension of being surrounded. The troops being divided into four distinct columns, advanced, early in the morning of the 21st, against the insurgents, while a fifth, under General Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, scaled the heights in different directions. But notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the revolvers were

enabled, from the strength of their position, to defend the line, during an hour and a half, and it was not till they were out-flanked, and nearly surrounded, that they gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces : as intestine are always more bloody than foreign wars, the slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion, and those who escaped the musket, when overtaken, perished by the bayonet, whilst so insignificant was the loss on the part of the king's troops, that not above one hundred were either killed or wounded. The only person in the rebel ranks, of any note, who fell upon this occasion, was father Clinch, a priest of Enniscorthy, who was singled out on account of his large white horse, huge scymetar, and broad cross belts. The action itself was less bloody than might have been supposed, as the troops under General Needham, being unable to reach the position assigned them, left an opening through which the rebels retreated, and which from that circumstance was ludicrously called "*Needham's gap*." Through this opening an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney, part of which entered Wexford ; while another, and more numerous detachment, headed by the chiefs, Murphy and Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and having held a hasty council of war, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny. Excesses, as might be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who co-operated with the British on this occasion, and who made no distinction between loyalists and rebels. The most remarkable act of this kind, was the setting fire to a house which had been used as a hospital for the rebels, wherein a number of men, fourteen at least, who by wounds and sickness were unable to escape from the flames, were burnt to ashes ; but as a palliation of this sanguinary enormity, it is said, on the authority of the surgeon, that the firing of the hospital was not intentional, but accidental, the bed-clothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds !*

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day as Enniscorthy. Brigadier-general Moore, whose troops had on the preceding day fought and vanquished a rebel force of five or six thousand men at Goffs-bridge, near Horetown, received, on the morning of the 21st, a proposal from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided he would guarantee their lives and property. This proposal, General Moore felt it his duty to transmit to

* Vide Gordon's History, p. 173.

General Lake, and marching directly for Wexford, he stationed his army within a mile of that place.

The loyalists of Wexford, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since the fall of that place into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of incessant apprehension and suffering. Of this description of persons two hundred and sixty were confined in the gaol and other places of imprisonment, while the rest were prisoners in their own houses, under perpetual dread of being shot, piked, or famished. Several of the leaders of the rebellion exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent violence being offered to the prisoners, but there were others of their number that instigated, rather than restrained the sanguinary disposition of the rabble. Of the latter description, appears to have been Thomas Dixon, (the brother-in-law of General Edward Roche) who, from a captain of a trading vessel, had become a chief in the rebel army. This Hibernian Robespierre, like his French prototype, would probably, in case of success, have endeavoured to wade to eminence through seas of blood. During the occupation of the town by the revolvers, a general slaughter of the prisoners was twice attempted in vain by this monster. Still persisting in his bloody design, and choosing a moment of extreme agitation for its accomplishment, he contrived, on the 20th of June, to set on foot a great massacre. The prisoners being brought from the prison, were led to slaughter in successive divisions, surrounded by a guard of inhuman butchers; and preceded to the place of execution by a black flag, marked with a white cross, where they were put to death by various means, but principally by four men at once, who standing two before, and two behind each victim, thrust their pikes into his body, and elevating him from the ground, held him writhing in the air, till all signs of life were extinguished.—Some of the prisoners were slaughtered at the gaol, and others at the market-house, but the great butchery was on the bridge—a magnificent wooden fabric, ill adapted for such a hideous exhibition. This horrible spectacle was, it is said, regarded by a multitude of wretches assembled on the occasion, the greater part women, as a gratifying sight, and the congregated multitudes rent the air with shouts of exultation on each fresh arrival of victims at the fatal spot! The slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, continued till ninety-seven men had been deliberately massacred, and till the news arrived, at seven o'clock at night, that the post of Vinegar-Hill had been carried by the king's troops. Father Curran having in vain supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they proceeded further in this work of death; and when he

had thus brought them to their knees, he ordered them to cry, "*O God! shew to us the same mercy that we shew to these surviving prisoners!*" Lord Kingsborough, colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had been taken prisoner in the harbour of Wexford at the breaking out of the rebellion, and detained ever since, narrowly escaped from swelling the number of the victims, through the strenuous and humane endeavours of Dr. Caulfield, the Romish bishop. The only charge urged by Dixon and his bloody associates, against the objects of their diabolical fury, was, that they were orangemen, and the proof of their guilt rested upon the evidence of two wretches, of the names of Jackson and O'Connor, who were themselves confined in the gaol at Wexford, and became informers to save their own lives.

The Wexford insurgents, in the hope that their offer of surrender would be acceded to by General Lake, and conscious that it was impossible to oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming force brought against them, liberated Lord Kingsborough, and on the 21st surrendered the town into his hands. Contrary to their hopes, General Lake insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the place, and in his answer to the proposal of the 21st, informed the inhabitants that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms against their sovereign.*

* PROPOSAL TO SURRENDER.

"That Captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulard, accompanied by Mr. Edward Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford, without opposition, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance; and these terms it is hoped, that Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

(Signed by order of the Inhabitants of Wexford.)

MATTHEW KEUGH.

Wexford, June 21st, 1798.

ANSWER.

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms proposed by rebels in arms against their sovereign: while they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction. To the deluded multitude, he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

Enniscorthy, June 22d, 1798.

This reply was not anticipated, for the Rev. Philip Roche, in full confidence that the offer on the part of the rebels to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, would be acceded to, and that protection would be afforded both to himself and to his followers, left his forces at

On the evacuation of the town by the main body of rebels, part of them under Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest, under Father Philip Roche, in an opposite direction, into the barony of Forth. About five o'clock in the afternoon of this day, Captain Boyd, anxious to rescue his amiable consort, who, with all the rest of his family, was among the prisoners in Wexford, galloped into the town with only eight yeomen of his troop, and happily found it abandoned by the rebel force. Soon after other small detachments of the army followed, and the surviving prisoners, to the number of about one hundred and forty, were all set at liberty, to their inexpressible joy.

General Moore, whose firmness and humanity were above all praise, on consulting with Lord Kingsborough, thought it most advisable not to let his troops into the town, which it had been determined to annihilate previous to the negociation, and in consequence of this circumstance, of which the army was perfectly aware, it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked, and destroyed, with all the attendant atrocities.

While the loyalists of Wexford were rejoicing in their deliverance, a most tragic scene was acting in Gorey. On the 20th of June, a party of the Gorey cavalry, about seventeen in number, on their return home to that place, in resentment for the injury the town had suffered, killed about fifty men, whom they found in their houses, or straggling home from the rebel army. On the 22d, a body of about five hundred rebels, retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the mountains of Wicklow, on hearing of this slaughter, and being informed of the weakness of the party by whom it was perpetrated, determined on vengeance. With this view they marched towards Gorey, where a smart skirmish took place, which terminated in favour of the rebels, who, in pursuing the military, overtook a number of refugees flying from the place, and slaughtered thirty-seven of them upon the road, exclusive of some others who were dreadfully wounded, but afterwards recovered. On this sanguinary day, which is yet remembered in Gorey, under the designation of *Bloody Friday*, no women or children were injured, because, as the rebels,

Sledagh, on the 22d, to proceed to Wexford; and so little apprehensive was he of danger, that he advanced, undisguised, within the lines of the king's forces; but no sooner was the rebel chief recognised than he was dragged from his horse, and instantly conveyed to the prison at Windmill-Hills.

who affected to act on a system of retaliation, said, no women or children had, on the 20th, been hurt by the adverse party.

In the mean time, the body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill, and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny, by the Scullagh gap, which separates the counties of Carlow and Wexford, burnt the village of Killedmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of Father John Murphy, of Ballavogue. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by Lieutenant Dixon, who was posted there with a party, chiefly composed of dragoons; but he was at length obliged to retreat, as they had brought a swivel, and several pieces of cannon, to bear on his post, which he in vain endeavoured to maintain against such an overwhelming disparity of force. But their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by General Dunn, and Sir Charles Asgill, and totally defeated, on the 26th of June, at Kilcomney-hill, with a loss of from two to three hundred slain, and ten light pieces of cannon taken, with seven hundred horses, and all the rest of their plunder. Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and being conducted to the head-quarters of General Sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day. After the body of this sanguinary priest was burnt, his head, with indiscreet zeal, was placed on the market-house—a savage and horrid custom, tending little to intimidate, but admirably calculated to render a disaffected people more savage and ferocious, by making them familiar with barbarity, and accustoming them to the violation of the right of sepulture.

On the 25th, the united forces from Gorey, and those under Garret Byrne, appeared at Hacketstown at five o'clock in the morning, and after a long engagement with the garrison at that place, which continued for many hours with various success, they were at length repulsed, with the loss of two hundred men, among whom was Michael Reynolds, the chief who had led the rebels to Naas, on the first morning of the rebellion, and who thus, like the great majority of the insurgent chiefs, paid the forfeit of his life as the price of his military elevation.

A body of insurgents, who assembled soon after at Whiteheaps, in the county of Wexford, was dispersed by General Needham, assisted by General Duff, and the Marquis of Huntley, the latter of whom acquired great credit, during his residence in Ireland, by uniting humanity with courage, and compassionating the failings of a deluded multitude, at the same time that he rendered their fury ineffectual.

The spirit of rebellion in the south, which had assumed in

its progress much of the appearance of a war of religion,* was now happily approaching to its termination; and in the north, this revolutionary contest never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the disaffected protestants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, and the intolerance displayed, and scandalized by the pretended miracles wrought by the blood-stained priests, Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days, though, on being attacked with cannon and musketry, on the 7th of June, they were driven out of the town, with the loss of about two hundred slain, but not till Lord O'Neill, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had been mortally wounded. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carrickfergus; and at Ballynahinch, where they had determined to make a stand with six thousand men, under Munroe, the northern chief, they received a total overthrow.

On the subsiding of this minor rebellion in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, much inferior in vigour, and much more easily suppressed than that in the north. The principal action, and indeed the only one of which government thought fit to make a report to the public, took place in the county of Cork, on the 19th of June, near the village of Ballynascarty. At this place, a division of two hundred and twenty men, of the West Meath militia, provided with two six pounders, and commanded by Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of about three or four hundred rebels in ambush, principally armed with pikes. After a smart engagement, during which the rebels were joined by two reinforcements, and the West Meath militia by about one hundred men of the Caithness legion, the assailants dispersed, with a loss of from fifty to one hundred men, while the loyalists lost only a sergeant, and one private.†

After a predatory warfare, carried on between the 26th of June, and the 10th of July, in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, in which several vigorous, but ineffectual efforts were made, to re-animate an expiring cause, the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore; and this sanguinary insurrection, which broke out on

* "Of ten protestant clergymen, says Mr. Gordon, who fell into the hands of the insurgents, in the county of Wexford, five were put to death without mercy or hesitation; namely, Robert Burrows, Francis Turner, Samuel Haydon, John Pentland, and Thomas Trocke, all men of regular conduct, and inoffensive disposition."

† See the Duke of Portland's Official Communication, dated June 26, 1798.

the 23d of May, and raged with intense fury till the 22d of the following month, threatening, in its alarming progress, the existence of government itself, was, on the 12th of July, finally extinguished.

CHAPTER IX.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRISH REBELLION: *Trial and Execution of several of the Rebel Chiefs—The Marquis Cornwallis called to the Vice-Regal Office in Ireland; adopts an enlightened and humane System of Policy—The principal Conspirators obtain the Royal Clemency, on Condition of making certain Disclosures to Government—The Object of the Rebellion, as explained by its Instigators—Ireland still scourged by Bands of Marauders, ‘The Babes in the Wood’—Military Excesses—Estimate of the Loss sustained by the Country from the Rebellion—General Humbert invades Ireland, obtains a Victory at Castlebar, but is subsequently obliged to surrender himself and his Forces, Prisoners of War, to the Marquis Cornwallis—Description of the Battle of Killala, by an Eye Witness—Napper Tandy, attended by General Rey, lands from a French Brig on the small Island of Rutland, and after an ineffectual Attempt to excite the People to rise in Arms, re-embarks for France—A French Fleet equipped for the Invasion of Ireland—Defeated by Sir J. B. Warren—the closing Scenes of the Insurrection.*

THE capital of Ireland having escaped the horrors of that insurrection, which, in its first revolutionary burst, approached to the precincts of her jurisdiction, now became the theatre of public justice; and the first person brought to trial was a rebel chief, of the name of Bacon, a citizen of Dublin, in an extensive line of business, and of the protestant persuasion; this unfortunate man was apprehended on the 2d of June, disguised as a female, and proceeding in a chaise to the country, to join the insurgents. Being found guilty of high treason, he was executed on the 14th, on the same scaffold with Lieutenant Esmond, a Roman catholic, convicted of leading the rebel forces, in the attack on Prosperous. Henry and John Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork, and both of them educated for the bar, were tried in Dublin on the 12th of July, condemned on the clearest evidence, and executed in the front of Newgate. The trial of John M'Cann, secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th, and he suffered with Michael William Byrne, delegate for the county committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond, a man of considerable fortune, and one of the principal conspirators, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the 12th of March, was arraigned for high treason on the 23d of July,

and his trial continued till seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when he was convicted.

These trials in the metropolis were all held by jury ; but in Wexford, and other parts of the country, the more summary tribunals of court-martial were resorted to. On the 25th of June, Matthew Keugh, the rebel governor of Wexford ; the Rev. Philip Roche, the general ; and seven others, having been previously tried and convicted by a court-martial, were all brought to the bridge at Wexford, and executed. Among the persons who suffered for high treason on the same bridge, were Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Cornelius Grogan. Grogan died possessed of an estate of eight thousand a year, and had so far misconceived the state of affairs, as to imagine his property more secure under the protection of the United Irishmen, than of the existing government—miserable delusion ! It is generally supposed, that in taking a part in the rebel cause, he acted under constraint, and Mr. Harvey, in taking his final farewell of Mr. Grogan, on the morning of their execution, said, in the presence of an officer, and several of the guards—" Ah ! poor Grogan, you die an innocent man." On the evacuation of Wexford by the rebels, Mr. Colclough, who, up to the period of the rebellion, was a man of the first consideration in the county, had taken his amiable wife and only child to one of the Saltree islands, and sought concealment in a cave, where he was in hopes to have remained till the tempest had subsided. Mr. Harvey, acquainted with the place of his friend's retreat, repaired thither also for security, but on the 23d they were brought, by the vigilance of Dr. Waddy, a yeoman, from their cave to the gaol at Wexford ; and, in these dismal times, short indeed was the passage from the prison to the grave.

Among the leaders of the rebellion executed at the time of its suppression, were John Hay, the rebel general, who was found concealed in his own shrubbery, on the 22d of June, by General Dundas's troops, and executed the day following ; Kelleigh, the chief of Kill-ann, who penetrated into the town of New Ross ; and Father John Redmond, of Clough. Besides the persons already enumerated, a great number of others paid the forfeit of their lives to the injured laws of their country, and in the town of Wexford alone, not fewer than sixty-five persons were executed for the crimes of rebellion and murder.*

A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels more summary still than that of trial by court-martial, was practised

* Sir Richard Musgrave, Appendix XXI. No. 4, p. 160.

from the commencement of the rebellion, by soldiers, yeomen, and supplementaries, who frequently executed, without the formality of a trial, such as they judged worthy of death. This practice augmented for a time the number of the rebels, and would, on their dispersion, have in a great measure depopulated the country, if it had not been restrained by the enlightened and humane policy of government, on the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis, in the place of Earl Camden, to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.

On the 20th of June, the Marquis Cornwallis made his unassuming entrance into the capital of the country, and at the expiration of a few days, Earl Camden took his departure in a very splendid style for England. On the 3d of the following month, a proclamation from the new viceroy appeared in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing his majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. The necessity of this act of clemency was perfectly obvious to all who understood the Irish character, and who considered what numbers had been seduced into the fatal conspiracy by artifice, and forced into the rebel ranks by an unfortunate combination of adverse circumstances. To give the full sanction of law to this measure of consummate wisdom, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish parliament, on the 17th of July, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all who, not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions of the proclamation.

This act was followed by a treaty between the government and the chiefs of the United Irishmen, negotiated by Mr. Counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, bearing date the 29th of July, and expressed in the following terms :—

“That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen ; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states ; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever ; and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and to give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country ;—if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution : and also Mr. Oliver Bond, (then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody as may choose to benefit by it.”

In consequence of the proclaimed amnesty, some of the rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, among whom was Aylmer, surrendered their persons. Six principals of the conspiracy, particularly Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament; from which it appeared, that the rebellion originated in a system, formed, not with a view of obtaining either catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic.* That the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematic combination, fitted to attract the multitude, and artfully linked and connected together, with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body, at the impulse, and under the direction of their leaders.† That for the further accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy entered into a negotiation in 1796, and finally concluded an alliance with the French directory, in the summer of the same year, by which it was stipulated, that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, as subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection.‡ That in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy for giving to their societies a military form; and that for arming their adherents, they had recourse to the fabrication of pikes.§ That from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking out of the rebellion, and probably its ultimate failure also.||

From some cause, not satisfactorily explained, the principal prisoners were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in the

* See the Evidence of Dr. M'Nevin before the House of Lords, in Ireland, August 7th, 1798.

† See Report of the Committee of Secrecy, presented to the House of Commons in Ireland.

‡ See Mr. Arthur O'Connor's Evidence before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

§ See Mr. Samuel Neilson's Evidence before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

|| See Evidence of T. A. Emmett, Esq. before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

north of Scotland, where they continued in confinement till the conclusion of the war, when they were permitted to enjoy their liberty, on condition that they should withdraw from his majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond would in all probability have been one of the number thus reserved for long captivity, had not death, by a stroke of apoplexy, put an end to his sufferings in prison.*

Assassinations and robberies, on sectarian and political grounds, would probably have ceased on the granting of protections, if some desperate marauders, reinforced by a number of deserters from several regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. Banditti of this kind continued for many months to infest those parts of the country, and so great was the terror produced by their depredations in the vicinity of their lurking-places, that those protestant families who had remained in the country, and braved the storms of the rebellion, now found themselves compelled to take refuge in towns. But after a little time, the woods being scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *The Babes in the Wood*.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and whose haunts were more difficult of access, continued, under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree, till a principle of retaliation was resorted to by the yeomen, which necessity itself could scarcely justify, and at which humanity shudders; as the massacres of the banditti were found to proceed upon a principle of religious hatred, it was determined, that whenever any protestants were murdered by these wretches, that a still greater number of Roman catholics should be put to death by the yeomen, in the same neighbourhood. Thus, at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Romanists were slain in revenge; and at Augrim, in the county of Wicklow, ten miles from the same

* *List of the persons sent to Fort George:—*

Samuel Neilson,	John Sweeny,	William Tennant,
William James M'Nevin,	Edward Hudson,	Thomas Addis Emmett,
Roger O'Connor,	Robert Simms,	Joseph Cuthbert,
Joseph Cormick,	Arthur O'Connor,	John Chambers,
Robert Hunter,	John Sweetman,	William Dowdall,
Thomas Russell,	Hugh Wilson,	Steele Dixon.
Matthew Dowling,	George Cumming,	

town, twenty-seven of the latter were killed in consequence of the murders committed by the former.*

The devastation and plundering sustained by the country, were not the work of the rebels alone, they were aggravated by the soldiery, and particularly by the Hessians, who often plundered, without distinction, both the loyal and the disaffected. These military excesses were however at length put an end to by the regiment of Scottish Highlanders, under the Marquis of Huntley, who, to their immortal honour, observed so strict a discipline, that nothing more was heard of military depredation. But still the country was miserably afflicted all the ensuing winter, by gangs of nocturnal marauders, who, under the pretence of making reprisals, plundered, and in many cases burnt the houses and cattle of the disarmed romanists, and thus completed the work of desolation. Another species of mischief, very prevalent after the extinction of the rebellion, was the burning of Roman catholic chapels in the night, of which scarcely one escaped in the extent of several miles round Gorey.†

To estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the detriment sustained by the country from the rebellion, would be a matter of great difficulty ; but some data are afforded in this inquiry, from the conflagrations that took place in the different towns, and from the compensation claimed by one class of sufferers : the towns of Carnew, Tinealy, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Kiledmond, were all destroyed by fire ; in Ross, about three hundred houses, mostly those of the labouring

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion, second edition, p. 238.

† CATHOLIC CHAPELS burnt in the county of Wexford, and diocese of Ferns, with the dates of their conflagration:—

Boolevogue	27th May, 1798	Balleygarret	15th Jan. 1799
Maglas	30th ———	Ballynamonabeg	18th ———
Ramsgrange	19th June, ———	Askamore	24th Feb. ———
Dromsgold	21st ———	Murntown	24th April ———
Ballemmurrin	———	Monamoling	3d May ———
Gorey	24th Aug. ———	Kilrush	15th ———
Annacurragh	2d Sept. ———	Marshalstown	8th or 9th June ———
Crane	17th ———	Munfin	———
Rock	12th Oct. ———	Crossabeg	24th ———
Balleduffe	19th ———	Killenerin	29th ———
River Chapel	———	Monageer	1st July ———
Monaseed	25th ———	Kiltayley	1st Oct. ———
Clologue	26th ———	Glanbryan	13th Mar. 1800
Killeveny	11th Nov. ———	Kaim	3d Sept. ———
Ferns	18th ———	Ballmackesy	———
Oulard	28th ———	Courtenacuddy	13th Aug. 1801
Castletown	———		

The protestant church of Old Ross was burned on the 2d of June, 1798.

classes, were consumed, and the greater part of Enniscorthy was laid in ashes. Such was the desolation committed in the towns, while a vast number of cabins, farm houses, and gentlemen's seats, were destroyed in the open country. By a message delivered to the house of commons by Lord Castle-reagh, on the 17th of July, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being duly verified before commissioners; and an act of parliament soon after passed, for giving to this measure of justice and humanity the force of law. Under this act, the claims of the loyalists alone amounted to upwards of one million pounds sterling! a sum of great magnitude, but it is supposed not equal to more than two-thirds of their loss. But who shall pretend to compute the damage sustained by the disloyal and suspected, whose houses were burnt and whose effects were pillaged or destroyed, and who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates to the commissioners? That their loss was immense cannot be doubted, and it may be fairly conjectured, that the sum of two millions sterling would not replace all the property destroyed by this ruinous conspiracy.*

But the destruction of property was only one species of injury resulting to the community from the civil war. To this may be added the loss of lives, the neglect of industry, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit, and the contamination of morals.

To suppose that the insurgents were all alike sanguinary or prone to cruelty, would be as little conformable to truth as to probability. Many of even the lowest were men of humane feeling; but amidst so wild an agitation, so furious a commotion, the unobtrusive and feeble voice of compassion was

* An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them:—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Antrim - -	17,729	3	4	Leitrim - -	2,366	19	1
Carlow - -	24,854	14	7	Longford - -	1,046	14	10
Cavan - -	61	16	9	Mayo - -	120,553	11	4
Cork - -	2,501	14	11	Meath - -	14,597	9	3
Clare - -	856	9	11	Queen's County	1,586	9	3
Down - -	12,129	0	8	Roscommon -	325	19	7
Dublin - -	25,829	16	0	Sligo - -	15,769	14	9
Galway - -	4,814	0	3	Tipperary -	1,577	9	8
Kerry - -	149	4	2	Waterford -	1,321	18	9
Kildare - -	97,000	2	11	Westmeath -	2,808	13	4
Kilkenny - -	27,352	8	9	Wexford - -	515,191	8	5
King's County -	2,461	19	7	Wicklow - -	130,379	17	0
Limerick - -	22	9	6				
Londonderry -	7	19	3				
					£1,023,387	5	10

drowned in the boisterous and arrogant clamour of destruction of enemies, in cries of "revenge on the bloody *orange-dogs*!" "In popular commotions, natural talents go a little way to procure influence; the leader of a mob is almost invariably the man that outgoes all the rest in wickedness and audacity." And it too frequently happened even amongst the loyalists, that whoever attempted to moderate the fury of his associates, or to prevent the commission of wanton cruelties on the defenceless prisoner or helpless cottager, was brow-beaten and silenced by the cry of "*Croppy*"—a term very liberally bestowed by zealots on men who manifested a wish that the loyalists should act in a manner worthy of their character, and most promising of ultimate success to the cause in which they were embarked.

Though the point has never been ascertained how many rebels were in arms at any one time during the rebellion, yet it is generally believed, that the number of men at the posts of the Three Rocks, Lacken-Hill, Vinegar-Hill, and Gorey, amounted, in the early part of the month of June, to fifty thousand, of whom four-fifths at least were Wexfordians; and to these may be added, about twenty thousand assembled about the same period in the provinces of Ulster and Munster.* That the number of human beings sacrificed was immense, may be supposed from the well known facts, that the male population in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, experienced a very perceptible diminution; and that, during this sanguinary con-

* This force, large as it unquestionably was, by no means realised the expectations of the principal conspirators; as must be evident from the following returns of the strength of the insurgents, given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in his own hand writing, to Mr. Reynolds the informer, and bearing date from the "National Committee-Room, 26th of February, 1798†."

<i>Armed Men.</i>				<i>Finances in hand.</i>		
				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Ulster	-	-	110,990	-	-	436 2 4
Munster	-	-	100,634	-	-	147 17 2
Kildare	-	-	10,863	-	-	110 17 7
Wicklow	-	-	12,895	-	-	93 6 4
Dublin	-	-	3,010	-	-	37 2 6
Dublin City	-	-	2,177	-	-	321 17 11
Queen's County	-	-	11,689	-	-	91 2 1
King's County	-	-	3,600	-	-	21 11 3
Carlow	-	-	9,414	-	-	49 2 10
Kilkenny	-	-	624	-	-	10 2 3
Meath	-	-	1,400	-	-	171 2 11
<hr/>				<hr/>		
267,296				£,1490 4 4		

† See Report of the Secret Committee presented to the House of Commons of Ireland.

test, sixty-eight loyalists were massacred in the latter, and four hundred and fifty in the former county, exclusive of the numbers that fell in battle.*

The French directory, who had hitherto contemplated the progress of the civil war in Ireland in perfect tranquillity, now seemed eager to revive those scenes of blood, by transmitting a force, which might have proved formidable previously to the action at Vinegar-hill, but now was altogether insignificant and unavailing. Accordingly, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, an expedition from Rochelle, consisting of one thousand and thirty privates, and seventy officers, under General Humbert, embarked in three frigates, landed on the 22d of August, in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, and took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. But although the alluring symbol of a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, and incircled with the motto of "*Erin go Bragh*"—Ireland for ever; yet, but few of the peasantry could be prevailed on to join the invaders, and of those few, scarcely an individual of any note was of the number.

After leaving a small garrison under Colonel Charost behind him at Killala, to keep up the communication, and receive supplies, General Humbert clothed and armed all those who repaired to this standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar. Advancing through Barnahgechy, instead of Foxford, he experienced no obstacle in his route from Ballina. The army collected at Castlebar, under General Lake, whom the lord-lieutenant had appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Connaught, consisted of from two to three thousand regular troops. Although Humbert relied chiefly for success on his own troops, yet being desirous to magnify the appearance of his little army, he dressed up a number of the natives in uniforms, and afterwards contrived to post his new levies on the flanks, in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy. The field of battle to which he advanced, on the morning of the 27th, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines, which crowned its summit; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, in a valley; and two curricula, and some battalion guns, were posted in front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. About eight o'clock in the morning, the French, with their native allies, were seen advancing in column,

* See Affidavits registered in the archives of the House of Commons of Ireland.

driving a number of cattle before them to divert the fire of the artillery, which was extremely well served. Humbert, after reconnoitering, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of his best marksmen, who advanced rapidly, and occupied some hedges in front, where they extended themselves with a view of out-flanking the adversary. By an unfortunate precipitancy, the fire of the English lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be available—a mistake of which the enemy taking advantage, rushed forward with his main body, and the sharp-shooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns, retired in a panic, and abandoned their charge to the enemy. The Earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and they so far succeeded as to impede the progress of the assailants, but they were pursued with alacrity, and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse, and nearly cut off. The loss sustained by the British army upon this occasion has been vaguely estimated at five hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon, including four curricule guns; and the suspicion of disaffection among part of the troops, served to aggravate the disaster. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded exceeded two hundred.

Castlebar, a place of some importance, on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of deserters from the Irish militia regiments, chiefly actuated by the hopes of booty, joined the invaders; but to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies, by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals.

The British force, after the defeat at Castlebar, retreated the same night to Tuam, a distance of thirty miles from the scene of action, from whence they proceeded towards Athlone, in the county of West Meath.

The Marquis Cornwallis, aware of the danger that might arise to the country, in its present perturbed situation, from the presence of an invading army, came to the determination to take the field in person. His excellency accordingly quitted the metropolis on the 24th of August, and advancing by the way of the Grand Canal, through Philipstown and Kilbeggan, arrived on the 28th at Athlone, having performed a march of eighty English miles in little more than three days. Here he received the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of his majesty's forces under General Lake, on the 27th, and after a halt of two days, proceeded with all that circumspection which the

state of affairs required, in the direction of Holly-mount, where he arrived on the 4th of September.

In the mean time, General Humbert resolved to follow up his successes, and hoping to obtain succours by advancing towards the coast, quitted Castlebar on the morning of the 4th, and moved with his whole force through Swineford, and Tubbercurry, in the direction of Sligo. Finding his march impeded by the force under Colonel Crawford, and General Lake, which hung upon his rear, he relinquished his design on Sligo, and, after a number of skirmishes, arrived on the 8th instant at Ballynamuck, so closely followed by General Lake, and Colonel Crawford, that his rear-guard was unable to break down the bridge at Ballintra. The lord-lieutenant, on finding that the invaders had quitted Castlebar, measured back his march from Holly-mount, and repassing the Shannon at Carrick, marched by Mohill to St. Johnstown, in the county of Longford, to intercept the enemy in front. By these skilful movements, the French general found his forces surrounded by a British army, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, under the command of one of the most consummate generals in the service. The rear-guard, consisting of about two hundred infantry, being attacked by Colonel Crawford, was obliged to surrender. The remainder of the troops under Humbert, with a view to support the honour of the French arms, but without the most remote prospect of success, continued to defend themselves for about half an hour; when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they all surrendered, and became prisoners of war. The rebel auxiliaries, now accumulated to about fifteen hundred, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and about five hundred of their number were slain in the pursuit, exclusive of about one hundred taken prisoners, among whom were found Teeling, Blake, and Roach, three of their chiefs.

The number of French troops who surrendered on this occasion, amounted to ninety-six officers, and seven hundred and forty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates;* having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight, since their first landing at Killala. The quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, taken this day, was officially stated at three light four pounders; five ammunition waggons, nearly full; one tumbril; seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes: and from the same source of authentic information, it appears that the loss of the king's

* See London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 14, 1798.

forces, in the short, but smart contest, which immediately preceded the surrender, was only three privates killed ; twelve wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers, and three missing.

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis, in the plan of his movements, taking a line between the invading force and the interior of the country, is evinced, from the circumstance of an insurrection having broken out in the neighbourhood of Granard, in the county of Longford, and which had for its object a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy. At this place, the French might have formed a most convenient station, which would at once have served as a rallying point to the disaffected, and afforded considerable facilities for directing their operations against the metropolis. But it happened, by one of those adverse incidents which attended so many of the rebel projects, that the Longford insurgents, amounting to four or five thousand in number, were repulsed by the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeomen, under Captain Cottingham, in an attack on Granard, on the 5th of September, with a loss of four hundred men. The disaster sustained by the insurgents, in Longford, was followed on the same day by another equally signal, though not to the same extent, in the county of West Meath. On this latter occasion, the king's troops were commanded by Major Porter, and the loss of the revolters is reported at about two hundred men, of whom a number having sought refuge in a farm house, were burnt to ashes.

Most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the rebels, were about this time recovered, but Ballina and Killala still remained in their possession. Previous to the march of General Humbert from Castlebar, on the 4th of September, he had called in all his forces, with the exception of three officers left at Killala, and one at Ballina, in command of the rebel garrisons at those places. At length, on the 22d of September, thirty-one days after the landing of the French army in Ireland, and fourteen days after its capture at Ballynamuck, the king's forces arrived at Ballina, and obliged the garrison to retreat to Killala. On the 23d, a large body of troops, under Major-general Trench, arrived at Killala ; and " the peaceful inhabitants," says an eye-witness,* " were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold—a battle ! a sight which no person who has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives in full race from

* See " A Narrative of what passed at Killala during the French Invasion," attributed to the Right Rev. Dr. Stock, the Bishop of that place.

Ballina—women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, (the bishop's residence,) or into any house in the town, where they might hope for a momentary shelter—continued, for a painful length of time, to give notice of the approach of an army.

“ The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them, with great advantage, to take aim at the king's troops ; yet (strange to tell !) they were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles, to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight.

“ The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained ; many ran away after the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town, in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers, on horseback, running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

“ The French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward, to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain. A regiment of highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to the right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls ; they had a hard marshy ground on their left to surmount before they could come up with their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. A considerable number were cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry regiment, from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here too the fugitives were swept away

by scores, a cannon being placed at the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

“A flying rebel having burst through the door of Mr. William Kirkwood, the magistrate, followed by six or seven soldiers, they poured a volley of musketry after him, that proved fatal to Mr. Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out “God save the King.” In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle; most of them had their doors and windows destroyed; the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaped with life, by lying prostrate on the floor, during the battle. Nor was it till the close of the next day, that their ears were relieved from the horrid sounds of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels.—“The plague of war,” says the amiable narrator from whom we quote, “so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety; it is actual inspection only that shews the monster in its proper and full deformity.”*

The courts-martial assembled the day after the battle of Killala, and these tribunals were not dissolved till they had disposed of one hundred and eighty-five prisoners. Amongst the number of the accused, was General Bellew, of an ancient Irish family, who had served eighteen years in Germany.

* “What heart,” says the bishop, “can forget the impression it has received from the glance of a fellow creature, pleading for his life, with a crowd of bayonets at his breast? The eye of Demosthenes never emitted so penetrating a beam, in the most enraptured flight of oratory. Such a man was dragged before the bishop, on the day after the battle, while the hand of slaughter was still in pursuit of unresisting peasants through the town. In the agony of terror, the prisoner thought to save his life by crying out that ‘he was known to the bishop.’ Alas! the bishop knew him not; neither did he look like a good man. But the arms, and the whole body of the person to whom he flew for protection, were over him immediately. Memory suggested rapidly—

‘What a piece of workmanship is man! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals—

‘And you are going to deface this admirable work!’

And indeed they did. For though the soldiers promised to let the unfortunate man remain in custody till he should have a trial, yet when they found he was not known, they pulled him out of the court yard, as soon as the bishop’s back was turned, and shot him at the gate.” This practice of slaughtering unarmed rebels, without trial, admits of no justification, and it is the more to be deprecated, as it appears, from unquestionable authority, “that during the whole time of the civil commotion, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war.”

This infatuated man, having joined the invaders, was dignified with the pompous title of generalissimo of all the allies of France, in the district from Ballina to West Port; but it soon became obvious, that his habits of intemperance were so inveterate as to incapacitate him for all duty, and he was dismissed from the service. He had, however, proceeded so far as to incur the guilt of treason against this sovereign, and being found guilty, he was executed the next morning, along with Mr. Richard Bourke, of Ballina, another of the rebel chiefs.

On the defeat of the rebel force at Killala, the French officers at that place, all of whom had conducted themselves with humanity and honour, were sent to Dublin, and from thence to London, where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were on the favourable report of Dr. Stock, set at liberty, and sent home without exchange.*

* The interesting narrative by an eye-witness, so frequently referred to in the preceding pages, gives the following animated account of several of the French officers:

“GENERAL HUMBERT, the leader of this singular body of men, had risen from the ranks, was first distinguished for his activity in the ruinous war of La Vendee, and had been second in command in the expedition of General Hoche to Bantry Bay, in 1796. Humbert was of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art; you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy, (the effect probably of much watching) cast a side-long glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty; it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey.—His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as most of his countrymen can do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he had scarcely enough to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover, that much of his roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands.”

“M. CHAROST, *chef de demi-brigade*, which answers to our title of lieutenant-colonel, was left in charge of Killala, while the French force advanced into the country. The choice proved a fortunate one for the town, Charost being a man of sense and of honour. From the time the French left Killala, he, and two officers under him, messed with the bishop's family, where they were very welcome, being under providence their sole protectors in the midst of so many perils. A hair-brained priest of the name of Sweeny, who afterwards paid the forfeit of his life for exciting his parishioners to rebellion, being introduced to M. Charost, said he should be extremely obliged to him if he would make him a present of the Bishop of Killala's library. ‘The bishop's library!’ answered Charost, turning from him with contempt, ‘is just as much his own now, as ever it was.’ This worthy French officer, who seemed to understand the obligations of moral honesty much better than some of his Irish allies, had attained to the age of five and forty. In

A number of rebel chiefs, and inferior insurgents, were tried and executed at Killala, and in other parts of the coun-

person he was strong and vigorous, inclined to fat ; his countenance was cheerful, and on the whole pleasing ; he had a plain good understanding, which served him for all the uses he put it to ; and he had either no leisure, or no liking, to strain it with over labour. His religion, he told the bishop, he had yet to seek ; because his father being a catholic, and his mother a protestant, they left him at liberty to choose for himself, and he had never yet found time to make the enquiry, which, however, he was sensible he ought to make, and would make when heaven should grant him repose."

"BOUDET, the next in rank to the commandant, was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy, twenty-eight years of age. His height was six feet two inches. In person, complexion, and gravity, he was no inadequate representative of the knight of La Mancha, whose example he followed in a recital of his own prowess and wonderful exploits, delivered in measured language, and with an imposing seriousness of aspect.—His manner, though distant, was polite ; and he seemed to possess a more than common share of feeling, if a judgment might be formed from the energy with which he declaimed on the miseries of wars and revolutions.

"PONSON, the last of the trio, formed a curious contrast in every respect to the character just described. In stature he did not exceed five feet six inches ; but if the body was little, he was alive from head to foot. Navarre gave him birth, the country of Henry IV. and his merry countenance recalled to mind the features of that celebrated monarch, though without the air of benevolence diffused through them ; for this monkey seemed to have no great feeling for any body but himself.—Wherever he was, his presence was testified by a noise as loud and as pertinacious as that of a corn-creak ; it was a continued roll of talk, or laughter, or whistling. Yet, in a gloomy hour, this eternal rattle had its use ; it more than once kept the spirits of the bishop's family buoyant when terror pressed heaviest. One day, a crowd of pikemen, clamorous with some insolent demand upon the commandant, appeared on the point of breaking down the castle gate. The bishop expressed his apprehension to Ponson : 'I will tell you what to do,' said he, 'step out among them suddenly, and cry, *stop thief*, and they will every man of them take to their heels.' Ponson was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. Tied to a sword as long as himself, and armed with pistols, firelock, and bayonet, he stretched himself up to view till he became terrific. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others ; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies, for whom he could not find names sufficiently expressive of contempt. The worst part of his character was that which related to religion. The commandant reported him to be a downright atheist. In this practice he went beyond the common herd of the French army, who, though they showed no desire to join in worship with any people, (a circumstance frightful to all, and astonishing to the Roman catholics,) yet respected the devotions of their neighbours. Indeed the contrast, with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish auxiliaries, was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot ; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men who boasted openly, 'that they had just driven *Mr. Pope* out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland.' It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, 'that they were come to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin !' "

try ; among whom were two Irishmen by birth, who had been in the military service of France before the invasion, and had come to Ireland in the French fleet. These were Matthew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling, made prisoners at Ballynamuck. These ill-fated men were tried at Dublin barracks, by a military tribunal, and being found guilty of high treason, were executed, the latter on the 24th of September, and the former a few days afterwards.

The little army landed at Killala, had been intended, it appears, only as a van-guard to a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French government had been as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in sending succours to the support of the rebel force in the south of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and in the interim before its appearance on the Irish coast, a brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, from which were landed three boats full of men, and a number of officers, among whom was James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the French directory, and who had attained the rank of general of brigade in the French service.— This brig, called the *Anacreon*, was full of arms and accoutrements, and contained a park of artillery ; but when the adventurers found the people, instead of joining them, fled to the mountains, and that the rebellion in Ireland was entirely suppressed, they re-embarked, after distributing a number of inflammatory papers, and steered again for the French coast.*

“MAJOR O’KEON, an officer of theirs from Ballina, was sometimes joined with these three Frenchmen. He was a native of the Irish barony of Tyrawly ; had received his education for the priesthood in France, and had attained to a benefice of some value in the church, when the revolution, stripping him at once of profession and livelihood, forced him to become a soldier for bread. O’Keon was a man of plausible manner, but he was deficient both in morals and common honesty—he cheated the bishop of Killala of twelve guineas, and carried off from Dublin another man’s wife.”

* The papers distributed by Napper Tandy, and his associates, consisted of two addresses, one of which was signed “General Rey,” and the other “J. N. Tandy.” The following is a copy of the former, and the latter was of similar tenor :—

“LIBERTY OR DEATH.

“*Northern Army of Avengers.*

“*Head-quarters,
First year of Irish Liberty.*

“UNITED IRISHMEN!

“The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms, and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery, worked by those who spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Eu-

Some time after this abortive attempt at invasion, Napper Tandy, and two other Irish rebels, were apprehended by the agents of Great Britain, on the neutral territory of Hamburgh, and conveyed to Ireland, where Tandy was indicted for high treason, at the spring assizes for the county of Donegal, in the year 1801, when having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to leave the kingdom, and take up his residence in France.

On the 17th of September, the very day after General Rey quitted the coast of Ireland in the *Anacaron*, an expedition, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, sailed from Brest, with a strong reinforcement, intended to co-operate with the force under General Humbert in Ireland. Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising with seven sail of the line, in the *Canada*, off Lough Swilly, discovered the enemy's squadron about noon, on the 11th of October, in the N. W. quarter. The British admiral instantly threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession as each ship of war reached her antagonist; but from the great distance, and a hollow sea, it was found impossible to commence the action before the next morning, at which time it was discovered that the enemy's large ship had lost her main-top-mast. Still confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down and formed a line of battle in close order upon the starboard tack; on which the *Canada* threw out a signal for the *Robust* to lead, and the rest of the ships to form in succession in the rear of the van. An action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, at the end of which period, the enemy's three-decker, which proved to be the *Hoche*, struck, and three of the frigates following her example, hauled down their colours after a long and gal-

rope, headed by the French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty. James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or to die.

"Brave Irishmen! the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in re-conquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood. French blood shall not flow in vain—To arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls: let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

"In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland,
GENERAL REY."

lant resistance.* The whole squadron it appeared was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig escaped, but three of the former were afterwards captured, and the armament being thus in effect destroyed, the object of the expedition was completely frustrated.

Among the prisoners taken in the *Hoche*, was the famous and unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, and so long considered as the most active and able negociator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting either to deny or to palliate his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; but when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon: and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court however did not judge it proper to accede to his request, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignomy that awaited him by cutting his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal, but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence.

The rebellion itself did not survive its original projector. The few companies of rebels who lurked in the woods and mountains, dispirited by the ill success of their allies, and dreading the approach of winter, successively laid down their arms; and Holt, the last and most intrepid of their chiefs,

* *Fleets engaged off the coast of Ireland, on the 12th of October, 1798.*

BRITISH.

The *Canada*, *Robust*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, *Æthalion*, *Melampus*, and *Amelia*.

The *Anson* came up in the latter part of the action, having lost her mizen-mast in the chase the day before.

FRENCH.

<i>Hoche</i>	-	-	-	-	80 guns	(taken.)
<i>Immortalité</i>	-	-	-	-	44 —	(taken.)
<i>Loire</i>	-	-	-	-	44 —	(taken.)
<i>Romaine</i>	-	-	-	-	44 —	(escaped.)
<i>Bellone</i>	-	-	-	-	40 —	(taken.)
<i>Resolue</i>	-	-	-	-	40 —	(taken.)
<i>Coquille</i>	-	-	-	-	40 —	(taken.)
<i>Ambuscade</i>	-	-	-	-	36 —	(taken.)
<i>Semillane</i>	-	-	-	-	36 —	(escaped.)

was glad to obtain the boon of his forfeited life, by expatriating himself for ever from his native soil.

Thus, after a bloody and abhorrent scene, of three months duration, ended the insurrection in Ireland; in which more than thirty thousand lives were sacrificed, and property to the amount of upwards of two millions sterling destroyed; and which, after throwing the whole kingdom into indescribable confusion and dismay, overwhelmed the instigators of the rebellion in one common ruin.* That the object of this deep-laid, and extensive conspiracy, was to imitate the example set by the people of Holland, and to erect Ireland into a republic, through the agency of France, cannot be doubted, and had the French directory manifested as much promptitude in executing, as the original conspirators displayed ability in forming their plans, this revolutionary struggle might have ended in a measure which can never be sufficiently deprecated, not only as tending to the alienation of a large portion of the strength of the empire, but as an event involving its prosperity and independence.(41.)

* *Protestant Leaders, with the fate that befel them.*

Theobald Wolfe Tone, convicted, but cut his throat.	Henry Sheares*
Honourable Simon Butler, died in extreme poverty, in Wales.	John Sheares.*
James Napper Tandy.†	Joseph Levins.†
Archibald H. Rowan.†	William Livingston Webb.†
Oliver Bond, convicted of high treason, but died in prison.	Henry Jackson.†
Beauchamp B. Harvey.*	Matthew Dowling.†
Thomas Russel.†	James Reynolds.†
Arthur O'Connor.†	Thomas A. Emmett.†
Roger O'Connor.†	John Bourke.†
Samuel Neilson.†	Hugh Wilson.†
John Chambers.*	Robert Simms,† Proprietor of the Northern Star.
	Edward Hudson.†

The persons to whose names stars are affixed were hanged; and those marked thus † exiled.

The above list, extracted from Sir Richard Musgrave's Publication on the Irish Rebellion, may serve to establish the fact, that whatever character the civil war assumed in its progress, it was not, in its origin, a war of religion.

(41.) History furnishes few more striking instances of the influence which success exercises over the minds of men, than in the case of the attempt to give independence to Ireland. That, which if it had succeeded would have dignified its projectors and supporters with the lofty title of patriot, and ranked them among the Tells and Washingtons of better times, has subjected them by its failure to the name and punishment of traitors and rebels. Following, as we have done in this country, the relations of British writers, we have been led to understand under the expression of the Irish rebellion, every thing that was profligate in design or cruel and sanguinary in execution. The mere name of United Irishman carried, to many American ears, the idea of something lawless and

unprincipled, with all the crimes but none of the abilities of the French revolutionists : and yet, if we coolly consider the motives or the conduct of this calumniated body of men, we shall probably find that instead of censure and obloquy, they deserved respect for their intentions and pity for their misfortunes. Their object, one of the holiest to which the efforts of man can be directed, was the emancipation of their country. Endowed by nature with the greatest physical advantages, Ireland had been for many centuries the victim of foreign tyranny. The detail of her grievances would occupy far more room than the brief space allowed to a note admits. It is sufficient to observe, that all that a people can suffer of hardship from foreign taskmasters, was endured in this unfortunate country. Persecuted for their religion, obnoxious for their political opinions, prevented by the English monopoly from enjoying the benefits of commerce, or even their agricultural advantages, the people of Ireland were compelled to submit to the government of strangers, and to see their oppressors enriched with the spoils of their country. To free themselves from this degrading thralldom, and raise their country to its proper rank among the independent nations of the world, was the object of the association of United Irishmen. In this body were comprised many persons of the highest ranks in society, and others distinguished for their talents or virtues. In the progress of the insurrection great excesses were no doubt committed. They are incident to almost all popular commotions, and the greater the previous degree of opposition, the more violent is the re-action in general. But in comparison with the cruelties and profligacy of the English troops and the Orange party, authorized and licensed as they were by the government, the excesses of the United Irish sink into the shade. All that the most refined cruelty could invent, or revengeful brutality could inflict, was exercised upon the unfortunate peasantry. Whole districts were devastated by the unsparing sword of the conquerors, and even the judgments of courts-martial were found too slow for their eager vengeance. Nor were these sanguinary proceedings confined to remote districts, the populous cities were in many instances the theatres of their commission ; and it has been asserted in the British parliament, without contradiction, that the torture was openly inflicted in Dublin under the eye of the government. The conduct of the British troops on these occasions verified the common remark of the connexion between cruelty and cowardice. The same men who had exercised this unrelenting severity towards the defenceless peasantry, were a short time afterwards defeated with circumstances of peculiar disgrace by the French troops under General Humbert, whose force was not one fifth of their own, and so great was their panic that, according to the "softened phrase" of Mr. Baines, they "*retreated* the same night to Tuam,"* a distance of thirty miles. It is not to be wondered at therefore if the United Irish were tempted to retaliate on their oppressors some of the evils by which they themselves had been visited. The unfortunate issue of the insurrection left it in the power of the conquerors to sully the characters as well as to exercise their vengeance on the persons of the vanquished, but posterity, to whom the true history of these transactions will be better known, will not fail to do justice to both parties. Of the highminded men by whom the revolution was attempted, many perished in action, others on the scaffold, and some still remain in exile from their country, experiencing

"What patriots feel
"When all but life and honour's lost."

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGN OF 1799: *Invasion of Naples by the French—Establishment of the Parthenopean Republic—Ehrenbreitstein capitulates to the French—The Austrians, under the command of the Archduke Charles, again take the Field.*

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY: *The French Army under Jourdan, and the Austrians commanded by the Archduke, meet near Pfullendorf—Battle of Stokach—Battle of Lieblingen—Retreat of the French across the Rhine—Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries on quitting Radstadt.*

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: *Tuscany invaded by the French under Scherer—Battle of Castel Nuovo—Battle of the Adige—Arrival of the Russians at Verona—Field-marshal Suworow assumes the Command of the Allied Armies in Italy—Defeats the French Army, and enters Milan—The Allies besiege the principal Fortresses of Italy, and advance into Piedmont—The Kingdom of Naples re-conquered by an Army under Cardinal Ruffo, and the Parthenopean Republic dissolved—The People of Italy rise against the defeated Army of France—Rome capitulates to Captain Trowbridge—Signal Defeat of the French Army on the Banks of the Trebia—Turin, Bologna, Alexandria, and Mantua, surrender to the Allies—Suworow, having conquered the principal part of Italy, menaces the South of France—Battle of Novi, General Joubert killed, and the French Army defeated—Dissensions in the Courts and Camps of the Allies.*

CAMPAIGN IN SWITZERLAND: *Schaffhausen and Peterhausen fall into the hands of the Allies—The French expelled from the Grisons—Defeat of the French Army at Zurich—Vigorous Efforts made by the French Directory to retrieve the Disasters of the Campaign—Masseña, having received fresh Supplies, becomes the Assailant—The French, after obtaining Possession of the Pass of the Devil's Bridge, and of St. Gothard, seize on the Valais—The French Armies again cross the Rhine, and oblige the Archduke to return to the German Frontier—Suworow quits Italy, and advances into Switzerland—His disastrous March—Arrives in the Valley of Mitten, and takes possession of the Post of Brunnen—Termination of his Successes—Battle of Zurich, and its disastrous Result—Suworow, discontented alike with his Allies and his Colleagues, retreats into Bohemia—His Death and Character—Termination of one of the most sanguinary Campaigns upon Record.*

LEAVING the unhappy kingdom of Ireland, so recently agitated by the storms of insurrection, to regain that state of tranquillity, which a strong government, humanely and judiciously administered, could scarcely fail to produce, and turning to a much more ample theatre, we find a world in arms, preparing for a renewal of that dreadful conflict, which it was fondly hoped had found a partial termination in the peace of Campo Formio. But the temple of Janus was still doomed to remain open, and new altars were destined to smoke with sacrifices to the furies who delight in blood. Notwithstanding the miseries and calamities peculiarly incident to the wars arising out of the French Revolution, it soon became evident, that a general peace was still at a distance. On the contrary,



Map
OF
GERMANY
as defined by the
Peace of Paris,
Concluded May 30th
1814

British Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27



combinations were now forming on a gigantic scale, by which more warriors were to be brought into the field, than had ever engaged at one time since the days of Xerxes.

While the negroes and mulattoes were still contending for superiority in one quarter of the globe, the other three were about to become the scenes of battles, attended with such an expenditure of blood, as in some cases to prove even ruinous to the victors. In Africa, from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Red Sea, the French invaders were still disputing the palm of superiority with the native Arabs and Mamelukes. In Asia, the English, justly tenacious of their dominion in the east, were arming on the coast of Malabar and Corromandel, against the Sultaun of Mysore, the friend and ally of that foe, who had already erected his standard on the plains of Egypt. All Europe, from the English Channel to the Hellespont, and from the Baltic Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, was once more agitated. While the south teemed with new revolutions, the north prepared to pour forth her armies, and the whole continent seemed destined by turns to resemble a camp and a field of battle.

The congress at Radstadt, instead of adjusting the disputes between the Germanic empire and the French republic, was employed in vain forms of discussion, and displayed much more anxiety to promote their own aggrandizement, than to adjust the indemnities and reconcile the conflicting interests of the minor co-estates.

The late expedition into the Roman territory had proved eminently disastrous to the King of Naples, now an exile from his kingdom; and on the 7th of January, in the year 1799, an armistice was signed by Prince Pignatelli, on behalf of the Neapolitan government, by which the French forces under Championnet obtained possession of the city of Capua, and from thence advanced to the capital, which they entered, on the 23d, after a gallant, but unavailing resistance, made principally by the lazzaroni. But no sooner had the republican troops taken possession of the city, than this mendicant body, on being assured that the French were not the enemies of their tutelary saint, Januarius, professed an ardent attachment to their conquerors, and in order to exhibit an unequivocal proof of their zeal for a republican government, as well as their abjuration of monarchical principles, immediately proceeded in a body to pillage the residence of the absent king. Nor were the clergy backward in paying their court to the victors; and a day was appointed for the celebration of a solemn *Te Deum*, on which occasion all the faithful citizens were invited, by the cardinal archbishop, “to return thanks to

the Most High, for the glorious entry of the French troops, who, protected in a peculiar manner by providence, had come to regenerate the nation, and to consolidate its happiness.”—The venerable prelate did not fail, at the same time, to intimate, that St. Januarius had greeted the arrival of these deliverers in the kindest manner, “his blood having miraculously liquified on the very evening of that day on which the republican forces had taken up their abode in the capital.”

Immediately after this solemn mockery, Naples was proclaimed a republic, under the designation of the Parthenopean commonwealth; and the provisional government was confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French general. These legislators were enjoined to draw up a plan for a new constitution, worthy of a free people; and while money was levied for the payment of the army, the estates of the clergy, and the dominions of the crown, were declared to appertain to the conquerors. An assembly, representing the piazze, or ancient parliament, was soon after convoked; and care was taken to admit two representatives of the lazzaroni, who still continued to possess considerable sway in Naples.

While the French plenipotentiaries were menacing the ministers of the Emperor of Germany with a renewal of hostilities, if a passage were afforded to the Russian troops into Italy; and while the army under Championnet was employed in establishing the Parthenopean republic, the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, in front of Coblentz, was obliged, after a memorable defence, to capitulate, on the 24th of January, to the French General D’Allemagne. But although this acquisition materially strengthened the frontiers of the republic, it added not a little to the jealousies of the princes of the empire, and contributed to precipitate a war that had now become inevitable.

The English ministry had, about the conclusion of the preceding year, formed a treaty with a new ally, for the “purpose of opposing the successes of the arms of France, for checking the extension of the principles of anarchy, and for securing the re-establishment of the balance of Europe.” The late Empress of Russia, occupied about the extension of her own empire, contented herself with the publication of proclamations against France; but her son, Paul Petrowitz, a monarch of a different character, was anxious to distinguish his accession to the throne of the Czars by some splendid action, and accordingly entered into the combination against the French republic, with all the zeal inspired by a chivalrous attachment to the cause of sovereigns, and an hereditary passion for military glory.

In the mean time, an appearance of negociation was still kept up at Radstadt; but the Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and being now certain of powerful co-operation in the event of a renewal of the contest, no longer concealed his sentiments.

The government of France was at this period subject to the severest animadversions. The directory had permitted themselves to be foiled in the arts of diplomacy, in the congress at Radstadt, as well as anticipated in the stratagems of war by the sudden approach of the Russians. Both energy and patriotism were alike wanting in their resolves and actions; while a spirit of corruption and rapacity appears to have pervaded their councils.

Under these circumstances, the armies of the rival powers had taken the field. The Austrian forces, to the amount of fifty-five thousand, assembled between the Inn and the Lech, under the command of the Archduke Charles. Generals Starray and Hotze headed about twenty thousand more in the Palatinate, and the country of the Grisons; General Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol, with about twenty-five thousand, and an army of at least sixty thousand, under General Kray, prepared to enter Italy, and reconquer Lombardy.

The command of the French "army of the Danube" was confided to General Jourdan; and his plan of the campaign was on the most grand and imposing scale. This sanguine general proposed, that he himself should be placed at the head of eighty thousand men, while three subordinate bodies, consisting, one of forty thousand for the Rhine, another of the same number for the Tyrol, and the last of twenty thousand for Switzerland, should act under his direction. The army of Italy was at the same time to be augmented to one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, and eighty thousand were to be reserved for home service. But the French general, on his arrival at his head-quarters, found that he had been greatly deceived; and instead of commencing the campaign with all the advantages resulting from superior numbers, he was obliged to act on the offensive, in the face of a popular leader and a superior army. Relying on the speedy arrival of succours, his first business was to address a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated, that the Austrians had already passed the line of demarcation. "The emperor," said he, "deceiving the pacific disposition of the French government, has called into the bosom of Germany armed strangers, less known for their military success than their ravages in former wars; and while, scrupulous observers of former treaties, you remained in a firm but peaceable attitude, this prince dared to concert

hostile movements with his new allies, and availed himself, under favour of a perfidious silence, of the advantages resulting from your security." After beseeching his troops to respect the property and the persons of the inhabitants, the French commander-in-chief made the necessary dispositions, and, on the first of March, crossed the Rhine in three different places. General Bernadotte, having summoned Philipsburg, which was resolutely defended by the Rhinegrave of Salm, immediately formed the blockade of that fortress with the army of observation; while Mannheim readily obeyed the summons of another body of French troops, and opened its gates to the invaders.

In reply to the declaration recently circulated by General Jourdan, the archduke published a proclamation, dated the 3d of March, from his head-quarters at Friedberg, in which he impeached the faith of the directory. He complained that, immediately after the conclusion of the most solemn treaties, "the peaceable people of Switzerland were subjugated, and violent means adopted by the French, to change that country into a slavish ally, for the purpose of establishing themselves on the flanks of Germany." The capture of Ehrenbreitstein, was also deemed an act of aggression; and it was intimated, that a design had been formed "to extend the limits of the Helvetic republic, as far as the Danube, and to make that river and the Lech its boundaries." These proclamations, issued by the hostile commanders, were followed by declarations published on the part of the emperor, and on the part of the directory, in which they charged each other with violating the faith of treaties, and with again plunging the continent of Europe into all the horrors of war.

The approximation of the rival armies having now rendered an action inevitable, the archduke removed his head-quarters, on the 20th of March, to Umerdorf, near Biberach, and determined to give battle immediately to the French, who had now reached Pfullendorf, and were posted on a line, with the right at Salmansweiler and Mandorf, their centre near Stokach, and the left at Mingen. The imperialists, upon this occasion, were superior in point of numbers, and possessed a manifest advantage, in respect to artillery, having brought no less than three hundred pieces of cannon into the field. The day was, however, contested with great bravery on both sides, and Jourdan continued to maintain his position, until night put an end to the action; when, under cover of darkness, he retreated to a station near Engen. On the 25th, the archduke having concerted the necessary dispositions, and increased his army by the accession of additional forces, to upwards of se-

venty thousand combatants, his royal highness determined once more to try the fortune of arms.

This second battle was fought in the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods ; and such was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitering in person, instead of assuming, as usual, a centre position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. The French, in consequence of a vigorous attack on the right wing of the Austrians, were at first successful, and Count de Nauendorf, and Prince Schwartzemberg, were both forced to fall back, while General Vandamme succeeded in intercepting the communication with Pfullendorf. The left wing was next assailed, and the Princes of Furstenberg and Anhalt Bernberg, who commanded divisions, were killed in succession : the little town of Leuzingen was also taken possession of by the French, but that of Walevis, and the batteries on the Nellenberg, resisted all their efforts, while the archduke, by detaching two battalions on the flank and rear of the assailants, checked their advance, and obliged a half brigade to surrender. Night, which put an end to the combat, left the victory undecided ; and the ensuing morning discovered the invaders renewing their attack on the village, which had been so gallantly defended the preceding evening. Being, however, once more foiled, and despairing of success, on any other point, General Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of about four thousand men, fell back, with his centre on the heights of Villengen and Rothwell, to cover the valley of Kintzig ; while the right wing, under General Ferino, took post at the entrance of the Val D'Enfer ; and the left, commanded by St. Cyr, occupied the banks of the Kniebiss. The archduke, following up his success, dislodged the enemy from these positions, with considerable loss, and obliged them, after a disorderly retreat, to re-cross the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburgh ; while Jourdan returned to Paris, and imputed the blame of his mis-carriage to the government, who had ordered him, contrary to his own judgment, to attack the imperialists with an inferior army.

While these operations were passing in the Black Forest, Massena, to whom the command of the army of Switzerland was confided, had taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons. He accordingly marched against the imperialists, forced the the important pass of Luciansteg, and obliged the enemy to retire into the Tyrol. But the defeat of the grand army, in Suabia, checked his career, and enabled the Archduke Charles to derange the plan of operations marked out

for the French armies, by marching his victorious troops along the banks of the Rhine, towards Switzerland.

Such was the situation of the armies, when intelligence was received of an event, that seemed destined to awaken the slumbering energies of France, and to cast a cloud over the victories of her enemies. Notwithstanding the rupture between France and the emperor, the congress at Radstadt still continued to sit, with a lingering hope of accommodating the differences on the part of the empire. But the Austrian plenipotentiaries soon after withdrew, and those of the republic were preparing to follow their example, when they received a letter from Colonel Barbacsy, of the Szekler hussars, dated the 28th of April, enjoining them to depart within the space of twenty-four hours. Being determined to comply, without loss of time, with this peremptory order, they set out that very night, two hours after sun-set; but no sooner had they advanced a quarter of a league from the city, than they were despoiled of their papers, and two of their number assassinated. Bonnier fell, pierced with many wounds; Roberjot was murdered, while clasped in the arms of his wife, who vainly hoped to afford him protection; but Jean Debry, though cut with sabres, in the presence of his two daughters, his secretary, and servants, fortunately escaped, by feigning that death which the assassins intended for him. After wandering during the whole night in a wood, he was fortunate enough to return unperceived, to the place in which he had so lately appeared, in a character hitherto deemed inviolate, even among barbarians.

This unexampled murder, astonished all Europe, and of course produced the most violent complaints, on the part of the French government. The directory stated, in an address to the French nation, "that their plenipotentiaries had been recently massacred in cold blood, by the orders of the satellites of Austria. Those illustrious victims, whose character was sacred, have been sacrificed only," it is added, "because they were the representative image of a people, which your ferocious enemy would have been happy to have butchered, without a single exception; similar to that other emperor, who, in his brutal ferocity, wished the Romans had but one head, that he might strike it off with a single blow."

No sooner was this event notified to the gallant archduke, than he promised to inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of his troops as might have committed so foul a murder, and actually delivered up to Massena twelve individuals, found near Radstadt, clothed in the uniform of the Szekler hussars, though it afterwards appeared that they did not be-

long to that regiment. His Imperial Majesty, Francis II. also solemnly pledged his word to institute the necessary inquiries, and exact suitable retribution; but Germany has never yet beheld this guilty and mysterious deed, either explained or expiated.

The war in Italy, where the republican soldiers had formerly gained such decisive conquests, and reaped so many laurels, commenced on the part of France, under very unfavourable auspices. Every thing seemed to demonstrate, that the councils of that country were no longer directed with the same wisdom, nor her armies led with the same ability, as when Carnot planned her campaigns, and Bonaparte fought her battles in that quarter.

The chief command of the republican armies had been transferred from Championnet to Scherer, the French minister at war, and the first efforts of the new general were directed against Tuscany. Having obtained possession of the capital, the port of Leghorn was at the same time seized by General Miollis, and all the property appertaining to the subjects of Great Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, subjected to sequestration; while the grand duke and his family were furnished with a guard of honour, and allowed to proceed, without molestation, to the German capital. From Florence, Scherer marched at the head of his troops to Mantua, where it was determined, by a council of war, to attack the enemy, before they could receive any reinforcements from Suabia, or had effected a junction with the Russians.

The command of the Austrian army had been intrusted to General Kray, who now occupied Verona, and the neighbourhood of that city, with a body of twenty thousand men; from eight to ten thousand were posted at Porto Langnano; the heights of Pastringo, Cyse, and Calmasino, were fortified with great care; and while the right wing extended to the lake of Garda, the left was posted on the Adige, over which were thrown two bridges of boats, which at once maintained the communication, and, in case of exigency, would facilitate a retreat.

The French army of Italy was, on this occasion, formed into several divisions, five of which were to attack the enemy in front, while the sixth, under General Serrurier, received orders to pass the Adige, and, after forming a junction with other troops, posted in the neighbourhood of Trent, to turn the enemy's flank, in the mountains. On the 26th of March, the French advanced in column, and the action commenced in the neighbourhood of Castle Nuovo, between the lake of Garda

and the Adige. The battle continued, with various success, from sun-rising till night ; during which General Moreau, who served upon this occasion as a volunteer, and assumed the direction of the right wing of the army, took fourteen hundred prisoners ; but Scherer, who had taken post on the left, being routed, Moreau was obliged to relinquish his advantages, and retreat across the Adige to Peschiera. In the course of the day, the post of Massino was carried by the French, no less than seven different times, by means of fresh troops ; but they were finally repulsed with severe loss, and General Kaim, who was himself wounded, observed in his report, “ that there was no former example of so deadly a fire of musket shot having been maintained, without interruption, during the space of eighteen hours.”

Three days after this sanguinary conflict, Scherer again attacked all the Austrian posts. Having dislodged General Kaim from his position before Verona, he threw bridges over the Adige, and detached a division which drove back the advanced posts of the imperialists to within half a league of that city, and succeeded in gaining a height which covered their right flank. To repel this attack, General Kray detached the division of General Frolich, which, marching through the city, fell upon the French in three columns, and, after an obstinate resistance, drove them from the eminence. This retreat was so precipitate, and the pursuit so vigorous, that the bridges were broken down, and almost a whole column of the enemy were prevented from passing the Adige. Part of them were in consequence compelled to surrender, and the remainder made a fruitless attempt to escape through the mountains. In this battle, so disastrous to the arms of France, their loss was estimated at seven thousand men.

But the fate of Italy still hung in suspense, when the commander despatched by the Emperor Paul arrived at Verona, on the 18th of April, with his advanced guard, and took upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, now estimated at 100,000 men. The moment must be allowed to have been peculiarly favourable for the new commander ; as the French, after successive defeats, were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and had become so much inferior in point of numbers, that nothing but a sudden retreat could save them from captivity. It was at this critical period that Scherer resigned to General Moreau the command of his reduced and dispersed army, which did not exceed thirty-five thousand men, harrassed by severe marches, and intimidated by recent defeats. A retreat having therefore become absolutely necessary, Isola della Scala and Villa Franca were abandoned in

succession ; the Mincio was crossed, and the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua being abandoned to their fate, Generals Kray and Klanau formed the blockade of both, with a body of twenty-five thousand men.

Suworow, more distinguished as a vigorous warrior than as a skilful general, hastened to avail himself of the advantages he enjoyed over a retreating foe, and two days after his arrival at head-quarters, the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of one thousand men, capitulated to the troops under his command. Having crossed the Oglio, and advanced in three columns to the right bank of the Adda, the French were found strongly posted on the opposite side, having fortified Cassino, and made all the necessary preparations for an obstinate resistance. Notwithstanding these preparations, the Russian General Vukassowich found means to cross the river during the night on a flying bridge, and to take post on the right bank, near Brivio. The next morning, an Austrian column under General Ott, passed the same river near the castle of Trezzo, and falling in with Grenier's division, forced it to give way. The village of Pezzo was next carried sword in hand ; and General Melas, appointed to march with his artillery against Cassino, forced the intrenchments of the Ritorto canal, while a division of the French army at Bertero, under the command of General Serrurier, was completely surrounded, and obliged, after a gallant resistance, to capitulate. These engagements, fought on the 27th of April, determined the fate of the Cisalpine republic, and on the morning of the following day, the conquerors entered the city of Milan. About the same time, the Field-marshal Count de Bellegarde obtained an uninterrupted series of successes, in a war of posts, in the mountainous regions of the Engadine ; while Hotze, by a general attack on the French troops in the Grison country, dislodged them from all their positions between Luciensteig and Coire, with a loss on the part of the enemy of sixteen pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners. In Switzerland, several partial insurrections directed against the French authorities took place at the same period ; the whole canton of Uri was in arms ; the people of the Valais, protected by a body of Austrians, under General Kaim, had risen in mass ; and a great part of the Valteline was in possession of the imperialists. To complete this reverse of fortune, Peschiera surrendered after a short siege to General Count St. Julien ; Mantua was closely pressed ; the capital of Piedmont was at the same time threatened by a column of the allies ; and Moreau, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to aban-

don his strong position between the Po and the T'enaro, after defeating General Vukassowich on the banks of the Bormida.

Hitherto Suworow appeared to have justified the appointment of his sovereign, and the high opinion formed of his talents by all Europe. But it soon became evident that he was unacquainted with war on a grand scale, and equally ignorant of the nation, and of the general with whom he had to contend. Instead of moving in a compact body, and aiming a concentrated blow at his already enfeebled enemy, he endeavoured to embrace a great variety of objects at the same moment, and dissipated his strength by striking at the extremities, when he ought to have levelled a mortal blow at the heart. Acting upon this impolitic principle, he undertook the siege of Turin in person, while General Kray, with twenty-five thousand men under his command, was instructed to break ground before Mantua, hitherto only surrounded. Orders were at the same time given to attack the castle of Milan ; to blockade Alexandria, Tortona, Ferrara, and Bologna ; to open the trenches before Pizzighitone ; and to occupy the passes of Susa, Pigneral, and the Col d'Assiete. At the same time, Major-general Hohenzollern was posted at Modena, with a considerable body of troops, and Lieutenant-general Ott detached with ten thousand men, while the main body of the Russians advanced into Piedmont.

This loose and injudicious partition of the allied army presented General Moreau with an excellent opportunity of retrieving the losses he had lately sustained in Italy, and he did not fail to seize the occasion with a promptitude peculiar to his character. Accordingly, although he had now retreated in succession from the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont, within the rugged frontier of the Ligurian republic, and was left with only twenty-eight thousand men, he detached General Victor with a whole division to strengthen the army of Naples, while measures were adopted on his own part to form a junction with the united force ; hoping in that case to be able to overcome the enemy's troops, rendered weak by extension, and incapable of succouring each other for want of connection. To render this plan of operations complete, General Macdonald, by order of the commander-in-chief, immediately evacuated Rome and Naples, after leaving strong garrisons in St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, and marched towards Florence, with a view of uniting with Generals Gauthier and Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Tuscany, and of receiving the succours now advancing to his relief from the head-quarters of Moreau.

The disasters of the French in Italy were productive of ex-

traordinary changes in the southern part of that peninsula and subjected those who had taken part in the revolutions in Naples and Rome to the most terrible responsibility.

Ferdinand IV. although he had abandoned his capital, was not wholly forsaken by his subjects. The inhabitants of the provinces, in particular, still retained an affection for their absent king, and a zeal of sufficient energy to render them ready to sacrifice their lives in his cause.—These sentiments had been carefully cherished by the Cardinal Ruffo, who repaired to Calabria, where he raised a number of new levies round the royal standard. Having overcome the detachments sent against him, in several actions, he determined on still greater exploits. And no sooner was intelligence received that the French had evacuated Naples, than, after collecting the wreck of General Mack's army, and being joined by a body of English and Russians, he marched against the capital, of part of which he made himself master on the feast of St. Anthony, who immediately succeeded to all the honours of St. Januarius, now considered as an apostate and a jacobin, and deposed without ceremony, on account of the decided protection he had afforded to the French invaders. The executive directory of Naples, the members of the legislature, and all those who had held any offices under, or had countenanced the Parthenopean republic, were now driven from the city, and obliged to take shelter within the fortresses, which fell in succession into the hands of the royal forces; and on the 13th of July, Fort St. Elmo, the last and the strongest of these military stations, was obliged to capitulate to the allies, assisted by a body of British seamen.

The revolution in Naples was different in many respects from that of any other country in Europe; here the *lazzaroni*, composed of the very dregs of a luxurious capital, appear to have been the most strenuous supporters of royalty; whilst the nobles and the clergy supported the French interest with ardour, and discharged with unremitting assiduity the functions of the Parthenopean government. No sooner had the city of Naples surrendered to the authority of Ferdinand, than the executions commenced, and the Chevaliers Massa, Serra, Julien Colonna, and the Prince de Strongoli were among the first victims. Belloni and Pistici, two priests, were hanged near the Vicaria; the Adjutant-general Grimaldi burst from the hands of the guards, and perished fighting against them. Manthone, the minister at war, suffered by the hand of the executioner, glorying in his conduct: and Dominico Cirillo, on being interrogated as to his condition, replied, "Under the despotism I was a physician; in the time of the

republic a representative of the people; at present I am a hero."* These form only a small number of the persons who expiated their treason against the king with their lives; some perished by their own hands, to avoid the disgrace of a public execution; others were burnt within their palaces; and many hundreds were torn to pieces by an infuriated populace. Nor was the softer sex exempt from this horrible proscription: Eleonora Fonseca, who had conducted a public journal in the French interest, the Marchioness of Piementello, and eighteen ladies of distinction, were executed by the cord; while the Dutchesses of Cassano and Popoli were shut up for life in a penitentiary prison. These terrible examples do not appear to have given stability to the government, for the king, apprehending a second invasion, and not deeming it safe to remain at Naples, thought fit to return again to Sicily, and to fix his residence once more at Palermo.

The satisfaction derived from the retreat of the French army was not confined to the kingdom of Naples, but extended to every part of Italy. In Tuscany, no less than forty thousand of the inhabitants, on learning the disasters of Moreau and Macdonald, immediately flew to arms, and attacked the republicans on every side. The garrison of Florence, alarmed for its safety, immediately abandoned the capital, on which the populace cut down the tree of liberty, and the ancient magistrates resumed their functions. A few days after, a column of Austrians obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca; and Leghorn was evacuated in consequence of a capitulation which restored the former government.

Rome, however, yet remained unconquered; but the most vigorous measures were now taken to subdue that city; and while a body of Tuscan troops, aided by a detachment of Neapolitans, invested the ancient capital of the world, Captain Trowbridge, who had appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, with an English squadron under his command, summoned General Garnier, the commander of the garrison, to surrender. Feeling an entire confidence in the good faith of the British, a negotiation was entered into with the captain, which terminated in a convention on the 20th of September, and by which it was agreed to surrender Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the posts adjacent to both, on condition that the troops should be sent to France; that the allies of the republic, who had either acted in a public capacity, or served along with the Romans, should be allowed to depart unmolested; and that no Roman citizen should be called to account for his conduct

* Mem. des dernieres Revol. de Naples.

during the occupation of Rome by the French. The provisions of this treaty were strictly enforced, and the counter-revolution of Rome was unattended by any of those horrors which a sanguinary policy had inflicted upon Naples.

Macdonald, having reached Florence without encountering any obstacles whatever, collected the scattered forces throughout Tuscany, and finding himself at the head of thirty-eight thousand troops, all of whom, with the exception of a Polish legion, consisted of French, he determined immediately to act on the offensive. After forcing the allies to raise the siege of Fort Urbino, he despatched Olivier, with a division of the centre, against Modena, of which he obtained possession on the 12th of June, and drove the Austrians beyond the Po; while General Kray, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, drew off his heavy artillery from before Mantua, and posted himself in such a situation as to prevent that city from being relieved. In the mean time, Macdonald, although suffering under a wound received in a late action, continued to advance, and having arrived at Piacenza, and formed a junction with General Victor, he attacked General Ott on the same day, and obliged him to fall back on the Castle of Giovanni.

No sooner had Suworow obtained intelligence of the victorious career of the French general, than he marched with the principal part of his force to Alexandria, leaving General Kaim to prosecute the siege of Turin in his absence. Having collected his troops, he advanced to the Trebia, at the head of seventeen battalions of Russians, twelve battalions of Austrian dragoons, and three regiments of Cossacks, and by forced marches arrived with his advanced guard to the support of General Ott, who, after experiencing considerable losses, was now in full retreat. The meeting of the hostile armies took place at a village six miles distant from Piacenza, where a general engagement took place, on the 17th, which was continued with undiminished gallantry and perseverance through the two following days. Suworow began the attack, on the left wing of the French, with fixed bayonets, while their right wing and flank were assailed with equal impetuosity. Macdonald, who had advanced against the centre, seeing himself assailed on all sides, fell back behind the Tidone, where he received the enemy with so brisk a fire of artillery and small arms, that nothing further could be effected in the course of the night. Early the next morning, the allies crossed the Tidone, on the banks of which they had encamped the preceding night, and advanced in four columns against the French, who were drawn up in line of battle along the course of the Trebia, one of the most rapid rivers in Italy. At length the van-guard, under the command of Prince Pang-

razion, with four squadrons of the Karaczay horse, and four regiments of Cossacks, reached the left wing of the French army a little after noon. Having turned the flank, they again assailed the adversary with fixed bayonets; and so terrible was the charge, that five hundred republicans remained dead on the field of battle; while the adjutant-general, two colonels, and six hundred privates of the Polish regiment of Dembrowski, were made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, and a standard, taken. By another attack made on the centre, the French were driven over the Trebia; but Macdonald, undismayed, and as yet unvanquished, soon after recrossed the river with a body of ten thousand men. The French, now become the assailants, were received with undaunted resolution by a Russian column, and forced, by an uninterrupted fire of musketry and cannon, which continued till eleven o'clock at night, to retire and remain on the opposite bank of the river. Still the conflict was not decided. The third day's battle did not commence until two hours after noon, as the French waited for a reinforcement under General Lapoype, while the allies were not disinclined to obtain a respite after the multiplied evolutions of the two former actions. At length, notwithstanding the expected reinforcement had not arrived, the republicans determined on a final effort, and the left wing attempted once more to cross the river; but, after a gallant struggle, they were driven back with considerable loss, by Prince Pangrazion. Soon after, the assault was renewed with redoubled violence, on the column commanded by General Sweykowski. In two subsequent attacks the French succeeded in regaining the opposite bank of the Trebia, and the fate of the combat hung for a considerable time in suspense; but at length, after a horrible carnage, a column, which had been ordered to assail the flank of Field-marshal-lieutenant Ott, was forced to retreat before the iron ramparts of the Russian phalanx, and Prince Pangrazion, whose skill and gallantry had contributed so much to secure the victory that awaited the allies, having advanced with a body of infantry, while the Austrian General Melas brought up the artillery at a critical moment, Macdonald was compelled to retreat to the right bank of the Trebia. The trophies obtained by the allies on this occasion, consisted of the field of battle, on which upwards of twelve hundred of the enemy lay extended, seven hundred prisoners, three stand of colours, and several pieces of artillery. The vanquished army took advantage of the approach of night to retire in two columns to Piacenza, where the four French generals, Olivier, Ruska, Sulm, and Cambran, with several field officers, and between four and five thousand sol-

diers, who had been wounded in the late murderous actions, were left behind, and fell into the hands of the enemy, who advanced to Fiorenzello, where Suworow received the first intelligence that he had been foiled by his rival.

While the Austro-Russian commander-in-chief was engaged on the banks of the Trebia, Moreau, taking advantage of his absence, left Genoa at the head of twenty-nine thousand men, and marching by the Bochette, Gavi, and Novi, descended into the plain, where, on the 20th of June, he attacked and beat Field-marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. No sooner did the Russian field-marshal receive intelligence of these sinister events, than he abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, and endeavoured by a rapid counter-march to overtake General Moreau, who, after fighting another battle, retreated within the precincts of the Ligurian republic, and bid defiance to his disappointed foe.

Suworow, however, was consoled in this disappointment by the intelligence of the surrender of Turin, on the 22d of June, and with the capture of Bologna, which fell into the hands of the allies eight days afterwards. In the mean time, Macdonald pursued his march towards Tuscany, and although both himself and General Victor had been wounded in the late battles on the Trebia, yet he continued to head the column, and after collecting all his forces, and leaving his camp at Postoia, marched towards Lucca, where he entered the Genoese territory, and formed a junction with General Moreau. Thus ended a memorable expedition, in the course of which the French lost more than twelve thousand men; yet Macdonald derived no little glory from a retreat effected without the surrender of a single battalion, although undertaken after the loss of a pitched battle, and in the face of a superior force.

The Italian fortresses, being now destitute of a covering army, were obliged to yield to the besiegers, and the surrender of Fort Urbino, and St. Leon, were followed in rapid succession by the capitulation of the garrison of Alexandria, and the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua; the former on the 21st, and the latter on the 28th of July: and Suworow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but he was kept in check by the army of Moreau, which still occupied its formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and although inferior in point of numbers, prevented the advance of the allies by threatening to fall upon his rear. The young men of the requisition were, at the same time, put in motion

on the frontier, and Championnet, who had been reinstated in the southern service, was employed in assembling an army of forty thousand men, in the vicinity of Grenoble. Supplies were also sent to the army of Italy, and the chief command of that army was, by the caprice of the directory, transferred from General Moreau to General Joubert, who received orders to act on the offensive, and to attempt the immediate relief of Tortona. In pursuance of this order, the French general advanced against the enemy at the head of thirty-six thousand combatants, and encamped, on the 13th of August, upon the heights of Novi.

The French army being divided into three columns, the right, commanded by General St. Cyr, was posted on the Scrivia; the left, under General Perignon, at Pastarana; and the centre, led by General Ney, occupied the heights; while General Dombrowski with a small corps invested the fort of Serra-Valle, at that time in possession of the Austrians.

The allies were far superior in numbers: Suworow and Melas were at the head of thirty-five thousand troops, of their respective nations; fifteen thousand Piedmontese, who had formerly obliged the garrison of Cevi to surrender, now acted as light troops; while General Kray entered the camp on that very day with eighteen thousand troops, set at liberty by the fall of Mantua.

The French commander, being as yet undecided on the conduct he should pursue, repaired, on the morning of the 14th, along with Moreau, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, whom they found posted with his right at Bocco, the left at Tortona, and the centre at Pozzolo. Suworow, conscious of his superior strength, and determined to anticipate the French, whom he knew to be always most formidable when they were the assailants, attacked their left wing; and the French general, on his return, found that the action had become general. Eager to animate his troops by his presence, General Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart; still he continued, even in the agonies of death, to exhort to deeds of heroism, and fell exclaiming, "March! march! and fight for the republic!" The loss of their general diminished not the ardour of the soldiers. The allies were received every where with intrepidity. The two armies were engaged along the whole extent of their line. The slaughter was terrible, but no impression was made on either side. Thrice did Suworow charge the centre of the enemy, in person, at the head of his gallant veterans, and thrice was he repulsed by the invincible valour of the French legions. Moreau, who again took upon

him the command on the death of Joubert, was here opposed to Suworow, and, assisted by the Generals St. Cyr and Desolles, achieved acts worthy of admiration. In the mean time, General Melas, with the left wing of the allies, reached the heights of Novi, on the side of Pietalle, and marching along the banks of the Scrivia, completely succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army. This grand manœuvre decided the victory. The danger of being surrounded, compelled the French general to abandon the field of battle to the allies, who took four generals, and four thousand prisoners, with thirty-seven pieces of cannon, and fifty-seven tumbrils. The rear-guard of the enemy suffered much in the attempt to cover the retreat ; and night, which alone saved them from destruction, enabled them to rally their scattered forces, and once more to occupy their former position near Genoa.

The battle of Novi was attended with immense advantages to the allies, as it permitted them to send a body of troops into Switzerland, and render them masters of Tortona, which had agreed to surrender, if not relieved before a stipulated day. Nor did the Russian general fail upon this occasion to receive the most gracious testimonies of approbation from his sovereign, who, by a special ukase, conferred upon him the title of *Prince Italiski*.

The success of the allies had been hitherto uniformly brilliant, both in Germany, which now seemed to be exempt from the dangers of invasion, and in Italy, where most of the principal fortresses had fallen before their prowess and perseverance. But no sooner did the French cease to be formidable, than the fatal effects of jealousy began to be visible, both in the councils and in the camps of the two nations ; and the suspicion and distrust of the armies had, at length, attained such an alarming height, that it was deemed impolitic to confine their exertions to the same theatre. Accordingly, after frequent consultations, measures were taken, if not to accommodate their differences, at least to prevent them from proving hurtful to the common cause. In consequence of this, it was resolved, that Melas should continue the war in Italy ; while the Russians, under Italiski, should enter Switzerland, and after defeating the army of Massena, should penetrate into the territories of the French republic.

The commencement of the campaign in Switzerland was peculiarly auspicious to the French ; as Massena not only obliged the Austrians to evacuate the country of the Grisons, but also sent detachments, under Lecourbe and Desolles, into the Tyrol, towards the source of the Inn and the Adige, and thus secured a double entrance into Italy and Germany at the

same time. But these successes were of short duration, for as soon as the season for military operations would permit, the Archduke Charles despatched Count Neuondorff and Major-general Piaëzce, against Schaffhausen and Peterhausen, and both these places fell, about the 18th of April, into the hands of the Austrians. In the mean time, General Hotze attacked and carried the fortress of Luciensteig, and was fortunate enough, on the same occasion, to surround and capture the greater part of a demi-brigade, with eight pieces of cannon. Nor did his success end here; as he soon after seized on Coire, the capital of the Grisons, and forced the republicans to evacuate the whole of that country.

The archduke, having chased the invaders from the German territory, passed the Rhine between Dissenkofen and Schaffhausen, without opposition, and moved forward to Aldenfingen, on the Thur. Two columns, under General Hotze and Prince Reuss, soon after advanced to attack the enemy's positions near Wintherthur, on which the French retired to the banks of the Tress, and of the Glatt, in succession. Massena, having concentrated his forces, assumed a strong position, in front of Zurich, his flanks being posted on the adjoining hills, and his centre covered with a chain of redoubts. On the 4th of June, the archduke passed the Glatt, and on the same day took up his head-quarters at Klotten. After reconnoitring the enemy's position, which nature and art had conspired to strengthen, he ordered some villages to be attacked on part of his line, but they were obstinately defended, and taken and retaken several times in the course of the day. On the following morning, the archduke renewed the attack upon the enemy's intrenchments with his whole force, and after a well contested battle, in which the Austrians numbered three,* and the French four† generals, among the wounded, night put an end to the contest, leaving the palm of victory still unawarded. The Austrian prince, determined to try the fate of another day, gave orders to renew the attack on the morning of the 6th; but Massena, who had already suffered considerably, thought proper to withdraw across the Limmat, under cover of the preceding night, leaving behind him thirty-five pieces of cannon, three howitzers, and a number of ammunition waggons. The result of this engagement enabled the Austrians to establish their head-quarters at Zurich, on the 7th, and obliged General Massena to retreat to Mount Albis,

* Generals Hotze, Wallis, and Hiddler.

† Generals Cherin, Oudinot, Humbert, and De Ville.

his left being flanked by the Rhine, and his right by the lake of Zug.

Never did France appear to be in a more critical situation than at this moment. Her armies were every where inferior, every where dispirited, and every where overcome. Of all her Italian conquests, the barren rocks of Liguria alone remained in possession of the republicans; from Germany her troops had recently been expelled; and the greater part of Helvetia had now submitted to the conquerors. Holland was also at this period threatened with invasion by England; while Russia poured forth, with no parsimonious hand, her well disciplined battalions on the fertile plains of Lombardy, and on the rugged mountains of Switzerland. In this extremity, the republic was saved for a time, by the increased vigour infused into the executive government from the revolution of the 18th of June. No sooner were Treillard, Larevelliere, and Merlin, succeeded in the directorial office by Roger Ducos, Gonier, and Moulin, than the most energetic measures were adopted to reinforce all the armies, and to enable them once more to act on the offensive. A law was immediately passed for embodying the whole of the military conscription, which consisted of nearly all the youth of France; and a decree was obtained to raise the sum of one hundred millions of livres, for the purpose of carrying on the war with increased vigour.

The indefatigable Massena, having received fresh supplies of men and provisions, advanced over Mount Albis, and recommenced operations against the archduke, before that prince had effected a junction with a large body of Russians, now in full march for Schaffhausen, under the command of Rimsikor-sakaw. The system of attack adopted on this occasion by the French was equally bold and successful: A column of the republicans, detached across the Limmat, was fortunate enough to penetrate into the Austrian camp, on the 14th of August, and to carry terror and dismay into that city, which they had been so lately forced to abandon. On the day succeeding this partial attack, another combined operation took place along the whole extent of the left wing of the Austrian line: General Chabran having scaled the heights of Richtersuyl, Etzel, and Schindelezzi, threatened to turn the position of Zurich; while Lecourbe, embarked with a choice body of troops on board a flotilla, prepared for him on the lake of the four cantons, landed at Fluellen, forced the famous pass of the Devil's bridge, took possession of St. Gothard, and seized on the Valais.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Aus-

trians and Russians, the French army of observation encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz, received orders to take the field; and General Muller, to whose charge this duty was confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Mannheim, and pushed his advanced guard as far as Heidelberg; while Baraguy d'Hilliers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Francfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt. No sooner had the archduke learnt that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and seizing on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, than he sent forward a strong detachment, and having conferred the command of the Austrian army in Switzerland on General Hotze, soon after re-crossed the Rhine in person.

While the Austrian chief was successfully employed in repressing the late incursions of the foe in Germany, Massena, availing himself of the absence of the prince, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Switzerland, before the arrival of Suworow rendered a defensive system once more necessary. Accordingly, after a number of evolutions, he approached Zurich on the 24th of September, and ordered Lecourbe, an officer admirably skilled in the warfare of mountainous regions, to enter the valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the allies, commanded by General Hotze. At the same time, the French general detached Lorges against the Russians, encamped on the opposite side of the Limmat; while two columns, under Generals Mortier and Klein, were directed to attack the centre, and General Soult to carry the advanced posts of the Austrians.

On the morning of the 25th, these combined movements, stretching on an immense line from the confines of the country of the Grisons, to the banks of the Rhine, were all carried into execution, and the battle commenced with equal gallantry on both sides. By one of those disastrous events, on which not only the fate of battles, but even the destiny of nations is sometimes suspended, General Hotze received a mortal wound early in the engagement, and was taken lifeless from the field. General Petrasch, upon whom the command of the left wing now devolved, finding himself overpowered by superior numbers, soon found it necessary to retreat with precipitancy before the assailants; and Prince Korsakow, being unable to withstand the reiterated assaults of the enemy's columns, was obliged to give way; on which the French troops carried Zurich by assault, and a considerable body of Russian troops posted in that city was obliged to surrender. The immediate

result of this battle consisted in the immense slaughter of the Austro-Russian army : the capture of five thousand prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, and fifteen standards, in addition to the principal part of the baggage of the Russians ; and the immediate retreat of the allies, first to the banks of the Thur, and afterwards across the Rhine.

The heroic Russian chief, grown hoary in camps, but still animated by the glowing ardour of youth, having crossed the plains of Piedmont, defeated the troops of Lecourbe, and possessed himself of the heights of St. Gothard, was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies at Zurich ; and this disastrous intelligence was speedily confirmed by the approach of the retreating Russians. Foaming with rage at a sight so novel to a general unaccustomed to see the Russian legions fly before their adversaries, he had recourse to threats, and intimated to Prince Korsakow, that " he should answer with his head if he made another retrograde step." That unfortunate general, burning with desire to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, immediately re-assembled the wreck of his troops ; and having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Conde, and the Bavarian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of his commander, by re-assuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of Massena. But the latter, who had so lately dispelled the charm of Russian invincibility, proved his superiority by securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a near approach not merely difficult, but even fatal. Suworow, undismayed by the difficulties of his situation, displayed prodigies of valour and intrepidity, although engaged on a new theatre, entangled in the defiles of a country with which he was totally unacquainted, and engaged in a novel species of warfare. His troops, fainting under the burthen of their accoutrements and provisions, and but just snatched from the delicious climate of Italy, paused, and contemplated with horror the snow and ice elevated above the clouds. At times they began to murmur, and declared they would rather lay down their arms than be exposed to incessant combats, where valour was unavailing, and where life itself was a burthen. This aged chief, whose fortitude never forsook him, dismounting from his horse, and exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, and the fatigue of the common soldier, used by turns to praise the perseverance of the bold, and repress the despair of the timid. At one time he would take advantage of the impulse of superstition, and, advancing before the rest, exhibit the revered statue of St. Nicholas to the lagging columns, who, afraid of

being bereft of both their patron and their general at once, immediately resumed their march. At another, relying on their affection for his person, he would, as a last recourse, stretch his aged limbs on the cold ground, and desire troops to dig his grave, and cover his body over with earth, adding, "that it was the only favour he could demand from those who had refused to follow their father." This species of eloquence was too obvious to be mistaken, and too forcible to be resisted; his soldiers, electrified by the despair of their general, not only seized once more their arms, but solemnly swore that they would never abandon their leader. It was thus that the Russians, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, arrived, on the 3d of October, in the valley of Mitten, and took possession of the bridge after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen was also carried the next day: but here ended the progress of the Russian hero; for Massena not only sent supplies to the detachment under Lecourbe, but shut up the passage between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zurich, and posted a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the ancient abbey of Einsiedlen, by which all further approach in the face of a superior army was interdicted.

Suworow, after penetrating into the canton of Schwitz, was at length so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. This was accordingly effected in a masterly manner; for although pursued by Lecourbe, and harrassed by a column which had been posted for that purpose at Altorf, he succeeded in attaining his object, by withdrawing his troops into the country of the Grisons, with the loss of his wounded, his cannon, and his baggage. No sooner had Massena ascertained that the haughty spirit of Suworow was prepared to bend to his fate, than, multiplying, as usual, his means by his celerity, he marched with his utmost speed against Korsakow, hitherto kept in check by General Ferino; and having come up with the allies, on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, he immediately commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, unable to withstand the shock, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of emigrants, stood firm, and being led on by the Duke D'Enghien, displayed their wonted valour, and acted as a rear-guard to cover the retreat of their companions in arms; while Bauer, a Russian general, who found his detachment cut off from the main army, and in imminent danger of being made prisoners, burst through the enemy's infantry, and rejoined his countrymen, after leaving Constance for the third time in the possession of the republicans.

Thus ended the conflict of Zurich, continued for fifteen days, and extending over one half of Switzerland. Within a space of eighty miles in length, and fifty in breadth, there was not a single pass among the mountains, with which the whole country is covered, that had not been disputed in pitched battles, occupied as posts, or traversed by armies. The loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, has been computed at twenty-five thousand men, and that of the French at fifteen thousand, in killed, wounded and prisoners.

The scale of fortune by this time visibly preponderated on the side of the republicans, who had become once more masters of Switzerland, had retaken St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons. The late victory achieved, in the central part of the armies, afforded an opportunity for the flank to move forward. Accordingly, General Muller once more penetrated into Germany, seized again on Francfort, Manheim, and Heidelberg, and threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution.

In the midst of the rejoicings of the court of St. Petersburg at the news of the brilliant successes of Suworow in Italy, the Emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not actuated by a zeal "for the cause of sovereigns" ardent as that with which he was inspired, issued an official notification, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, calling upon them to unite their forces with his, and expressing his determination, if properly supported, never to sheath the sword till he had seen the downfall of the monster which threatened to crush all legal authorities."*

* DECLARATION

Made by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the Members of the German Empire.

"His imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to despatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the United Netherlands, and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire, and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe.—Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order. His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity. Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally

Scarcely had this sanguine declaration reached those to whom it was addressed, when Suworow, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, having collected the wreck of his army at Coire, ordered the remains of Korsakow's troops, and the corps of Conde, to form a junction with him at that place; and, after some delay, he proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of one hundred thousand men, who had either left Russia with him eight months before, or joined his army within that period, scarcely fifty thousand reached the banks of the Lech. After having thus lost sixty thousand of his best warriors, the veteran field-marshal, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, retired to his native country, where, being exposed at the same time to the frowns of fortune, and the neglect of a capricious prince, he soon perished, either by poison or despair.*

around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause, so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph."

"Gatsehina, September 15, (O. S.) 1799."

* SUWOROW RIMINISKI ITALISKI (ALEXANDER) was born in the year 1730, and descended from an ancient family. His father, who had been a general, and afterwards became a senator, intended him for the magistracy; but young Suworow, aspiring only to arms, entered into the service of his country, as a common soldier, in 1746, and in the seven years' war against Prussia, advanced, step by step, to the rank of colonel. During the campaigns in Poland, from 1769 to 1772, he attained increased renown, and the order of Newski was conferred upon him by Catharine II. for the distinguished part he performed in effecting the dismemberment of that state. His successive victories over the Turks, at Silistria and Kinburn, obtained for him the orders of St. George and St. Andrew; and his successes over the Tartars, exalted him to the rank of commander-in-chief, in the service of his imperial mistress. In 1789, he was employed at the head of a detached body of Prince Potemkin's army, acting in concert with the Austrian general, the Prince of Cobourg, against the Turks, and on the 21st of July, gained with him, the battle of Forhani; but, on the 22d of September, the general of the Austrian army having suffered himself to be surrounded by that of the grand vizier, one hundred thousand strong, Suworow, who had only ten thousand men, fell unexpectedly upon the Turks, and, after a terrible conflict, remained master of the field of battle. "My friends," cried he to the soldiers, on this occasion, "do not look at the eyes of the enemy, but look at their breasts, it is there you must strike." This victory, gained near the river of Riminisk, obtained him the surname of Riminiski, and the title of Count of the Roman empire. While acting under the command of Prince Potemkin, he was ordered to storm and carry the Ottoman fortress of Ismail, which had withstood a siege of seven months, and still defied all the efforts of General Gudowitsch. On the third day after his arrival before that city he assembled his troops, and concluded an address, calculated to inflame their military ardour to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, in these terms:—"Soldiers! provisions are dear—

The war in Italy, which had languished while the operations of the principal armies were prosecuted in Switzerland, was now renewed with undiminished vigour. And no sooner had the Austrian army, under Melas, advanced into the neighbourhood of Coni, and prepared to lay siege to that fortress, than General Championnet, collecting his whole force, which amounted to twenty-five thousand men, marched to Savigliano to give him battle. On the morning of the 4th of November, the two armies formed in the plain, and the action commenced by a furious attack directed against the column of General Grenier, by General Ott, which forced the republi-

no quarter!" The attack was then made; twice the Russians were repulsed and driven back with terrible slaughter, but the third effort was successful, the city fell, and 20,000 Turks were put to the sword.— This victory he announced to the empress in these laconic terms, "Madam, the proud Ismail is at your feet." In his first wars, after taking the town of Toutoukai, his despatch was equally brief, "Glory to God! praise to Catharine!" said Suworow, "the town is taken, and I am in it!" In 1792, he carried Warsaw, and in the capital of Poland repeated the sanguinary scenes of Ismail. For this victory, which laid at the feet of his sovereign that devoted country, he was rewarded with the title of field-marshal; and the empress, in a letter addressed to the victorious marshal, and written by her own hand, said:—You know, general, that I do not promote any one before his turn, but you have made yourself field-marshal by the conquest of Poland."

After the death of Catharine, Suworow fell into disgrace at court, for venturing to condemn the love of innovation displayed by her successor; but at length the capricious Paul re-instated him in his favour; and in the year 1799, the command of the Austro-Russian army was confided to the hero of Ismail. While fighting on the plains of Italy, and opposed to inferior numbers, the achievements of the veteran general seemed to justify the partiality of his sovereign, and the expectation of Europe; but no sooner had he entered upon the mountainous regions of Switzerland, than his laurels began to wither, and at the close of the campaign of 1799, the sun of his military renown set, never more to rise. On his return to Russia, in January, 1800, he was coldly received by the emperor, and died on the 18th of May, in the same year, at his estate of Polendorff, in Esthonia, at the age of seventy-one. The Emperor Alexander has erected to him a statue, to which, on its inauguration, Suworow's ancient companies in arms paid the military honours that he would have received himself, and Prince Constantine pronounced his eulogium.

Born with great talents and vivacity, General Suworow possessed considerable information, and spoke several languages with facility. He possessed, in a superior degree, boldness, activity, and the art of inflaming the troops, and attaching them to his destiny; but as a general, he has been reproached with shallow combinations, manœuvres more rapid than wise, and with having used victory to satiate revenge. It is difficult to mention this singular character, without mixed emotions of admiration and horror; in the appellations of *Riminiski*, and *Italiski*, we pay respect to the conqueror of the Turks and of Moreau, but it is impossible to contemplate the hero of Warsaw and Ismail, without deeply deploring the sanguinary scenes which were there transacted, and which will long remain to throw the dark shade of inhumanity over the most illustrious actions of the life of Suworow.

cans to retreat towards Genola. On every other part of the line, the attack of the Austrians was made with equal energy and success, and the approach of night again saved the French army from ruin. The siege of Coni was now prosecuted with vigour, and on the 2d of January, the French commander agreed to capitulate, when two thousand five hundred republicans became prisoners of war.

The success of the allied arms in Italy, served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had this year sustained in other quarters; but on the whole, the campaign was less auspicious in its conclusion, than at its commencement. And the defection of the autocrat of Russia, damped the future expectations of the court of Vienna, and laid the foundation of those melancholy disasters which awaited the common cause.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: *Policy of Bonaparte—Introduction of the Institutions of Civilized Society into Egypt—New Form of Government—Insurrection at Cairo—Dessaix's Expedition into Upper Egypt—Bonaparte's Expedition into Syria—Surrender of El Arisch to the French—Surrender of Jaffa—Charges preferred by Sir Robert Wilson against Bonaparte (note)—Battle of Corsum—The memorable Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Battle of Mount Tabor—Victory over the Angel Mahdi—Siege of Acre raised—Retreat of the French Army across the Desert to Cairo—Signal Victory obtained over the Turks at Aboukir—Bonaparte abandons his Army and returns to France.*

WHILE a new coalition was formed against France, in Europe, her army in the East, shut out from all communication with the native country, since the disastrous battle of the Nile, was employed in the reduction of Egypt. This task proved infinitely more difficult than had been anticipated; for the Mamelukes, although unacquainted with the modern system of warfare, were expert in the exercise of the scimitar, managed their horses with great dexterity, and exhibited a degree of courage and perseverance, not to be surpassed by the veteran troops of the old continent: while the number of the enemies of the invaders was about to be increased by a declaration of war upon the part of the Ottoman Porte. The most dreadful adversary, however, proved to be the plague; the terror of which was so great, even on the part of those who faced death daily in the field of battle, that Desgenettes, the physician at the head of the French medical staff, resorted to stratagem, and endeavoured to conceal the particular



MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

ARABIA PETRÆA

GREAT DESERT OF SELIMA

SCALE
English Miles
10 20 30 40 50

OASIS MAGNA

LOW EGYPT
UPPER EGYPT
OPSAID

RED SEA





malady, under the name of an inflammatory fever, until the existence of the contagion could no longer be denied ; when, braving all its horrors, he inoculated himself with the distemper in the face of the army, and thus affected to condemn that disease which he could not subdue.

No sooner had the battle of the pyramids* placed Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, in possession of Bonaparte, than he hastened to constitute this important station the centre of his military operations. From hence he despatched General Dessaix, in pursuit of Murad Bey, into Upper Egypt ; while the army under his own command chased Ibrahim Bey into the desert. His next concern was to establish a formidable flotilla on the waters of the Nile, which river he began to consider in the light of a great military road ; and provisions, ammunition, and all the instruments of war, were transported in the *germes*, or water-waggons, stationed on its streams.

Notwithstanding the original injustice of the expedition, it cannot be doubted, that the French general endeavoured to compensate, as a legislator, for the wrongs committed, and the miseries inflicted by him, as a warrior. With this view he established a severe discipline among his troops, and took proper measures to supply the markets with abundance from the Delta, which alone furnishes the resources and the delicacies of two hemispheres. He at the same time introduced many of the improvements of civilization ; and among his first efforts of this nature is to be mentioned the establishment of a public library. A chemical laboratory was next erected ; a new liquor, resembling brandy in strength and flavour, was distilled from the date fruit ; substitutes were found for wine and beer ; while salt-petre, so necessary for the purposes of war, was refined by a new and improved process ; hydraulic machines for the purposes of civil life were constructed ; wind-mills for grinding corn, hitherto unknown to the inhabitants, were erected, and biscuit and bread obtained for the first time by the French soldiery in Egypt.—While Cairo thus began to rival the cities of Europe in point of convenience ; literature and the sciences were cultivated, and a learned society was formed on the model of the French Institute, of which all the *savans*, or learned men, who had accompanied the expedition, and even many of the general officers, were eager to become members.

The commander-in-chief, already occupied by so many objects of importance, arising out of the organization of an army, and the government of a new empire, did not disdain to asso-

* See page 421.

ciate his labours with those of men of science. He visited, examined, and speculated on the design and origin of the principal pyramid; he surveyed and re-opened the canal between Alexandria and Rhamanieh; and traced through the desert the course of the ancient canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. But of what service have these gigantic projects been to the present generation, and what utility will be derived from them by posterity, to compensate for the mass of misery inflicted upon the unoffending inhabitants of Egypt by the French invaders?

It was long a problem, whether the discovery of a new continent by Columbus had been advantageous to mankind; and it is to be hoped, that no one, under pretext of playing the hero, will hereafter indulge in the pernicious reverie of destroying or rendering miserable the present race, in the vague hope of conferring happiness on countries yet uncivilized, and millions yet unborn.

Amidst the splendour of arts and arms, the interests of commerce were not forgotten. A trading company was established for the purpose of exchanging the natural productions of Egypt for those of other countries; the merchants were protected, and the imposts levied on commodities of all kinds, rendered fixed and certain. Nor was Bonaparte deficient in that policy, which the western conquerors have been careful to exhibit in the east; he expressed an outward respect for all the doctrines of Islamism; he assisted, along with the officers of his staff, at the grand festivals in honour of the prophet; he paid the utmost attention to the mufti and imans, and began to be designated by the venerable appellation of **ALI!*** Nor did he fail at first to acknowledge the authority

* Wishing to instil a belief of his immediate intercourse with the divinity, Bonaparte, in an address to the Cherifs, Imans, and orators of the Mosque, enjoins them to inculcate into the minds of the people, "that those who become his enemies shall find no refuge either in this world or the next."

"Is there a man so blind," says he, "as not to see that all my operations are conducted by destiny? Instruct the inhabitants that ever since the world has existed, it was written, that after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and destroyed the cross, I should come from the furthest parts of the west, to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see that in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that that which shall take place has already been explained: let those then, whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions; for in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation: let the true believers then present vows for our success. I could call to account each individual amongst you for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated; and the

of the grand signior, whose dominions he had usurped, and to intimate to the divan, that the usual tribute should be collected and remitted to Constantinople.

While the Mahometans were treated with great respect, the Copts and Greeks, so long condemned to ignominy, were taught to look for better days. Schools were established as in Europe for the instruction of their children; marriages were encouraged between the French and the natives; and the condition of the women, always so degrading among the uncivilized, was greatly ameliorated. To supply the loss of men by sickness and the sword, Greeks, Copts, and Arabs, and even some Mamelukes, were invited into the service of France, and being allured by the prospect of sharing the booty of a victorious general, they readily attached themselves to his fortune. A novelty in politics was at the same time attempted; and for the first time, since the days of Mahomet, a deliberative assembly was formed of Mussulman representatives, Divans were established in each of the fourteen provinces of Egypt, and the people were invited to send members to the national assembly at Cairo, where Barthollet and Monge, two men of science, acted as commissioners on behalf of the French, while Abdallah Keykaori, an Arabian prince, exercised the functions of president.†

To impress the Egyptians with a high idea of the power

day will come when all the world shall witness, that as I act in consequence of orders from above, human efforts are of no avail against me." (42.)

(42.) It is necessary here to caution the American reader against placing implicit belief in the authenticity of this, and other proclamations attributed to Napoleon by British writers. On no subject has so much mistake existed as in regard to his conduct in Egypt. Many charges which were made against him in English books, have since been proved to be unfounded; and the gross nature of these falsehoods, is calculated to throw suspicion upon many other assertions, which have not been positively disproved.

† The system of government for the provinces, was comprehended in the following orders:—

"*Head-quarters, Cairo, 9th Thermidor, Year 6, (27th July, 1798.)*

"Art. I. There shall be in each province of Egypt, a Divan, composed of seven persons, charged to watch over the interests of the province, to inform me of every grievance, to prevent the contests which arise between the different villages, to keep a steady eye over the turbulent and seditious, to punish them by calling in a military force under the French commander, and to enlighten the people as often as it shall be found requisite.

"Art. II. There shall be in each province an Aga of the Janissaries, who shall constantly reside with the French commandant. He shall have with him a company of armed men, natives of the country, with whom he shall proceed, whenever his services may be necessary, to

and consequence of their new masters, the anniversary of the establishment of the republic was celebrated at Cairo, with uncommon splendour. At this festival the native spectators were gratified with the appearance of an Arabian sentence, in honour of the prophet,* and the ceremony was concluded with races, after the manner of the ancient games, and was followed by a superb illumination, such as had never before been witnessed in Cairo. In imitation of the Turkish governors, and the ancient kings, Bonaparte also assisted at the annual ceremony which takes place at the opening of the Nile, on which occasion he bestowed alms upon the poor, and invited the principal inhabitants to a splendid entertainment.

But the deeply rooted hostility of the Turks to the invaders, was not to be overcome, either by the hypocrisy of Bonaparte and his followers, or by all the blandishments and parade of which they were masters; for no sooner had the grand signior determined to avenge the outrage committed on his dominions, and given orders to expedite a *firman* against the infidels, than the capital of Egypt became suddenly disaffected, and a new and untried species of danger was about to be experienced from a conspiracy formed in a city, the population of which has been estimated at half a million. (43.)

The insurgents, instigated by their priests, and the adherents of the expatriated beys, having assembled early in the morning of the 21st of October 1798, exhibited many unequivocal marks of discontent. General Dupuy, the commandant of the city, who had advanced at the head of a small force to disperse the malcontents, was assassinated by a number of the rioters, and several officers shared the same fate.—In this extremity orders were given to beat the *generale*; on which the French troops flew to arms, and forming in moveable columns, they marched against the insurgents with several

maintain good order, and to keep every one in tranquillity and obedience.

“Art. III. There shall be in every province an intendant, charged with the collection of the *Miri* and the *Seddaur*; and generally of all the revenues, which belonged heretofore to the Mamelukes, and which appertain at present to the Republic; he shall have with him the necessary number of agents.

“Art. IV. There shall always be with the said intendant, a French agent, for the purpose of corresponding with the administrator of finances, and insuring the execution of such orders as he may receive. and for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the system of administration.

(Signed) “BONAPARTE.”

* “There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.”

(43.) Volney estimates the population at only one half of this number.—*Travels in Egypt*, vol. i. p. 237.

pieces of artillery in their train. The mosques, where the disaffected had taken their stations, and from which a galling fire was directed against the soldiery, were soon forced, when a terrible combat ensued, in which the force and intrepidity of the French were heightened by feelings of indignation. Cannon, placed on the citadel, and on several of the adjoining eminences, were discharged against the town, and the great mosque, and other stations of the insurgents, were burnt, while those who escaped from the flames perished either by the bullet or the bayonet. These sanguinary scenes continued throughout the whole of the 21st and the 22d of October, and order was not restored till the 23d, when the cherifs, and principal residents, supplicated the clemency of Bonaparte, and obtained a general pardon.

In the mean time, Dessaix was employed in Upper Egypt, in the arduous undertaking of expelling Murad Bey from the Said. After traversing the Nile for a considerable distance, the French general arrived at Siut, but the Arabs and Mamelukes dispersed at his approach. At length, he came up with the main body, at Sediman, consisting of about three thousand Mamelukes, and from eight to ten thousand Arabs. On the 16th of October, at sun-rise, the French troops, formed into a square column, and flanked by platoons, advanced along the verge of the inundation, which, at that time, flowed from the Nile. Murad Bey, not waiting to be attacked, ordered his troops to advance and surround the division of the enemy; on every side they were repulsed by the musketry and field pieces of the French, when the most intrepid of the Mamelukes, despairing of breaking the division, rushed with great fury upon one of the platoons on the flank; but here again, finding their efforts to be unavailing, numbers of them advanced to the very point of the bayonet, and flung at the French soldiers those arms, with which they had so frequently endeavoured in vain to penetrate their iron rampart. The ground was in a moment covered with sabres, pistols, lances, and carbines; while multitudes of the heroes, by whom they were so lately wielded, fell in the unequal combat. At this moment fresh detachments of the Mamelukes advanced to the field of action, and performed prodigies of valour, fighting the enemy man to man. Murad, in the mean time, with a presence of mind, and a degree of skill that bespoke the warrior, having crowned the adjacent hills with cannon, immediately unmasked his batteries, and opened a destructive fire: on this, Dessaix, conscious that a retreat to his boats would force him to abandon his wounded, and give a new turn to the war, ordered a charge to be beaten, and directing his fire against the bat-

tery, he attacked and carried it with the bayonet. No sooner had the French become masters of the heights and the artillery, than they in their turn began a cannonade, which soon dispersed their adversaries, who left three beys, several kiah-chefs, and a vast number of Mamelukes and Arabs, stretched on the field of battle. Murad Bey, abandoned by the Arabs, but still followed by his faithful Mamelukes, now retired for a time into the province of Faioum, where he sallied out at intervals, to attack the advanced posts, or dispute the payment of tribute to the French. No sooner, however, had the French general received a reinforcement of a thousand horse, under the command of General Davoust, than he followed the fugitive bey through the provinces of the Said; while the latter, notwithstanding the ardour of the pursuit, found means to send couriers to the principal inhabitants of Jedda and Yambo, inviting them to assist in exterminating "a handful of infidels, who had invaded Egypt for the purpose of destroying the religion of Mahomet." But the French being incessant and indefatigable in their pursuit, Murad, Hasran, Soliman, and eight other beys, perceiving that their Mamelukes were killed, and that the Arabs deserted daily, were under the necessity at length of withdrawing beyond the cataracts.

While Dessaix thus carried the terror of the French arms to the confines of Ethiopia, D'jezzar, Pacha of Syria, encouraged by the Turks, seized on the fort of El Arisch, and made preparations to invade Lower Egypt; Alexandria was also blockaded by the British, and threatened nearly at the same time with a siege by the Ottoman fleet and army; on which, Bonaparte, with his usual activity, determined to avert the dangers that threatened his new conquests, and resolved, by carrying the war into Syria, to render the enemy's country the scene of military operations.

Achmet, Pacha el D'jezzar, at this period governed Syria, under a nominal subjection to the Ottoman Porte, the authority of which he soon after disavowed. This singular man, whose name, El D'jezzar, *the butcher*, sufficiently indicates the ferocity of his disposition, appears to have equalled any of the most celebrated tyrants of antiquity.* But D'jezzar was not deficient in policy: perceiving that an European nation, which avowedly carried on war for the purpose of commerce, had seized upon Egypt, he dreaded the vicinity of such a formidable people, who might extend their conquests into the east, and by means of a successful incursion, seize on his do-

* See Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from 1792 to 1798, by M. W. G. Brown.

minions. He accordingly solicited succours on one hand from the court of Constantinople, while on the other he granted assistance to the Mamelukes. At the same time, he established magazines at Gaza, fortified El Arisch, on the confines of Egypt, and supplied it with a garrison of two thousand men.

Bonaparte, conceiving it to be in vain to negotiate with the pacha, determined to march against him in person; and accordingly collected a body of troops for that purpose, with equal secrecy and despatch. Having assembled his army, consisting of five divisions, under Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, Bon, and Murat, he appointed Daumartin to command the artillery, and General Caffarelli to superintend the engineers; after which he gave orders for the troops, consisting of twelve thousand chosen men, to commence their march.*

During the expedition into Syria, the command of the province of Cairo was committed to General Dugua; and the command of Rosetta to General Menou; to Adjutant-general Almeyrac was confided the duty of strengthening the fortifications of Damietta; and to General Marmont, the defence of Alexandria; while General Dessaix remained in Upper Egypt to contend against the refractory beys. At the same time, Rear-admiral Peree was instructed to embark the necessary battering cannon on board three frigates, for the demolition of the walls of the Syrian capital; and for the purpose of eluding the vigilance of the British cruisers, he was ordered to appear before Jaffa, and to keep up a communication with the army.

General Regnier, who led the advanced guard of the French army against Syria, arrived on the 8th of February, at the grove of palm-trees, near to the sea, and in front of El Arisch. Notwithstanding the advantageous situation of the place, which stands in the midst of a natural amphitheatre, the village was carried by the bayonet, and the enemy retired into the fort with so much precipitation, as to exclude about three hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. On the evening of the 13th, a strong body of cavalry and infantry, who were escorting a convoy of provisions for El Arisch, advanced and pitched their tents on the eminences, within half a league of that place; but Regnier, on the arrival of part of Kleber's division, scaled the heights occupied by the Mamelukes, rushed into their camp, killed a great number of them, among whom were two beys, and some kiachefs, and seized on the greater part of their baggage, provisions, ammunition,

* General Berthier's Letter to the Minister at War, dated Alexandria, 11th Thermidor.

horses, and camels. Immediately on the arrival of the commander-in-chief from Cairo, he ordered one of the towers of the castle of El Arisch to be cannonaded, and the place to be summoned the moment a breach was effected. After some time spent in negociation, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, consented to surrender, on the 25th of February, on condition of being allowed to retire to Bagdad; except a body of Maugrabins, who agreed to enter into the service of France.

After traversing many leagues of an arid desert, during which they were exposed to all the horrors of extreme thirst, the French army arrived at Gaza on the 28th, and took possession of that place without opposition. Here they found a large and seasonable supply of ammunition, provisions, and some cannon, which enabled them, after establishing a divan, composed of the principal Turks, to march direct for Jaffa, the Joppa of ancient days. On reconnoitring the town, the south front was selected for the attack. During the night the trenches were opened, and three batteries established, one to effect an opening in the wall, and the other two to enfilade the square tower, while a fourth, by way of diversion, was erected on the north side. On the 5th of March, the garrison made two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss. On the 6th, at day break, the cannonade commenced, and at four o'clock the breach was deemed practicable. An assault was now ordered, and the carabineers, under General Rambaud, were the first to advance. The chasseurs followed, and mounting the breach under the fire of some flanking batteries, they effected a lodgment in the square tower. The division of General Lannes, following up the artillery, drove the Mamelukes from roof to roof, and from street to street, and in a short time gained possession of the two forts; while the division of General Bon, which had been engaged in making false attacks, now entered the town near the fort. The garrison, which consisted of about twelve hundred Turkish gunners, and about two thousand five hundred Maugrabins or Arnauts, continued to defend themselves desperately, and refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword.* But Bo-

* Such is the account of the sanguinary scenes which attended the fall of Jaffa, given by General Berthier in his "*Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte, et en Syrie*;" but a very different representation is made of the fact by Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, in his *History of the British Expedition to Egypt*, pages 72—4, and impartiality requires that the substance of the counter-statement should be here inserted:—

"Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault," says Sir Robert Wilson, "many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the

naparte, with his usual policy, spared the lives of three hundred Egyptians, whom he sent back to their families, that they

greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives.

“Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired; volleys of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval.”—

“Their bones,” adds Sir Robert, “still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.”

On this point, Sir W. S. Smith, in an official communication addressed to Admiral Lord Nelson, from on board the *Tigre*, at anchor off Jaffa, dated May 30, 1799, says, “The measure of the iniquities of the French army seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cold blood, three days after their capture.”

Sir Robert Wilson, in the publication quoted above, at pages 74 and 75, records another deed of blood, at which the mind revolts with horror, and which, from its repugnance to every feeling of our nature, can only obtain credit upon the strongest evidence:—

“Bonaparte,” says Sir Robert, “finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from weighty reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure that could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue, and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Bonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation:—‘Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.’”

“Bonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations: he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind, by unequivocally confessing the fact,) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours, five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.”

Sir Robert Wilson adds, that “there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced.” When those records appear, the world will perhaps give credit to the horrible narratives they are produced to substantiate; but candour demands the remark, that twelve years have now elapsed since the charges were first exhibited,

might at the same time proclaim his victories and his clemency ! The French, now become masters of the city and the

and although within that period Bonaparte has fallen from the elevation of the imperial purple to the rank of a powerless exile, yet the corroborating records alluded to by Sir Robert have never yet been produced. One of the charges here preferred by Sir R. Wilson against Bonaparte derives considerable weight from the letter of Sir Sidney Smith, written on the spot, and published at the short distance of two months from the date of the alleged murders. But the other, and if possible the more enormous of the crimes imputed to the French general, appears to be completely refuted by Dr. Desgenettes, the physician general himself, the person alluded to as having received the order to poison the troops, and which, according to Sir Robert, he refused to execute : that physician, in his *Histoire Medicale de l' Armee d'Orient*, at pages 49 and 50, expressly declares, "That the general-in-chief shewed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person while confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief."(44.)

(44.) Perhaps none of the charges which have been made against the Emperor Napoleon, have excited more odium than those which were originally made public by Sir Robert Wilson, and afterwards circulated with great eagerness by the British writers. The downfall of that monarch, however, instead of enabling Sir Robert Wilson to prove, as he promised, the correctness of these statements, has afforded means which might not otherwise have been obtained of exculpating him in a great measure from blame. The first charge made by Sir Robert Wilson, is that of murdering his Turkish prisoners in cold blood, to the number of 3,800. The facts, as they were related by Napoleon himself in conversation with Mr. Warden, were in substance these. After the capitulation of El Arisch, a great number of the garrison were released on their engaging to return quietly to their homes, and the French army then proceeded towards Jaffa, which they carried by storm, and the rage of the French soldiery being greatly excited in consequence of some inhuman acts of their enemies, many of the garrison were put to the sword. Early the next day Napoleon was informed that four hundred of the garrison of El Arisch were found among the prisoners, and the fact being indisputably proved, they were drawn out and immediately shot. The conduct of Napoleon in this act was strictly in consonance with the rules of civilized warfare, although it may be doubted whether measures less severe would not have answered all the purposes of punishment. The other charge, that of poisoning a large body of his own troops, is refuted in a still more satisfactory manner. We shall here use his own words, "On raising the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, the army retired upon Jaffa. The occupation of this town for any length of time was totally impracticable from the force that Jegga Nachas was enabled to bring forward. The sick and wounded were numerous ; and their removal was my first consideration. Carriages, the most convenient that could be formed, were appropriated to the purpose. Some of them were sent by water to Damietta, and the rest were accommodated in the best possible manner to accompany their comrades in their march through the desert. Seven men, however, occupied a quarantine hospital, who were infected by the plague, whose report was made me by the chief of the medical staff ; (I think it was Desgenettes.) He further added, that the disease had gained such a state of malignancy there was not the least probability of their continuing alive beyond forty-eight hours."—I* here exclaimed, in

* Mr. Warden.

forts, found in this place forty pieces of cannon, and fifteen small trading vessels at anchor in the port.

At Jaffa, as at all other places of importance in his route, Bonaparte constituted a divan, of the principal inhabitants in the French interest, and after appointing Adjutant-general Gressier to the command of the place, he marched at the head of his troops for Acre. On the 15th of March, the French army observed a corps of the enemy's cavalry, under the command of Abdallah Pacha, in a strong position upon the heights of Corsum. This corps, which consisted of two thousand horse, was supported on its left by ten thousand Turks, and

a dubious tone, seven ! and immediately asked whether I was to understand that there were no more than seven. "I perceive," he replied, "that you have heard a different account." Most assuredly, general, Sir R. Wilson states, fifty-seven or seventy-seven ; and (speaking more collectively) your whole sick and wounded. He then proceeded—"The Turks were numerous and powerful, and their cruelty proverbial among my army. Their practice of mutilating and barbarously treating their Christian prisoners in particular, was well known among my troops, and had a preservation on my mind and conduct ; and I do affirm that there were only seven sufferers whom circumstances compelled me to leave, as short-lived sufferers at Jaffa. They were in that state of disease which rendered their removal utterly impracticable, exclusive of the dissemination of the disease among the healthy troops. Situated as I was, I could not place them under the protection of the English : I therefore desired to see the senior medical officer, and observing to him that the afflictions of their disease would be cruelly aggravated by the conduct of the Turks towards them, and that it was impossible to continue in possession of the town, I desired him to give me his best advice on the occasion. I said, tell me what is to be done ! He hesitated some time, and then repeated, that these men, who were the objects of my very painful solicitude, could not survive forty-eight hours.—I then suggested (what appeared to be his opinion, though he might not choose to declare, but await with trembling hope to receive it from me) the propriety, because I felt it would be humanity, to shorten the sufferings of these seven men by administering *opium*. Such a relief, I added, in a similar situation, I should anxiously solicit for myself. But rather contrary to my expectation, the proposition was opposed, and consequently abandoned. I accordingly halted the army one day longer than I intended ; and on my quitting Jaffa left a strong rear guard, who continued in that city till the third day. At the expiration of that period an officer's report reached me that the men were dead." "Then, general," (I could not resist exclaiming,) "no *opium* was given." The emphatic answer I received was, "No, none ! A report was brought me that the men died before the rear guard had evacuated the city."* To this clear and convincing explanation, it might be added, if necessary, that Dr. Clarke, the celebrated traveller who visited Jaffa a year or two after the circumstance is said to have taken place, affirms, that although the Turks were in the highest degree irritated against the French, he never heard this accusation even hinted at ; and adds, with great propriety, if so extraordinary an event as the murder of such a number of Frenchmen, by their own general, had occurred there, some traces or recollection of it would have been subsisting.

* Warden's Letters from St. Helena.

the object of the Pacha was to arrest the progress of the invaders in their advance to Acre, by obliging them to engage among the mountains and defiles of Naplouz ; this object was in some degree effected, for the French troops, under General Lannes, impelled by their ardour, pursued the enemy into the heart of the mountains, from which they were recalled repeatedly by their general, and at length retreated under the fire of the Naplouzians. In the mean time, the divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber formed in squares, and obliged the enemy to seek their safety in flight.

The French army, pursuing their march by Cæsarea, crossed the river which runs within two thousand yards of the walls of Acre, on the night of the 17th ; but on ascending the heights on the following morning, they beheld the town prepared for a siege, and to their no small chagrin and astonishment, discerned the colours of Great Britain flying in the harbour.

St. Jean D'Acre, so celebrated during the time of the crusades, at this moment contained within its walls two singular men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a British naval officer, of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers, the school-fellow and early companion of the French commander-in-chief. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney Smith, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux had accompanied him in the small squadron to which he had been appointed, and after cruising with the commodore in the Levant, had embarked for Syria, to employ his talents as an engineer, and to afford assistance to the intimidated pacha.

On the 19th of March, Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli reconnoitred the fortress of Acre, and it was then determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward. On the 30th, the trenches were opened about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis in their formation ; but as the besiegers were deficient in heavy artillery, and could only furnish their batteries with eight and twelve pounders, and mortars of five inches, the impression made by them was neither sudden nor formidable.

On the day the trenches were opened, the garrison made a spirited sortie, but were repulsed with some loss, and forced to retire with precipitation within the walls. As the tower against which the principal attack was directed appeared to be

pierced towards the afternoon of the first of April, and the counterscarp was supposed to be destroyed by a mine which had been sprung, the troops demanded and obtained leave to advance to storm the fortress. It soon, however, became evident, that but little pains had been taken to ascertain the nature of the works; for on rushing forward it was discovered, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched, and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a body of grenadiers, headed by Mailly, an officer of the staff, descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but their leader was shot, and it being discovered that the only effect produced by the late explosion was a small opening in the glacis, nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran towards the harbour, but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles, upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutant-generals, Escale and Laugier, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the pacha, that on the 5th they made another sally, in which they killed Detroye, *chef de brigade*, and several others of the besiegers.

In the mean time, the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette, and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre. Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city, no intelligence having been received by the French army of the three frigates which had sailed from Alexandria for Jaffa.

At this period of the siege, D'jezzar dispersed his firmans among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and to overwhelm the infidels.

The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoctial gales, had no sooner resumed its station, than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine, made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, undertaken on the 7th, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place on the morning of the 7th, just before day-light;

and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and by pulling down the supporters, destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state; Colonel Douglas supported the seamen in this service with distinguished gallantry, and brought off Lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trenches, from which they were not dislodged. In this gallant enterprise, Major Oldfield, to whom the command of the marines from the *Theseus* had been confided, was mortally wounded, and made prisoner by the French.

But it was not only with Acre that Bonaparte had to contend; all the neighbouring districts were in arms, and the Samaritan Arabs evinced so much daring as to make incursions even into his camp. Under these circumstances, he despatched first the General of brigade, Junot, and afterwards Kleber, against the enemy, whom he was determined to drive across the Jordan. Finding that the troops already sent from the main army, strengthened as they had been by one thousand infantry, were still insufficient to crush the native force brought into the field, Bonaparte determined to proceed against the enemy in person. Having repaired through Fouli, along the defiles of the mountains, he perceived on the 16th Kleber's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by upwards of twenty-five thousand horse.* The commander-in-chief immediately formed his infantry and cavalry into three squares, with a design to cut off their retreat towards Jennin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them before him in the direction of the river, on the banks of which they would be overwhelmed by Murat. For this purpose, the Adjutant-general Le Turq, with the cavalry and two pieces of cannon, was detached against the Mamelukes, which he descried at some distance, while General Rampon was ordered to take the enemy in flank, and General Vial to intercept them in their flight.

No sooner had Kleber received intimation, by the discharge of a twelve-pounder, that he was about to be succoured, than he immediately attacked and carried the town of Fouli with the bayonet; he then charged the cavalry, which had already been thrown into confusion by the French horse under Ram-

* Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie, par le General de Division Berthier.

pon, and obliged them, after experiencing much loss, to retire behind Mount Tabor, where a great number were drowned in the river Jordan. The result of the battle of Esdron, or of Mount Tabor, was the discomfiture of twenty-five thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry, by four thousand French troops;* the capture of all the enemy's magazines; and their flight to Damascus, with a loss of five thousand men. Nor could they conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line of seven and twenty miles, so little notion had they of a combined operation.

Bonaparte, having burnt the Naplousian villages, and killed such of the inhabitants as had incurred his displeasure, hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and took with him his *etat major*, the division of General Bon, and the corps of cavalry under General Murat.

The siege was now pushed on with increased vigour, and the invaders at length beheld the completion of the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but on setting fire to the mine on the 25th, the operation was found to be incomplete. Although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before, and such showers of burning materials were poured down upon a body of grenadiers, who were ordered to reconnoitre the means of communication between the tower and the other parts of the fortress, that they were compelled to retire, and General Caffarelli, and the *Chef de bataillon* Say, perished in these enterprises, while General Veaux, and several other officers of distinction, were dangerously wounded.

The garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Phillipeaux, who unfortunately soon after died of a fever contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertions in the public service, had by this time erected cavaliers, and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries, so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantage arising from a cross-fire. But on the 1st of May, after many hours' heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made to mount the breach, now much widened. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flanked the town-walls; and the gun-boats, launches, and other row boats continued to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance, till at length they were repulsed with loss, and obliged to desist from the attack. At this time,

* General Berthier.

though the forty-fourth day of the siege, the garrison had the satisfaction to find themselves in a better state of defence than they were on the first day the enemy opened their trenches, and the gallant defenders of Acre felt increased confidence that they should be able to resist every assault of the besiegers.

The enemy, notwithstanding their various repulses, continued to batter in a breach with progressive success, and up to the 9th of May, had made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. In effect, the siege of Acre had been one continued battle ever since the opening of the trenches, interrupted at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides.

The garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterwards directed to proceed to the relief of Acre. It was not however till the fifty-first day of the siege, that this fleet made its appearance; and the approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased ten-fold, and notwithstanding the exertions of the garrison, supported by the fire of several cannon and carronades under the able direction of Mr. Schoder, the master's mate of the *Theseus*, Mr. Jones, midshipman of the *Tigre*, and Mr. Bray, the carpenter of the same ship; the enemy continued to gain ground, and on the night of the 8th of May, they had succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower.

Day-light on the 9th shewed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle of the tower, and their troops had covered themselves in the lodgment, having constructed two traverses across the ditch composed of sand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them. At this most critical point of the contest, Hassan Bey's troops, though they had advanced half way towards the shore, were still in their boats. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, and generally secured its success, landed the boats on the mole, and placing himself at the head of the crew, marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and the besiegers served as a breast-work for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear heads of the standards locked. D'jezzar Pacha, hearing that the Eng-

lish were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands. This "energetic old man,"* coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, if any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost. The whole of the reinforcement being now landed, the pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy, as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of a thousand men, into the garden of his seraglio. From thence a vigorous sally was made, with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, but the Turks were unequal to such a movement, and they were driven back into the town with loss. This sortie, although it did not succeed, had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the *Theseus*, dislodged them from the tower, and killed or dispersed all that remained at that station. Still determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of French generals and *aides-de-camp*, which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on an eminence, rendered famous by the exploits of an English chief, and Bonaparte was distinguishable on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount, burning with rage, and indicating, by his gesticulations, that the attack was to be renewed. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. At the suggestion of the pacha, the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets. The survivors, finding the assault desperate, hastened to sound a retreat, and General Lannes, who was seen heroically encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off severely wounded by a musket-shot. In this ensanguined conflict, General Rombaud was killed, and on the same day, General Bon received a mor-

* Sir Sidney Smith's Despatch, dated Acre, May 9, 1799.

tal wound, of which he soon afterwards expired. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermission for five and twenty hours, and in which, nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded a respite.

About this period, Bonaparte received intelligence of various insurrections in Egypt, and although the insurrectionary spirit did not again shew itself at Cairo, nor in any of the principal cities, yet, in the provinces of Benichef, Charkie, and Bahere, it required all the vigilance of the French generals, and all the activity of their troops, to preserve the public tranquillity. In the midst of these agitations, an impostor arose, pretending to be the Angel El Mahdi, whose coming is announced in the Koran, and who asserted that neither the muskets, the bayonets, the sabres, nor even the artillery of the French, could injure the genuine believers, who should fight under his invincible standard ! Having collected a considerable force, and obtained some partial successes, which served, in the estimation of a superstitious people, to give countenance to his pretensions, the new general marched, in full confidence of success, from Rahmanie to Damenhour ; but here his career terminated, for General Lanusse, advancing at the head of a moveable column, dispersed the followers of the Angel El Mahdi, who was himself wounded, and put fifteen hundred of his troops to the sword.

In proportion as the troops of Bonaparte before Acre relaxed in their zeal, and the capture of the place became dubious, chagrin and indignation began to be visible in the face and actions of that general, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art ; while the surrounding hills were crowded with a multitude of spectators, waiting the result of the contest for the purpose of declaring for the victor. Nor was this all ; the plague had by this time found its way into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation it was determined by the French commander-in-chief to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made by the Turkish Chifflick regiment, on the night of the 10th of May : these troops, acting under the command of Soliman Aga, the lieutenant-colonel, succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel ; but the impetuosity of

a few of the Turks carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they succeeded before their retreat in spiking four guns. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Bonaparte's intention, were thus obliged to spend their time and strength in recovering these works, in which they succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Bonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors, that even seamen could take advantage of them.*

The siege of Acre, and the expedition into Syria, were now approximating towards their close ; Bonaparte's presence was required in Egypt, and despairing of prosecuting the siege to a successful issue, he directed his last effort to purposes of revenge. With this view he ordered that all the batteries, cannon, and mortars, should be directed against the palace of D'jezzar, and that the remainder of the siege-ammunition should be expended in demolishing the fortifications and other public buildings. To check this work of destruction, the besieged made two vigorous sorties from the garrison on the 16th of May, in both of which they were driven back with loss.

During the night of the 17th, the French army began the removal of the sick, the wounded, and the park of artillery ; and on the 18th and 19th, the advanced-guard, under General Junot, quitting the camp before Acre, marched towards Egypt, and took a position at Saffarie. On the 20th, the garrison, perceiving the force of the French to be much weakened, made a general sortie, which they repeated in the afternoon with increased vigour ; but neither of these efforts was attended with complete success, and in the course of that day the French removed their battering cannon, having previously destroyed an aqueduct of several leagues in length, which supplied the town of Acre with fresh water, and reduced all the magazines and crops in its vicinity to ashes. This night, at nine o'clock, the *generale* was beat, and the siege, after sixty days' continuance, was raised. (45.)

* Sir Sidney Smith's Letter to Lord Nelson, dated " Tigre, off Jaffa, May 30, 1799."

(45.) We have observed in the preceding note upon the calumnies with which Sir Robert Wilson, and other English writers have assailed the reputation of Bonaparte. Time, the great revealer of truth, has

In the midst of his disasters, Bonaparte, ever fertile in expedients, cheered the spirits of his drooping followers, and animated them to fresh exertions, by a proclamation, in which he pourtrayed their achievements in glowing colours, and represented Acre as a place not worth the sacrifice of a few days.

On raising the siege of Acre, Bonaparte was obliged to leave behind him all his heavy artillery, either buried or thrown into the sea, where it was easily raised, and this battering train, amounting to 23 pieces, fell into the hands of the English. The French, after blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors. Unabashed by his late check, and unintimidated by the sinister communications of a soldiery, who had lately murmured against and even menaced their chief, Bonaparte distributed recompences to some, inflicted marks of ignominy on others, and so far regained the confidence of all, that in the course of a few days his army offered to encounter new toils and new dangers in Egypt,

shewn the incorrectness of these statements, and even Sir Robert Wilson, has since in some measure discredited his own charges by his conduct towards a leading supporter of the Bonaparte dynasty.* But there have been imputations of the most serious nature, made against the British commanders at St. Jean d'Acre, which although affirmed by a respectable eye witness, remain yet uncontradicted, and when we remember the massacres of French-town and Hampton, in our own country, perpetrated by allies of the British, whom it was in their power to restrain; we are compelled to admit the probability, that these revolting statements are founded in truth. The following horrible story is taken from the "Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte," &c. by General Berthier. "A few days after an assault in which the French troops had been defeated, our soldiers remarked upon the beach a considerable number of sacks, which they opened, and horrible to relate! discovered in them corpses, tied together, two by two. On interrogating the deserters, we learned that more than four hundred christians, who were in the prisons of D'jezzar, had been drawn out by the orders of this monster, tied together by twos, fastened in the sacks, and then thrown into the sea." "Other nations," adds General Berthier, "who can unite the rights of war, with those of honour and humanity, had circumstances forced them to join their standards, with those of a D'jezzar, would never have suffered a barbarian to disgrace them by such atrocities, they would have compelled him to conform to the principles of honour and humanity, which are professed by every civilized people."

* Lavalette.

under a commander whom they were on the point of sacrificing in Syria.*

Notwithstanding the late expedition had inflicted a loss of three thousand men upon the French army, seven hundred of whom had died of the plague, and five hundred in battle, exclusive of eighteen hundred rendered incapable of present service by their wounds,† the troops, still under the command of Bonaparte, cheerfully obeyed the summons to march to the mouth of the Nile, to oppose the army of the Grand Signior, who had landed in that quarter. No sooner did Bonaparte learn that a fleet of about one hundred sail, well stored with troops, after anchoring at Aboukir, had seized on the fort, and threatened to besiege Alexandria, than he resolved to march against the Turks in person ; and that the enemy might receive no assistance from the Arabs and the Mamelukes, General Dessaix was directed once more to act against Murad

* "PROCLAMATION.

" *Head-quarters, before Acre, 28th Floreal, (17th of May) An. 7, 1799.*

" BONAPARTE, *General-in-chief.*

" SOLDIERS,

" You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force. The army which was on its march to invade Egypt, is destroyed ; you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage ; you have taken all the fortified posts which secure the wells of the desert ; and you have dispersed, in the districts of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

" The thirty ships which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria ; but you compelled them to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

" Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained a war, during three months, in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, and six thousand prisoners, and razed or destroyed the fortifications at Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and at Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

" A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the pacha in his palace ; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

" Soldiers,—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the eastward, this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the west. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory ; and if, engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory.

(Signed)

" BONAPARTE."

† General Berthier.

Bey, while Ibrahim Bey and his partizans were opposed by General Regnier.

Upon his arrival on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, he learned that the enemy, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, commanded by Mustapha Pacha, were intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir, where a great number of cannon had already been disembarked. Being determined to attack the pacha before he could be joined by the natives, the French army was put in motion on the morning of the 25th of July.

After a march of two hours, and at the moment when the advanced guards began to fire at each other, Bonaparte ordered the columns to halt, for the purpose of making the necessary dispositions for the attack. General Destaing was despatched with three battalions to carry a height on the enemy's right, occupied by a thousand men ; and at the same time, a picquet of cavalry received orders to cut off their retreat to the adjoining village. While this operation was executed with great success, and the village carried, General Lannes advanced towards a mountain of sand on the left, in the neighbourhood of which two thousand men, with six pieces of artillery, were posted ; the Turkish troops endeavoured to withdraw, after a distant cannonade, but their retreat was cut off by two squadrons of cavalry, and a platoon of guides, and the whole squadron, without the exception of a single man, was either killed or precipitated into the sea. Notwithstanding this partial success, the Turks still defended their intrenchments, particularly a large redoubt, with the most persevering gallantry, and even continued to send forward detachments, who marched against the assailants over the dead bodies of their countrymen, and engaged the fronts of the columns man to man. Some of the mussulmans, unable to pierce the forest of bayonets, endeavoured in vain to wrest from the fusils these destructive weapons ; driven to despair, they cast their own muskets behind them, and fought with the most heroic fortitude with the sabre and the pistol. General Fugieres, who had advanced with a numerous detachment, was first wounded in the head and then lost an arm : The Adjutant-general Le Turq, having in vain exerted himself to induce this column to throw itself into the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was alone, and death soon put a period to his career of glory. Encouraged by this event, the mussulmans pressed on to the combat ; and to so high a pitch did they carry their daring, that many of them were seen, at intervals, rushing from behind their works to earn the silver aigrette, destined for every soldier who should lay the head of an ene-

my at the feet of his commander. In the mean time, the French general-in-chief had brought up a battalion of the second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to storm the works occupied by the left flank of the Turks. General Lannes, who was invested with the command of this column, taking advantage of a favourable moment, when many of the Turks had sallied out of their intrenchments, for the purpose of storming the redoubt, attacked them with the greatest vigour on the left flank, and on the gorge; and the French troops, having thrown themselves into the ditch and scaled the parapet, assailed their astonished foe with fixed bayonets. General Murat, availing himself of the moment in which General Lannes entered the redoubt, ordered the cavalry to charge, and to break through the positions of the Turks, to the very ditches of the fort. This operation was executed so opportunely, and with so much vigour and effect, that at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry was on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The Turks, confounded and terror-struck, beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayonet; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre; no alternative but the sea remained from their merciless enemy. "To this sad recourse they fled as a last refuge. Ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves, amidst showers of musketry and grape shot; never did so terrible a sight present itself; not one man was saved."* Mustapha, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, with only two hundred men, was made prisoners, while about two thousand of the Ottoman army lay stretched on the field of battle. All the tents and baggage, with twenty pieces of cannon, of which two had been presented to the Grand Signior by the court of London, fell into the hands of the French. The loss of the French army on this sanguinary day, is stated by their own general at one hundred and fifty men killed, and about seven hundred wounded: amongst the latter of whom was General Murat, wounded with a pistol-ball discharged by the pacha, when he was brought into the presence of Bonaparte and his *etat-major*.† The garrison of Aboukir, though so much panic-struck during the engagement as never to fire a shot, continued for four days to resist the efforts of the French army; but on the 29th of July, the troops, who never capitulate, marched out of the fort, and after laying down their arms, embraced the knees of the conqueror. On this occasion the son of the pacha, the *kiaya*, and two thousand men, were made prisoners; and

* General Berthier.

† See Kendal's Notes on Denon

within four and twenty hours after the surrender of the garrison, which had been driven to the greatest extremities for want of provisions, upwards of four hundred of their number died of repletion. By this expedition, which lasted only fifteen days, the Sublime Porte lost an army of eighteen thousand men, and a fine park of artillery. It also terminated the exploits of Bonaparte in Egypt, for whom fortune was preparing a new scene, and a more exalted destiny, in another quarter of the globe.

So close had been the blockade of Egypt by the British fleet, and so difficult all communication with other countries, that the affairs of Europe were but imperfectly known to General Bonaparte. Astonished at receiving intelligence, which reached him through the intervention of the enemy, of a new war, as well as of the multiplied disasters which accompanied its progress, he conceived the romantic project of returning to France, to enable her once more to triumph over her enemies, and to heal the distractions of her councils, by elevating himself to empire. Leaving a sealed packet, addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army of Egypt, during his absence; he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accompanied by Monge, Bertholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. By that singular good fortune to which Bonaparte had been so often indebted, he escaped repeatedly from the vigilance of the English cruisers, and landed first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus. On his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the directory to a grand festival, during which it was found impossible to veil that jealousy and distrust, which now began to prevail between the general and several of the members of the government. At length, after many secret interviews with Sieyes, it was determined to overturn the constitution, and introduce a form of government more consonant to the views of the ambitious chief, and of the intriguing director.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMPAIGN IN HOLLAND: *The Expedition under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie sails from England—Debarks at the Helder Point—Defeats the Batavian Troops, under General Daendels, and enters the Helder—Admiral Mitchel takes Possession of the Dutch Fleet in the Nieuve Diep—Surrender of the Dutch Squadron in the Texel to the British—Repulse of the Gallo-Batavian Army, in an Attack made on the British Lines—Arrival of the Second Division of the British Troops, and of the auxiliary Russian Force, in Holland—The combined Army placed under the Command of the Duke of York—General but indecisive Battle at Bergen—Victory of Alkmaar—Battle of Baccum—Retreat of the Anglo-Russian Army—Failure in the political and military Objects of the Expedition, and disastrous Issue of the Campaign—AFFAIRS OF THE EAST: Fall of Seringapatam—Naval Campaign of 1799—Colonial Acquisitions.*

WHILE the Turks, the Syrians, and the Mamelukes, were contending with all their energies against the French invaders, upon the plains of Palestine and Egypt, and while the Emperor and co-estates of Germany, with their Russian and Italian confederates, were waging a successful warfare against the same power in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Italy; the Sovereign of Great Britain determined to aid the common cause, by despatching a powerful armament against the only ally of the French republic.

The British ministry, sensible of the importance of Holland, whether considered in the light of a foe, or of a confederate, and aware that the exactions made upon the Dutch people by the government of France, had become a source of disaffection, determined on fitting out a formidable expedition, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of the resources drawn from the Batavian republic, and of restoring the Prince of Orange to the rank of stadtholder, and captain-general of the forces.

As an army of thirty thousand men was required upon this occasion, an application had been made to the court of St. Petersburg, and the Emperor Paul had consented to furnish Great Britain with a supply of seventeen thousand five hundred and ninety-three troops, and a detachment of six ships, five frigates, and two transports. But the emperor, like all the continental princes, in their dealings with Great Britain, took care to indemnify himself from the finances of his ally, and exacted, as the terms of his co-operation, an immediate advance of upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of periodical payments of sixty-three thousand pounds monthly.

While Russia was making preparations at Cronstadt and at Revel, the hereditary Prince of Orange repaired to Lingen, on the Emms, where he assembled all the stadtholderian party, capable of bearing arms, and opened an active intercourse with the partizans of his family in Holland. In the mean time a considerable body of troops was assembled on the coast of Kent; and it was determined that there should be two successive expeditions, the first under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other under the Duke of York. The English fleet, and the first division of the army, embarked on board one hundred and fifty transports, sailed from Margate and the neighbouring ports, on the 13th of August, under the convoy of Vice-admiral Mitchel, to join Lord Duncan, who was cruising in the North Seas; and after encountering boisterous weather for several days, the whole fleet came to anchor off the Texel roads, on the 22d. The signal was now given, and every preparation made for landing; but towards evening the wind became high, and the fleet was compelled again to weigh anchor, and put to sea in the night. This unfortunate event revealed to the enemy the intended point of debarkation, and it was not till the morning of the 26th, that the fleet could be brought to anchor off the northern extremity of the province of Holland.

Two great objects were to be embraced upon this occasion, the first was the possession of the Helder, which would not only confer upon the invaders a sea-port and an arsenal, but contribute greatly to the second, which was the possession of the Batavian fleet, most of the seamen and some of the officers of which, were greatly discontented with the government.

At day-light, on the morning of the 27th, the troops began to disembark, to the south-west of the Helder point, and during the morning, the bomb vessels, sloops, and gun-brigs, being stationed so as to open a well-directed fire, scoured the beach, and prevented all opposition. Although no resistance was made to the landing of the troops, yet no sooner had the first division begun to move forward, than they were attacked, near Callanstoog, by a body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under the command of General Daendels, an officer of some experience, and a determined enemy of the house of Orange. A warm, but irregular action ensued, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, during which repeated attempts were made to dislodge the right of the British, now posted on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south, and incapable of forming more than one battalion in line of battle; but the narrowness of the position was, on the whole, favourable to troops entirely

destitute of horse and artillery, so that the enemy, instead of being able to make any impression, were at length obliged to retire to another position, two leagues in the rear.

Encouraged by this success, General Abercrombie determined immediately to attack the Helder, although occupied by two thousand troops. The brigades commanded by Majors-general Moore and Burrard were accordingly destined for this undertaking, and had received orders to hold themselves in readiness; but about eight o'clock on the evening of the 28th, the Dutch ships, which had anchored in the Mars Diep, got under way, and the garrison was withdrawn. Nor was Vice-admiral Mitchel, who held the command in the absence of Lord Duncan, inactive upon this occasion; for he found means to open a direct communication with the Dutch fleet, and on the 28th obtained possession of seven ships of war in the Nieuve Diep, and about thirteen Indiamen and transports.*

Having shipped pilots at the Helder, the British admiral afterwards got under sail with his squadron, consisting of nine men of war and five frigates, for the purpose of reducing the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which he expressed his determination to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, unless they surrendered to the British flag, or capitulated for the Prince of Orange. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the line of battle being formed, orders were given to prepare for action,† and notwithstanding two ships and a frigate ran on shore, the English passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued their course along the Texel in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch being then at an-

* *List of the Dutch vessels taken possession of by the English in the Nieuve Diep, Aug. 28th, 1799.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Broederschap	54	Hector	44	Dalk	24
Veswagting	64	Venus	24	Minerva	24
And the Heldin of 32 guns.					

† *British Line of Battle on the 30th of August.*

			<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Glatton,	-	Captain James Cobb,	54	343
Romney,	-	Captain John Lawford,	50	343
Isis,	-	{ Vice-admiral Mitchel,	50	343
		{ Captain James Houghton, }		
Veteran,	-	Captain A. C. Dickson,	64	491
Ardent,	-	Captain T. Berry,	64	491
Belliquex,	-	Captain R. Bulteel,	64	491
Monmouth,	-	Captain George Hart,	64	491
Overysse,	-	Captain J. Bazeley,	64	491
Mistisloff,	-	Captain M. Moller,	66	672
Melpomene, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine, frigates.				

chor at the Red Buoy. Admiral Mitchel now sent Captain Reinnie with a summons to Rear-admiral Storey, the Batavian commander,* which was in some measure anticipated by the arrival of two Dutch officers, at the earnest request of whom, the British squadron was anchored within sight of, and at a short distance from the enemy. In about an hour after, the fleet, which had mutined against its officers and in favour of the Orange party, was reluctantly surrendered to Admiral Mitchel by the Dutch commander.†

The surrender of the Dutch fleet having occasioned great consternation throughout all the provinces of Holland, the president of the Batavian directory repaired to the legislative assembly, and delivered an animated and animating speech

* Correspondence between the British and Batavian Admirals.

Iris, under sail, in line of battle, Aug. 30th, 1799.

"I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange; if you do you will be immediately considered friends of the King of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign; otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it will occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "ANDREW MITCHEL,"

Vice-admiral and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To Rear-admiral Storey, or the
Commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

ANSWER.

On board the Washington, anchored under the Vleiter, Aug. 30.

"ADMIRAL,—Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood should be laid to my account, could prevent me shewing you to the last moment, what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and their representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flag have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me and to my brave officers, but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our present situation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I command. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers, and the few brave men who are on board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

I am, with respect,

"S. STOREY."

To Admiral Mitchel, commanding his Britannic
Majesty's squadron in the Texel.

† List of the Dutch squadron taken possession of in the Texel, by Vice-admiral Mitchel, Aug. 30, 1799.

	Guns.			Guns.
Washington, (Admiral's ship)	74	Bechermer,	-	54
Guelderland,	68	Batavier,	-	54
Admiral de Ruyter,	68	Amphitrite,	-	44
Utrecht,	68	Mars,	-	44
Cerberus,	68	Ambuscade,	-	32
Leyden,	68	Galatea,	-	16

upon this occasion, in which he expressed his indignation at "so infamous a treason."

"Has the Batavian people," exclaimed he, "so long cherished those monsters in order that they should at last be betrayed by them! May the enemy always receive such vile wretches, whom we do not acknowledge either as Dutchmen or as fellow-citizens! May the punishment of the crime fall upon the heads of those who were the authors of it! Vengeance will assuredly overtake them in due time. Meanwhile, my fellow-citizens," added he, "deeply as this stroke may be felt by every patriotic heart, it ought not to render us dejected; we know the duties which we owe to our country and the people; these we will fulfil; and sooner shall the land of our forefathers, and the soil on which we stand, be converted into a heap of ruins, than the enemy triumph over our firmness. The Batavian soldiers, united with our French brethren, at this moment fighting in defence of their country's liberties, will soon prove that generous blood boils in their veins. On these our expectations rest, and may God assist them!"

Nor was their ally, who appeared hitherto to have neglected them, any longer idle; for an army of observation lately formed on their frontiers, received orders to march, and General Brune, a soldier of fortune, and a pupil from the school of Bonaparte, being appointed commander-in-chief, published the following short but energetic address:—

"Magistrates of the Batavian republic! Behold the shades of Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Barneveld, burst through their sacred tombs, that you may be animated by their spirit, and denounce death against the traitors to their country! Be on your guard respecting the emigrants; oppose the impious Orange faction; unite with the people, and overwhelm the English."

While the Dutch and the French authorities were thus exerting themselves, the British army, which had hitherto occupied the sand-hills, advanced, on the first of September, and assumed a position with the right to Petten, on the German ocean, and the left on the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee. By this evolution, a fertile country was open to the invaders, while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed greatly to strengthen their position, and enable them to remain on the defensive until the arrival of additional forces.

The Batavian government having collected a considerable force in front of the British lines, determined upon an attack, which was commenced at day-break on the 10th, on the centre and right, from St. Maarten's to Petten, in three columns, with a force amounting to twelve thousand men. The column on the right, composed of Dutch troops, under the command of General Daendels, directed its attack against the village of St. Martin; the centre, under General de Monceau, consisting of troops of the same nation, marched against the British at Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys; while the left column, under the direction of General Brune, composed of

French soldiers, advanced against the position occupied by Major-general Burrard. The advance, particularly on the left and centre, was made with great intrepidity; but although two of the detachments had penetrated upon this occasion within a few yards of the positions occupied by the British, yet they experienced a degree of resistance that reflected great honour on the army, and about ten o'clock they were obliged to retire to their former position, with a loss of from eight hundred to one thousand men, besides one piece of cannon and a considerable quantity of military stores, while the loss of the English did not exceed two hundred. Major-general Moore, who commanded the right on this occasion, and received a flesh wound during the action, exhibited his usual spirit and judgment; Colonel Spencer also defended the village of St. Martin with distinguished gallantry; while Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, who commanded two battalions of the twentieth, stationed near Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, though the blood was flowing in a copious stream from a wound in his leg, entreating his regiment to "remember Minden," led them on to a charge with the bayonet, and completed the rout of the foe.

The aspect of affairs being now deemed peculiarly auspicious, the second division of troops, consisting of three brigades, was embarked, and the Duke of York proceeded to Holland to assume the command of the Anglo-Russian army. Speedily after his arrival at the Helder, on the 13th of September, he had the satisfaction to witness the landing of the Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of between seventeen and eighteen thousand effective men, under General D'Hermann; he also found the Hereditary Prince of Orange collecting and forming the deserters from the Batavian troops, as well as the volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions.

The British field-marshal, now finding himself placed at the head of thirty-six thousand effective troops, determined to embrace the first opportunity to make an attack upon the whole of the enemy's positions, and orders were accordingly issued for that purpose. After the necessary arrangements, the army moved forward in four columns, through a country which in every direction presented the most formidable obstacles; being cut and intersected with wet ditches and deep canals, while the bridges were all removed, and the roads either rendered impassable, or obstructed by means of *abattis*, consisting of felled trees, half interred in the earth, and placed in a horizontal position, so as to present a nearly impenetrable barrier. In addition to these obstructions, the enemy was strongly posted on the heights of Camperduyne, Walmenhuy-

sen, Schoreldam, and along the high sand-hills, which extend from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen, while several of the intermediate villages were strengthened by means of intrenchments.

The column under Lieutenant-general D'Hermann commenced an attack about three o'clock in the morning of the 19th of September, and by eight o'clock in the morning had succeeded so far as to be in possession of Bergen; but finding the place abandoned, they relaxed their efforts, and according to their custom in taking towns by storm, gave themselves up to pillage. The vigilant enemy instantly seized this opportunity to retrieve the day. Rallying his broken battalions under cover of the woods, and availing himself of the assistance of a seasonable reinforcement drawn from Alkmaar, he attacked the dispersed Russians at different points with so much impetuosity and effect, that notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their officers, and the natural courage of the men, they were compelled to retire in disorder from Bergen to Schorel, with the loss of Lieutenants-general D'Hermann and Tcher-tchekoff, who were both made prisoners, and the latter mortally wounded. The failure of this detachment decided the fate of the action; for although Lieutenant-general Dundas succeeded in his attack on the village of Walmenhuysen, while Sir James Pulteney stormed and carried Ouds Carspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie captured Hoorne without opposition nearly at the same time, yet the troops thus victorious on every other point were recalled, and the army, in consequence of one partial failure, was under the necessity of resuming its former position. The capture of sixty officers, and upwards of three thousand men, with the destruction of sixteen pieces of the enemy's artillery, afforded some consolation for the adverse events of this day; but, as all equivocal victories may be considered as so many defeats on the part of an invading army, this upon the whole proved a disastrous attack, and rather tended to inspire the enemy with confidence than to deprive him of hope.

His royal highness, the commander-in-chief, determined to resume offensive operations with as little delay as the inclemency of the weather and the difficulties of the country would admit. After the expedition had been delayed some days, the army was once more put in motion, and on the 2d of October, an attack took place on the whole of the enemy's line. The troops were again divided into four columns, under Generals Abercrombie, D'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney; and the plan was so combined as to enable the

principal corps to communicate with each other by means of intermediate detachments.*

At half past six o'clock in the morning the engagement commenced by Colonel Macdonald's reserve, which carried a redoubt in front of the village of Campe; while the main body of the first column, conducted by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched by the margin of the tide towards Egmont-op-Zee, where, in the after part of the day, the hostile armies were to decide the fate of the battle. The road being thus cleared on the right, the centre column ascended the sand-hills at Campe, where they made a vigorous attack upon the enemy, and carried the heights of Schorel. The enemy still continued to keep up a heavy cannonade between Schorel and Schoreldam, till the Russian column, supported by Major-general Burrard's brigade, advance upon their position and took possession of Schoreldam. At this juncture, the commander-in-chief, perceiving that the corps on the sand-hills were unequally engaged, immediately ordered the brigade under Lord Chatham to advance from the plain to their support. This seasonable movement was executed with the happiest effect, and by out-flanking the enemy, obliged them to abandon the range of sand hills, and to take shelter in the almost impervious woods that lined their eastern border. The enemy having rallied his force, took up a strong position at Bergen, from which it was absolutely necessary to dislodge him. With this view a general charge was ordered, which was led by the 29th regiment, and pushed with so much vigour and effect by the whole line, as to place the British and

* The force and arrangement of the columns were as follows:—

Field-marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief.

<p>FIRST COLUMN, on the right—Three brigades, and the reserve of infantry, of Majors-general D'Oyley, Moore, the Earl of Cavan, and Colonel Macdonald; nine squadrons of light dragoons, under the command of Lord Paget; and one troop of horse artillery.</p>	}	<p>commanded by General Sir Ralph Abercrombie.</p>
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<p>SECOND COLUMN, centre—Ten battalions of Russian infantry; three troops of hussars and cosaks; artillery.</p>	}	<p>Major-general D'Essen.</p>
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<p>THIRD COLUMN, centre—Three brigades of infantry, of Majors-general the Earl of Chatham, Coote, and Burrard; one squadron of the 11th light dragoons; artillery.</p>	}	<p>Lieutenant-general Dundas.</p>
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<p>FOURTH COLUMN, on the left—Three brigades of infantry, of Majors-general his Royal Highness Prince William, Manners, and Don; two battalions of Russians; and two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons; artillery.</p>	}	<p>Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney.</p>
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Russian force in possession of the whole range of sand-hills. In the midst of this arduous struggle, in the neighbourhood of Bergen, the first column of the British, under General Abercrombie, marched with little opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee, where the enemy had posted on the hills a large body of cavalry and infantry, with a determination to resist their further progress. Major-general Moore's brigade, led on by that gallant officer, charged the enemy's strong position, but the push of the British bayonet was received with firmness, and returned by a counter-charge. The contest was maintained with undiminished fury till the close of day, and the field was covered with the slain. The 92d regiment distinguished itself where all was brave, and suffered severely. Its heroic colonel, the Marquis of Huntley, was struck with a rifle-shot in the shoulder; and Major-general Moore, after receiving two wounds, was compelled reluctantly to quit the field. But it was to the inspiring example, and the judicious direction of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that this brave column owed its success; and who, though two horses were shot under him, seemed wholly insensible of danger. The shades of night now began to prevail, when the enemy, determining to make one more effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, advanced with his chasseurs in the face of the British column, and charged the horse artillery with so much impetuosity as to cut down several of the troops, and to carry off two guns in triumph. But this success was of short duration; for several squadrons of the 7th and 11th dragoons, with Lord Paget at their head, suddenly issuing from a recess between two sand-hills, fell upon the cavalry of the enemy, who incapable of sustaining the shock, rushed into the sea to avoid the British sabres. The rout now became complete, but a small proportion of the enemy, favoured by the approaching darkness, effected their escape, leaving their prize cannon behind. About sun-set, the reserve, under Colonel Macdonald, joined the first column, to which it had been attached in the morning; upon which, the enemy yielded up the well-contested ground, and retired towards Beverwyck. The force of the enemy opposed to the combined armies in the battle of Alkmaar, was estimated at twenty-five thousand, and their loss is stated at three thousand; while the loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to sixteen hundred, and the loss of the Russians, to six hundred men.

The result of this engagement was visible the next morning, when it appeared that the enemy had, during the night, evacuated the strong positions on the Lange Dyke, and the Koe Dyke, as well as the extensive range of elevated sand-hills. In the course of the succeeding day, the allies took

possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen. The town of Alkmaar, the head-quarters of General Brune, and the seat of government of the state of North Holland, opened its gates, while a number of troops deserted to the standard erected by the Prince of Orange.

To improve these advantages, and to deprive the enemy of the means of recruiting his exhausted strength, the Duke of York determined to drive him from Beverwyck, and Wyck-op-Zee, and to advance towards Amsterdam. The advanced posts were accordingly pushed forward, and the village of Schermerhoorn, Acher-Sloop, and Limmen, occupied on the 6th, without resistance, by the British; but the column of Russian troops, under Major-general D'Essen, in attempting to gain a height near Baccum, was at first firmly opposed, and then vigorously attacked by a strong body of the enemy's troops. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, observing the critical situation of the Russians, marched his column to their support; the enemy at the same time succouring his advanced corps by fresh forces; the action, though not intended to be fought that day, soon became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the ocean, and was contested on both sides with the most determined resolution. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the allied army began to lose ground, and to retire upon the villages of Egmont, where they made a determined stand, and with the effective co-operation of the brigade under Major-general Coote, held the enemy in check during the whole day. Evening now set in, accompanied with deluges of rain, yet still the engagement continued, with varied success, and unavailing obstinacy.—Even the darkness of the night, combined with the severity of the weather, was found insufficient to terminate the combat. The fire of the small arms was incessant, and the vivid flashes, running along the undulating line of the hills, extended in various directions into the plain; while the gloom of the horizon was at intervals dispelled by the flame of the cannon, and the illuminated train of the shells. About ten o'clock at night, the firing entirely ceased, and the Anglo-Russian troops remained in undisturbed possession of the field;* the engagement however proved undecisive, and the enemy, who soon after received a reinforcement of six thousand troops, maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee.

The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical as to require the greatest military talents, united with

* Narrative of the Expedition to Holland in 1799, by E. Walsh, M. D.

the most mature experience, to direct its future operations. Directly opposite lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received. A naked, barren, and exhausted country, thinly studded with a few ruined villages, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, extended all around. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the ocean; but a considerable body of troops, led by an active and resolute commander, threatened the left, and occupied the almost inaccessible position of Purmerend. To these local obstacles were superadded others, still more formidable. The weather had set in since the evening of the 6th of October with increased inclemency; and the roads were so entirely broken up, that it was with extreme difficulty that the urgent necessities of the troops could be supplied; to these complicated evils the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland—their arms and ammunition rendered unfit for use, and their tents and clothing continually drenched with torrents of rain. Nor did the stadtholderian party shew any disposition to support the armies engaged in fighting their battles, but on the contrary remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to the success of the common cause.

After weighing all these considerations, and consulting with the lieutenants-general of his army, his royal highness the Duke of York very prudently gave orders to withdraw the forces from their advanced position, which was accordingly effected, to the great regret of the troops, who were unacquainted with some of the principal difficulties that opposed their career.

About seven o'clock in the evening of the 7th of October, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in cataracts, a very unexpected order was issued for the troops to assemble, and about ten o'clock at night the whole army was in full retreat towards Pellen and Alkmaar. By this sudden and decided measure, the retreat was effected, in the face of a vigilant and active foe, without disorder, or immediate pursuit, and with little comparative loss.

It now appeared advisable to return to England; but as the troops could not be embarked in the face of a superior army without considerable loss, the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the vice-admiral, entered into a negociation with General Brune, in consequence of which an armistice was at length agreed upon. It was stipulated upon this occasion, that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by the 30th of November; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be consider-

ed as exchanged ; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state ; that “ eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without conditions to their respective countries ;” and finally, that Major-general Knox should remain with the French to guarantee the execution of this convention.

These terms, although justified by the critical situation of the troops, were doubtless humiliating ; but the proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, surrendered by Admiral Storey, and which was at first advanced by General Brune, was received with just indignation ; and his royal highness the Duke of York, threatened, in case of perseverance in this point, to cut the sea-dykes and inundate the whole country.

Thus ended the expedition against Holland, whence so many advantages had been anticipated, and so much benefit augured ; which, instead of annihilating the influence of France—restoring the independence of the Dutch—and increasing the honour and glory of the British name ; confirmed the dominion of the French republic in Holland, and superadded the claims of gratitude to the pertinacity of power. But though the military and political objects of the expedition failed, yet the naval department of the enterprise was crowned with complete success, and a hostile fleet, the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivalled Great Britain on the ocean, was drawn from a position where it was capable of exciting alarm, and added to the already gigantic force of the British navy.

To complete the military history of this eventful year, the hostile operations of the short but decisive campaign in the Mysore country still remain to be recorded. From the time that peace was concluded between Lord Cornwallis and Tippoo Saib, the Sultaun of Mysore, in the year 1792, the affairs of India had remained in a kind of doubtful and suspicious tranquillity. The supposed lenity of the Marquis Cornwallis was blamed by many who were intimately connected with India ; and on the other hand, it was not probable that a prince of the pride and spirit of Tippoo could submit without reluctance to a treaty so inglorious to an independent monarch. Two great principles of action appear to have influenced the life and fortune of the King of Mysore : the one a flaming zeal, bordering on fanaticism, for the religion of Mahomet ; the other, an hatred to the English, whom he affected to denominate polytheists, and considered as a mercenary band of commercial spoilers, who, by uniting intrigue with trade, and the profession of arms with an inordinate thirst for dominion,

had obtained an undue and alarming preponderance in the east. Not content with augmenting his army, and collecting able officers, wherever they could be found, he corresponded with all the neighbouring courts, and solicited by turns every Mahometan power in Asia, to enter into a holy war, for the extirpation of his enemies, whom he considered as the enemies of all true believers. Nor was he inattentive to the affairs of Europe ; for he had sent a splendid embassy to Louis XVI. and now courted the friendship of the French republic, with as much assiduity as he had formerly sought that of the monarch. In a despatch to the executive directory of France, written from Seringapatam, and dated on the 2d of April, 1797, he announced his intention to nominate ambassadors, in order to testify his friendship to the government of France ; and in a letter of the same date, addressed to the representatives of the people residing in the isles of France and Bourbon, he says, “ I perceive it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your nation : I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution ; and as a proof of my sincerity, I propose to your nation, and to you, a treaty of alliance and fraternity, which shall be for ever indissoluble, and shall be founded on republican principles of sincerity and good faith. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India ; the springs which I have touched have put all India in motion.”*

The French government, strongly impressed with the importance of extending their influence in the east, and of shaking the power of the British in that quarter, did not fail to return suitable answers to these ardent expressions of attachment ; and General Bonaparte, on his arrival at Cairo, addressed to the sultaun, through the intervention of the Cherif of Mecca, a letter expressed in the following terms : “ You have,” said the French general, “ already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of desire to deliver you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mecca, as to your political situation : I should even wish that you would send some intelligent and confidential person to Suez, or to Cairo, with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies !”

No sooner had the intelligence of the arrival of a French

* See Wood's Review of the War in Mysore.

army in Egypt reached Bengal, than the Earl of Mornington, (now Marquis of Wellesley,) the governor-general, gave orders to assemble an army on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and while preparations were making for war, his lordship used his utmost exertions to accommodate the differences by negociation; but the sultaun met all his lordship's proposals either with insulting silence, or with hollow and perfidious professions of friendship.

At length, a junction having been effected between the Madras army, under Major-general Harris, consisting of thirty-one thousand men, and that of Bombay, under General Stuart, consisting of six thousand, the capital of the Mysore became the immediate object of their joint attack. The Nizam, though he had so recently given umbrage to the English government, by the employment of a numerous body of European troops, deemed it prudent to take the field with a contingent of about twelve thousand troops, on the first summons of his British ally; but Tippoo, unable to procure either the expected assistance of Zemaun Shah from the north of India, or that of the French from Egypt, after wasting the country around, and defending the approaches to Seringapatam, found himself reduced to the necessity of standing a siege, without any other auxiliary aid than about four hundred volunteers from the Isle of France.

On the 5th of April, the army under General Harris, after carrying the hill-forts of Neeldurgum and Anchitty, took up its ground opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of three thousand five hundred yards. On the 9th, the British general received a letter from Tippoo, in which he declared, "that he adhered firmly to the treaties, and demanded the reason of the advance of the English army, and of the occurrence of hostilities?" To this the general briefly replied by referring to the letters which had been addressed to the sultaun by the governor-general. The preparations for the siege were still continued with unremitting activity, and on the 22d, the Bombay army was attacked at all its posts by six thousand of the enemy's infantry, and Lalley's corps of Frenchmen, who behaved with their accustomed gallantry; but the assailants were repulsed on all sides, and compelled to retire into the fort with a loss of six hundred men. Previous to this attack General Harris had received, on the night of the 20th, an overture of peace from the sultaun, which was answered at noon on the 22d, by sending a draft of the preliminaries. The terms proposed to Tippoo were, "to cede half of his territories in perpetuity to Great Britain and her Asiatic allies; to pay two crores of rupees; to renounce

the alliance of the French for ever ; to dismiss every native of France from his service ; to receive ambassadors from each of the allies ; and to give as hostages four of his sons, and four of his principal officers." To these humiliating proposals the sultaun condescended not at first to return an answer ; but on the 28th he acknowledged the receipt of the proposals transmitted by General Harris, and stated, " that the points in question were weighty and important, and without the intervention of ambassadors could not be brought to a conclusion ; and therefore that he was about to send two officers who would explain themselves personally to him." The general, considering this as an expedient to gain time, briefly replied by referring to the terms forwarded on the 22d, as the only conditions on which he would negotiate.

The works being now complete, the trenches were opened, and on the 2d of May, the artillery began to batter in breach. On the evening of the succeeding day, the breach was considered as practicable, and orders were issued for storming the place in the course of the succeeding afternoon. On this occasion, a new stratagem of war was resorted to, and it was determined to make the assault during the heat of the day, as an operation of this kind was not likely to be expected at such a period, when the garrison would not only be less prepared, but less able to oppose an efficacious resistance. The troops intended to be employed on this occasion, amounting to four thousand in number, were accordingly stationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, to avoid suspicion ; and at one o'clock in the afternoon, they moved forward under Major-general Baird.* Having crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the city, the glacis and ditch were passed, after which the besiegers immediately ascended the breaches in the *fausse braye* rampart of the fort, surmounting every difficulty with the most singular gallantry. The noise and alarm occasioned by this unexpected assault, at length pierced the residence of the sultaun. That prince, who had a little time before seen the guards relieved, after survey-

* Those selected for the assault consisted of

1. Ten flank companies of Europeans ;
 2. Twelfth, thirty-third, seventy-third, and seventy-fourth regiments ;
 3. Three corps of grenadier sepoys, selected from the troops of the three presidencies ;
 4. Two hundred of the Nizam's troops ;
 5. One hundred men belonging to the artillery, and pioneers ;
- Supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment of Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys.
- Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the flank companies.

ing the British position with a glass, and concluding, because nothing unusual had occurred, that the attack was deferred, returned to his family.—Aroused at length by the shouts of his own troops, and the firing of the artillery and musketry, he sallied out, accompanied by some of his followers, and taking his station at one of the gates, along with Syed Scheb, Meer Saduf, Syed Gofa, and a number of other chiefs, he attempted, when too late, to stop the progress of a soldiery, inflamed with the hope of spoil, and fearless of danger. After the assailants, who divided their forces for the purpose of clearing the ramparts, had overcome all opposition in every other quarter, the palace of the monarch still held out.

A flag of truce was soon after sent to the palace of the sultaun, offering him and his friends protection on unconditional surrender ; but Major Allan, on whom the execution of this commission devolved, could no where meet with Tippoo. The young princes, his sons, surrendered in the mean time to General Baird, under the strongest assurances of protection. After much entreaty, enforced even by threats, the gentlemen who had entered the palace were informed by the killedar, an officer of great trust, that the sultaun was not there, but that he had received a mortal wound during the assault, and lay in the gate-way on the north face of the fort. There, among heaps of slain, the body of the unfortunate monarch was found, covered with wounds. With a Roman spirit, the Sultaun of Mysore disdained to grace the triumph of his adversaries ; and shewed his people, that he did not basely seek his personal safety in the recesses of his palace, while they were endeavouring bravely but unsuccessfully to support his throne from the battlements of his capital.*

* TIPPPOO SAIB.—The character of this extraordinary man is differently represented, as opposite parties and interests have touched the portrait ; while the difference of manners, the distance of the scene, and the obscurity which involves an oriental court, render it almost impossible to ascertain the truth. He was born about the year 1749, and was in stature about five feet eight inches. His person was corpulent, his neck short, and his limbs small, particularly his feet and hands. His complexion was brown, his eyes large and full, his eye-brows small and arched, his nose aquiline ; and all agree, that in his countenance there was an expression of dignity. Hyder Ally, the father of Tippoo, conscious of his own disadvantages from a neglected education, had been extremely solicitous, it is said, for the accomplishment of his son, who read and spoke more than one of the European languages. He was fond both of reading and writing, and latterly, it appears, kept a journal of every occurrence. In his youth, and during the life-time of his father, he was held in universal esteem ; but after his accession to the throne, he is charged with cruelty and caprice. Despotism is undoubtedly a wretched corruptor of the human heart ; and perhaps we form a false estimate, when we measure the characters of eastern monarchs by the

The capture of Seringapatam afforded a rich booty to the troops, who effected this important conquest with a loss not exceeding four hundred men in killed and wounded ; and a scheme of partition was promulgated soon after, dividing the dominions of the late sultaun into four parts of unequal extent, one of which, and that the principal, including the capital and the port of Magalore, was annexed to the dominions of the East India Company ; a second was given to the Nizam ; a third, of small extent, to the Mahrattas ; and for the fourth, a descendant of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore was sought out, and placed upon the throne ; while Futteh Hyder, Ardul Khalic, and the other sons of the deceased monarch, were taken under “ the munificent protection ” of the company, and surrounded with women, troops, and every thing that can contribute to inspire an idea of Asiatic magnificence.

In another hemisphere, the British arms were equally successful, and the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the hands of the Dutch. A body of troops having been collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, and Martinico, by Lieutenant-general Trigge, were embarked soon after, on board a small squadron, consisting of two line of battle ships and five frigates, under the command of Vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, Governor Frederici, after some hesitation, capitulated to the British force, and on the 20th of August, this flourishing and extensive settlement was obtained by Great Britain, without firing a gun.

The British navy, during the whole of this year, continued to display its wonted zeal and accustomed superiority ; while the names of St. Vincent, Nelson, Smith, and Mitchel, made

principles of civilized and christian states. In his dress he was plain, in his manners unaffected ; he was fond of horsemanship, and all the manly exercises, and despised those who used carriages and palanquins. Indeed, in most of his habits, he appears to have been of a severe cast of character ; he was rigidly exact in the punishment of drunkenness and other vices, and his religion, which was tinged with the same character, approached to superstition. In his political government, he is charged with caprice ; and yet the circumstance that gave most disgust to men of rank, that of raising persons from low stations to offices of importance, might proceed from the laudable desire of promoting and rewarding merit. He is supposed to have acted under the infatuated persuasion that Seringapatam was impregnable ; yet it is allowed, that, on examining the works on the morning of the assault, he was undeceived, though he still rejected every idea of surrendering his capital, and reconciled himself to the resolution of perishing under its ruins. On the whole, he was a great though perhaps not a good prince ; a false religion, and false notions of human rights and liberties, never fail to deprave the heart.

the English flag respected in Syria, Egypt, the Mediterranean, on the coast of Spain, and in the ports and shallow seas of Holland. So uninterrupted was the success of the British arms on her favourite element, that although England did not lose a single vessel of war in the course of this year, no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated, and its spirit and discipline wholly extinguished. In addition to the ships of war seized by Admiral Mitchel in the Nieuve Diep, and the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a forty gun ship—the Hertog Van Brunswick, in the straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea on the part of that power were wholly interdicted.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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Date Due.

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